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ANNEX



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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

AUGUST 1840.

ART. I.—*Der Geist des Christenthums dargestellt in den heiligen Zeiten, in den heiligen Handlungen, und in der heiligen Kunst.* (The Spirit of Christianity exhibited in sacred Seasons, in sacred Actions, and in sacred Art.) In Two Parts. By Dr. F. A. Staudenmaier, Professor of Theology at the University of Freyburg, in Breisgau. Second edition, enlarged and improved. Mayence: 1838.

THE festivals of the Church are not arbitrarily appointed, but succeed each other in beautiful order and systematic arrangement. The first part of the ecclesiastical year, from Advent to Lent, is devoted to the contemplation of the mystery of the Incarnation. The second part, from Lent to Pentecost, is dedicated to that of the mystery of the Redemption; and the third, from Pentecost to All Saints, commemorates the descent of the Holy Spirit, the foundation of the Church, and the propagation of the gospel; while the concluding festivals of All Saints and All Souls recall to our minds the glories of the Church triumphant, the tribulations of the suffering Church, and the terrors of the Last Judgment.

Within this grand cycle, there is an epicycle of festivals, devoted to the celebration of the blessed Mother of God, and the other saints.

But, if the order in which the festivals of the Church succeed be admirable, the subjects which they commemorate are of the most touching, impressive, and sublime nature. It is now the Divinity taking our flesh to rescue lost man from the penalty of sin, that is brought before our spiritual contemplation; now the Son of God expiring on the cross in most bitter torments; here the holy maid of Nazareth receiving with trembling joy the glad tidings of human salvation; there the Saviour of

men rising triumphant from "his glorious tomb," victorious over death, and leading away captivity captive; and there, again, the Holy Spirit descending on the apostles, to found the everlasting kingdom, and fashion a new spiritual generation. These are some of the momentous subjects which the Church celebrates on her festivals. But the liturgy, in which these religious commemorations are embodied, is equally entitled to admiration. With what wonderful wisdom is it framed! With what propriety has she selected the various epistles and gospels of each Sunday and festival, adapting them to the circumstances of the occasion, and the spiritual wants of her children! What beauty, what gravity, what exquisite fitness, reign in the subordinate parts of the liturgy, such as the introits, the collects, and the graduals! These prayers, like the minuter ornaments of a gothic cathedral, are in perfect keeping with the whole of the majestic service; yet, like those ornaments, their very fitness and propriety are often the cause of their being overlooked. The antiquity, too, of the liturgy, imposes on the imagination, and excites the most reverential feelings. It is frivolous to allege that the language in which it is composed, is unknown to the greatest part of the faithful. Mankind have always been sensible that an ancient tongue was a more fitting and dignified vehicle for the celebration of religious worship than a vulgar and a recent one.

The oriental Christians, as well those who have seceded from, as those who have remained faithful to, the communion of the Catholic Church, have retained the use of the ancient Greek, Syriac, and Coptic tongues in their respective liturgies; though those languages are no longer spoken nor understood by the majority of their present members. The same practice prevails in the Jewish Church, where the ancient Hebrew, which, since the Babylonish captivity, has been unintelligible to all but the lettered Jews, is the language consecrated to public prayer; and it is remarkable that the Buddhists of Thibet, to this day, employ in their public worship the hieratic tongue—the sacred Sanscrit—a foreign speech, which, like their religion, was brought to them many centuries ago from India.

It should also be borne in mind that the most solemn service of the Catholic Church, unlike that of the modern Jews and of the Protestants, is an awful, tremendous sacrifice, which, independently of the particular words wherein it is solemnized, commands the attention, and excites the reverential piety, of the faithful. Moreover the Church, in the abundance of her

solicitude and love, provides translations and explanations in the vulgar tongue, of all the prayers that precede, accompany and follow this august sacrifice. But we should form an inadequate idea of the excellence of the Catholic liturgy, were we to leave out of consideration the beauty of the ceremonial. Here actions embody, enliven, and enforce the outpourings of the heart. Hereby the eye, the imagination, and the feelings, are alike enlisted in the service of God;—the supplications of the Church are typified and represented in outward acts; and every avenue is seized and occupied, whereby religious impressions can be conveyed to the soul. As the Catholic sacrifice is incomparably the purest and the most sublime ever offered up in the temples of man, so the ceremonial of the Church, according to the avowal of its very adversaries, is the most solemn, impressive, and majestic, ever exhibited to human eye.

Let us hear on this subject the striking testimonies of two eloquent Protestant writers:—

“There is something extremely touching,” says Count Von Löben, “in the maternal, accessible, and poetical character of Catholicism; and the soul finds a constant asylum in her quiet chapels, before the Christmas candles, in the soft purifying atmosphere of incense, in the outstretched arms of the heavenly mother, while it sinks down before her in humility, filial meekness, and contemplation of the Saviour’s love. The Catholic churches, with their ever-opened portals, their ever-burning lamps, the ever-resounding voices of their thanksgiving, with their masses, their ever-recurring festivals and days of commemoration, declare with touching truth, that here the arms of a mother are ever open, ready to refresh every one who is troubled and heavy laden; that here the sweet repast of love is prepared for all, and a refuge is found by day and by night. When we consider this constant occupation of priests, this carrying in and out of the Holy of Holies, the fulness of emblems, the ornaments, varying every day, like the changing leaves of the flower; the Catholic Church will appear like a deep, copious well in the midst of a city, which collects around it all the inhabitants, and whose waters, perpetually cool, refresh, bless, and pervade all around.”—Count Isidore von Löben, *Lotosblatter*, 1817. Part 1.

“If the pilgrim, (says M. Clausen,) after the completion of his pilgrimage, weary, but full of pious joy and devotion, kneels down on the steps of the church, and returns thanks to Him who hath smoothed his way, and guided and protected his steps; if the mother, in the still, vacant temple, lies sunk at the foot of the altar, and commends her infant to the care of the saint invoked; if the evening sun glimmers through the dim, yet gorgeous colouring of the Gothic window, and sheds its last rays on those individuals who select for their devotion

the quiet hours after the completion of the day's work ; if the altar-lights, at vespers, illumine the dark vaults, and the organ murmurs forth its tones in holy chorus ; if the hours of midnight and of sun-rise are announced by the convent-bell, which calls the monks from their cells to praise the Lord by day and by night, and to pray for all sufferers near and remote ;—so it is clear and evident, (and the Catholic Church has the merit of rendering this truth still more evident), that life should be a continued worship of the Deity ; that Art and Nature possess an eternal and universal language for the expression and awakening of the highest feelings in the human breast ; and we must esteem that Church as happy, which is enabled to appropriate this language in its whole extent.”—*Clausen*, c. 1, p. 790.

This ceremonial, beautiful, impressive, and majestic as it is, must needs exert a powerful influence upon art. Man is by nature an artistic being.

The German poet has beautifully observed,

“ Science, O man, thou shar'st with higher spirits ;
But Art thou hast alone.”

If man, whose consciousness is composed of understanding, imagination, and sense, be in a manner driven by his compound nature to embody his feelings in outward representations, he must naturally seek his highest inspirations in that principle which has ever exerted the strongest empire over the human breast,—we mean religion. Hence, in every age, the noblest efforts of art have been directed to the honour of religion, and have been hallowed and dignified by her influence. This influence was more or less sound, according as the religious system itself was more or less vigorously constituted, and according as it contained more or less elements of divine truth. In architecture, sculpture, and painting, this gradation of religious influence is clearly perceptible. Thus, while the light, airy, graceful temples of Greece and Rome corresponded well to their gay and voluptuous mythology ; while the sombre, massive, and often subterraneous temples of the old oriental nations fitly symbolized the dark magical rites of demon-worship, solemnized within their walls ; the Gothic, or northern architecture, with its majestic arches, its soaring columns, its profusion of mystic ornaments, its long narrow aisles, lit “ by a dim religious light,” like the shadowy light of the Christian mysteries themselves, the gothic or northern architecture typifies the exalting power of that religion, which lifts man above the world of sense, and amid the darkness and tribulations of this valley of death, cheers his soul with bright glimpses of eternity. Nor when Christian art renovated and perfected the forms of the old Roman architecture, was its influence less mysterious, or its power less striking.

In painting and sculpture, the triumph of Christianity was no less conspicuous. The extravagant doctrines of Paganism, its sensual worship, its mere local and national traditions, the earthward tendency of its whole spirit, contributed much to narrow the sphere, as well as debase the conceptions, of ancient art. On the other hand, the sublime dogmas of Christianity, its pure morality, its universal sympathies, the mystical, supernatural character stamped on all its institutions, have at once spiritualized the views and immeasurably enlarged the field of the artist.

These general observations on the Christian festivals, liturgy, and art, will not, we trust, be considered an inappropriate introduction to a reviewal of the excellent work at the head of our article.

The plan of our author is, to go through the whole cycle of the ecclesiastical year, explaining the nature and object of each festival, elucidating the more important parts of the liturgy appropriated to the celebration of such festival, and citing, or referring to, the most remarkable productions of ancient and modern poetry, or describing the most celebrated works of art raised or composed in its honour.

The book is full of interest, variety, and instruction. Sometimes the author conducts the youth to whom it is addressed into the temple of the Catholic church, displaying to his astonished eyes the majesty of her worship, the beauty of her liturgy, and the import of her ceremonial; sometimes he leads him to the great temple of nature herself, revealing to him all the wonders of creative love and wisdom, explaining her mysterious symbols, and interpreting her mute but significant language. Now, he unfolds to him the depth, and sublimity, and secret connexion of the dogmas of religion; now he brings before his contemplation the glorious monuments of art, pervaded and hallowed by religion, and reflecting in turn the splendour of her holiness.

The present work has much analogy with Chateaubriand's "*Génie du Christianisme*;" though, from the national, as well as individual character of the two writers, there are many points of difference between them. The production of the Frenchman aims more at pointing out the external beauties and social blessings of Christianity—that of the German, its internal harmony and moral influences. The former is more eloquent and imaginative—the latter more thoughtful, at once, and more feeling. In short, one treats the ideal, the other the more practical part of his subject.

As Dr. Staudenmaier's work is divided into the four cycles of the ecclesiastical year, we shall give a rapid summary of its contents under each of those heads, citing such passages as best reveal the nature of the book, or set the author's talent in the fairest light.

In the first portion of the ecclesiastical year, from the commencement of Advent to Easter, the author, in the first place, expatiates on original sin and its consequences, describes the character of Heathenism, the old covenant, the object of the Mosaic law, the nature of the Jewish priesthood, the prophetic office, and its relations to the past and to the future. In the next place, he points out the signification and beauty of many parts of the liturgy of Advent; and, after noticing the object of the festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, shows the nature and object of her mission. The life and mission of the Baptist—the coming of Christ—the relation between the season and the religious commemorations of Advent—the birth of the Lord—the solemnities of Christmas, and the pious entertainments of that period,—pass next under consideration. The author then enters into an elaborate disquisition on sacred poetry, music, and painting, in relation to religion in general, and to the festivals of this cycle in particular. The feasts of St. Stephen, St. John, Holy Innocents, the Circumcision of Christ, the Epiphany, the Vocation of the Gentiles, the Flight into Egypt, the festival of the Purification, the ceremony of churching women, and the infancy of Christ, come successively under review; the author closing this section of the work with some excellent observations, wherein he demonstrates the intimate connexion between the life, ministry, and doctrine of our Lord.

After this brief analysis of the first section of the work, we shall now proceed to lay before our readers a few passages of the greatest interest or beauty, or which best illustrate the author's peculiar manner.

The following remarks on the mission of the Baptist, are, we think, elegant and ingenious:—

“The words which the Redeemer himself, in Matthew (c. xi. v. 14) pronounces on John, in reference to his calling and destination, are truly remarkable. He calls him one who is more than a prophet—he is, moreover, the Elias who is to come; nay, he speaks of him as one who is the greatest amongst those born of women; and yet he adds, the smallest in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John the Baptist. And wherefore this? Anciently, the Messiah who was to come lived only as a promise in the darkness of prophecy. But John saw the prophecy already fulfilled, for he beheld with his own eyes the

Promised One. Wherefore he could point out with his fingers the Messiah walking, and say—'Behold, this is the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world.' Hence is John, Elias, for in him, as a prophet, is fulfilled all that the other prophets have seen only in images. But he is, on this account, the greatest of prophets, for the other prophets could only foretell the advent of the Messiah, whereas John could indicate and announce the Messiah when he was already come.

But the greatest of prophets is the least in the kingdom of heaven. How are we to understand this expression of our Lord?

Although John could point to the Redeemer and his kingdom, yet his whole mission forms a part of the old covenant, and not of the new. Nay, he was but the termination of the old covenant—its last historical personage. Hence this personage, while recognizing its own limits, points beyond them to him who commences the new kingdom. The last and greatest prophet, like the whole ancient covenant itself, is only there to prepare the way for the Redeemer of the world, not to become a member of the higher kingdom for which he prepares the way. . . . Hence, he retired from the theatre of his activity before Christ consummated the work of atonement, and before the spirit which took from his own to give it us, graciously descended on the chosen members of the divine kingdom. He stood not in that intimate, holy, vital communion with Christ, which is necessary to make men members of his covenant. John is himself that which he announces. He is, to express our meaning in one word, the soul of the ancient world, which is preparing, and hath prepared, with earnest austerity, for the coming of Christ; but wherein the Lord hath not yet solemnized his entry."—vol. i. pp. 175-8.

There is a deep, affecting moral in the following passage, where the spiritual state of man prior to Christ, is compared with the drooping, cheerless aspect of nature in that period of the year wherein the coming of our Lord is commemorated:—

"The latter half of autumn, in which the beginning of the ecclesiastical year falls, is that period wherein the seed is cast into the earth, for the future germination, growth, and maturity of the fruit. But to receive into its womb the seed so cast, the earth must be tilled, and, as it were, made new by the edge of the ploughshare. In the same manner, before man can receive those germs of divine life, which his coming Saviour, whose gradual approach the Advent solemnizes in stillness, brings with Him into the world, he needs a total renovation of sense and heart, without which the divine seed can neither germinate, grow, nor ripen. But what the furrowing and scattering ploughshare is to the earth, the word of God, especially as it resounds from the lips of John, is to the soul of man. It is the word of penitence and of total renovation of life. And this is the word, whereof it is said, 'For the word of God is living and effectual,

and more piercing than any two-edged sword : and reaching unto the division of the soul and spirit, of the joints also, and the marrow : and is a discerner of the thoughts and intentions of the heart. Neither is there any creature invisible in his sight ; but all things are naked and open to the eyes of Him to whom our speech is.' (Heb. iv. 12, 13.)

" While now the penitential spirit produces such effects in the soul, those feelings of repentance, sorrow, and grief, are awakened, to which I alluded above.

" To excite these feelings, as well as that of humiliation, many things concur, partly in the aspect of Nature at this period, partly in the occurrences which are brought before our spiritual contemplation. We see the days becoming ever briefer and more sunless ; and soon, in the last week of Advent, on St. Thomas's Day, dawns the shortest day of the year, preceded and followed by its two longest nights. Thus doth Nature at this time truly exhibit the poverty and the obscurity of our life, as well as the spiritual night into which sin hath plunged humanity. And this briefest of days is St. Thomas's Day, which is rightly the figure of the unbelieving and timid nature of man, when destitute of grace. And should not this image cause us deep confusion and deep humiliation ? Is not our glimmering existence like to the agitated and unhappy life of that unbelieving disciple, ere his Lord came, brought him peace, and converted his scepticism into steadfast faith ? for he who believeth not, abideth not. Lastly, in these dark, sunless days, nay, in the very last, cometh the day of Adam and Eve, our first progenitors, by whom sin came into the world. So are the first and the second Adam, who is Christ, brought near together ; they, as it were, touch one another ; and yet is each the patriarch of his own race, each is separated at an infinite distance, one from the other. But they are brought together, to signify that the first Adam rendered the second necessary, and that Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, hath the most necessary relation to all times ; for He is the great centre-point of all ages, and as the future is founded on Him, so was the past in expectancy of Him."—pp. 181-4.

M. Staudenmaier eloquently describes the moral state of man, prior to the coming of Christ ; his profound spiritual ignorance—his pride—his self-worship—his subjection to the iron sway of destiny—and withal, his consciousness of his primeval fall, and all the guilt and misery it involved. How well is this condition pourtrayed in the beautiful lines of Novalis, cited by our author, and which, trusting in the indulgence of our readers, we will venture to translate.

1.

" An old and stifling sense of sin
Lay heavy on the lab'ring breast ;
Blindly we wandered in the night,
By shame and grief alike oppress'd :

Each work we wrought seem'd stain'd with crime,
 And man to God's the deadly foe,
 And if high heaven vouchsaf'd to speak,
 Yet spake it but of death and woe.

II.

"The heart, exhaustless spring of life—
 An evil spirit dwelt therein—
 And if a light flash'd o'er our mind,
 What but disquiet did we win?
 An iron bond press'd down to earth
 The trembling captive as he lay;
 'The fear of death's avenging sword
 O'erclouded hope's last ling'ring ray.

III.

"Alone—with love—desire consum'd—
 Day wore to us the brow of night;
 We track'd along with burning tears
 Life in its wild impetuous flight.
 We found disquiet in turmoil—
 We found at home a hopeless woe—
 Ah! who without a friend in heaven
 Did e'er endure his lot below?"

The author describes at much length the solemnities of Christmas, and dwells on the beautiful and touching services of the Church at that holy season. The civil entertainments, too, of that period, consecrated as they are by religion, claim his attention; and he gives an extremely interesting account of the Christmas festivities of a German family circle, at which he himself once assisted. Nowhere are the amiability and true-heartiness of the German character more strikingly displayed than in the interior of a Christmas circle.

Dr. Staudenmaier now proceeds to speak of art in its connexion with religion, and opens the subject with the following beautiful passage:—

"True art is at all times, howsoever and whatsoever it may produce, *the exposition of the infinite in the finite*. For the beautiful, which it exhibits, is *only a revelation of the divine*; or, as we might say, *a transfiguration of the divine in the earthly*. Hence true art ever exalts us from the finite world unto eternity; and from this it is evident that art must have the nearest relation to religion. For as art can find its perfection only in eternal objects, so is it directed for its representations to religion, which alone is capable of raising man from earthly to heavenly objects, from time unto eternity. For religion, as it is the living communion with God, is the happy, immortal, and glorified life itself, as far as we are able to contemplate it here below.

Thus, art ministers to faith. Nay, art itself is an emanation of the Divinity—a revelation of its glory.

“As all intuition is two-fold in time and in space, so the holy intuition of art. For all intuition should become sanctified by it. Thou mayest still remember what I said to thee in the introduction, upon space and time. On art the task seems to be imposed of realizing in its own way what I there said, since it represents the relations of space and time as pervaded and vivified by the Holy One. The art of time is music; the arts of space are architecture, painting, and sculpture; the art of time and space together is poetry.

“But the artist himself, whether he embody his thoughts in language, colour, marble, or melody, must be animated by a creative power; and this power is genius, rightly denominated a spark of the divinity. Genius works in its productions according to its peculiar laws, and after a typical manner; for the prototype must first reside in the artist's mind, ere it can be called forth by the creation of art. By this creation, man, as it were, produces a world out of himself in beautiful and noble images, forms, and shapes, and imparts to them spiritual life and spiritual expression. Thus in the artist not only doth Nature repeat her operations, but God hath really vouchsafed to him to be a second creator, and to work after the inborn image of the Divinity.

“Hence it must be evident to thee that it is only in Christianity art can possibly attain its supreme perfection; nay, that true art must from its very nature always be Christian. For it is only in the Christian religion we find divine truth, and its true connexion with the human and the finite. In heathenism, the sensual, the ungodly, strove to array themselves in the forms of beauty, and to give themselves a divine appearance. Darkness wished to clothe itself in light, and spared no means, in order, by a false glimmer and delusive splendour, to fascinate and corrupt the truly divine part of man. On this account art sighed for redemption; and this redemption is Christianity itself.”—pp. 237-41.

The author enforces and illustrates these observations by citing the whole of William Schlegel's elegant and ingenious poem, entitled *The Alliance between the Church and the Fine Arts*—a poem, which, together with other productions of his youth, proves how well this great writer once appreciated the noble influence of Catholicism on the human mind. If the indulgence of the reader will excuse our feeble attempt, we shall take the liberty of giving a rhymeless translation of some stanzas of this beautiful sonnet.

The poet begins by personifying the Christian Church, and after an appropriate description of the mien, port, and aspect of the celestial maid, represents her as bending her steps towards Greece, the once brilliant but now desolate shrine of the pagan muses.

I.

"She turns her steps to Greece, where tow'ring rise
Apollo's fabled heights, whereof the world
Sang such vain things; yet fair were still the forms
Wherein those vanities themselves array'd.
Apollo's altar hath been long o'erthrown;
In sterile desolation lie his groves;
Defil'd the water of the famous springs,
That murmuring thro' fens and briars creep.

II.

"Here have the arts despis'd a refuge sought;
And idle droops now the once practis'd hand,
Since Gods and heroes to the dust are sunk,
In whose high service it had spent its toil.
The high is fallen—the low exalted high:
Art deems eternal banishment her lot,
Since mortal eye, undazzled by the charm
Of sensual pleasure, turns to living truth.

III.

"Her rainbow veil all torn doth Painting change
For dusky flowers; while Music's half-strung lyre
Neglected hangs; e'en the proud organ's tube
Emits a hollow brokenness of sound.
No more glows Sculpture with Promethean fire;
The proudest sister of that choral band—
Architecture—like Niobe, all mute,
Sits on the stones whose ruins she laments."

The Christian Church tells the mourning Arts that what they bewail "never will return;" that they should rather grieve that they had lent their charms to adorn sensuality; but that if they will now devote themselves to her service, a far higher destiny awaits them.

"She spake: Ye know, how they who passed for Gods—
The dominations of the Gentile world—
Christ's first disciples scorned as rebels base,
And strove by torture to exterminate.
By night in tombs, or in the cavern'd rock,
They meet for secret worship, where all mute
Before their tyrants' menace, they observe
Their humble vigils, and low hymns rehearse.

"Yet foes promote what God himself ordain'd:
The Cross assail'd springs stronger from assault;
The blood of martyrs hath bedew'd its stem,
And the dry wood grows like the living tree.
Rome's eagle spreads its wings to seize the spoil—
Its bloody beak must henceforth kiss the cross,

Under whose shadow righteous millions kneel,
Far, from the rising to the setting sun."

But the period of the Church's triumph is at length arrived the catacombs must be transformed into glorious temples, and loud canticles of jubilation succeed to the low dirge-chant of persecution. The poet represents the Christian Church as invoking the aid of Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and Music, to adorn her triumph, directing and vivifying their labours, and pointing out to each the proper term and sphere of its efforts. Our limits will not permit us to give any further extracts from this interesting poem; but we cannot forbear translating the two fine stanzas on Michael Angelo and Raffaello with which it concludes.

"From the great Michael, who with courage wing'd,
Victorious hurl'd the Dragon to the deep,
Is the first nam'd, whose mind unchain'd by fear
Rapid and piercing as the lightning flew.
His daring pencil hath reveal'd the things
That frail mortality durst scarcely bode,—
The Saviour's coming—the all-wak'ning trump—
The death of Death—and Nature's wonderment.

"And Raphael, too, an angel of the Seven,
That stand before the all-tremendous throne,
Who hid his glory from the traveller's eye,—
As a true messenger he led his way;
And when the thankfulness for love reveal'd
All hearts o'erflow'd; escap'd with gentle words:
He who hath here a mortal guise assum'd,
By food invisible hath been regal'd.*

"He lends his name to a mild beam of love,
And art that kindles in a youthful breast;
As if with mind, not colours, it portrayed—
Such fervid soul is stamp'd in ev'ry trait.
Oft he invites Devotion to the feast,
Where by the brow serene it is refresh'd
And virgin glance of that celestial maid—
The Godhead's joy, bearing the Boy-God too,
Her heart's own joy, as both the joy of all.—

(*Der Bund der Kirche mit den Künsten. Von A. W. Schlegel.*)

Dr. Staudenmaier, with great acuteness of observation and force of reasoning, shows that the arts have an intimate connexion with each other—that they have their origin in the nature of man, and that they are necessary and essential organs of religion.

* What an elegant allusion does the poet here make to the history of the younger Tobias!

All art has the two-fold object of manifesting externally the sense of the beautiful innate in man, and of resuscitating that sense when it is dormant. But as every production of the human mind, which is not founded on eternal ideas, is of a vain, frivolous, and perishable nature, and as religion alone can furnish those ideas, it follows that religious art is the highest, the most necessary, and the only one truly valuable.

"If the idea of the Christian religion," says our author, "be developed on the side in which it is *infinite truth*, Christian science arises. But if it unfolds, what in its heavenly essence constitutes *eternal beauty*, or the *primal spiritual beauty*, Christian art arises."—p. 260.

But if Christian science stands in immediate connexion with the dogmas of religion, Christian art is intimately allied with its worship. That worship, as it is the representation of the most solemn mysteries of religion, must be performed with all outward pomp, dignity, and splendour, to manifest at once, and to excite, the due feelings of reverence; and here Art, which, as we have seen, is only a reflection of eternal beauty, has her noblest and most natural mission to fulfil. Those who would fain pretend that all this pomp of ceremonial, all this magnificence of art in the celebration of divine worship, are incompatible with the spirit of meekness and simplicity prescribed by the Gospel, show that they are alike unacquainted with the essence of religion, the object of art, and the wants and weaknesses of human nature. They are justly rebuked by our author, who appeals to the example of our divine Lord, who, when the pious Mary, that had chosen the better part, "took a pound of ointment of right spikenard of great price, and anointed his feet, and wiped them with her hair, so that the house was filled with the odour of the ointment," approved of her conduct; nor was any one found to rebuke her, save the apostle that afterwards betrayed him. (John xii. 1, 8.)

After these general reflections on art, Dr. Staudenmaier proceeds to examine each particular art in its relation to religion; and commences with sacred poetry. He defines the different kinds of Christian poesy, and cites several, and refers to many more, beautiful specimens from the old ecclesiastical hymns that have been received into the liturgy, as well as from the productions of modern writers. The German critics assert, however, that Dr. Staudenmaier does not appear sufficiently well acquainted with this branch of sacred literature, especially with the many old beautiful hymns in the German language.

The following passage on the nature and destination of religious music has struck us as eminently beautiful :—

“ With sacred poetry, sacred music stands in the most intimate connexion ; for every thought which powerfully seizes on the soul, whether it be in joy or in sorrow, will be converted into music or song. Music is poetry in tones—the language of feeling—and, in so far, the general language of man. Every true thought, and every true emotion, find accordingly in music their right tone, and become endued with vitality, and are rendered intelligible to all. But the reason wherefore music pierces so mysteriously into the inmost depths of the human soul, and lays hold of it with such mastery, is no other than this—that universal harmonies stir within it, and hereby especially the music of the higher eternal world descends here below. In it we apprehend the unison of all natures, and in this respect we are not astonished at that saying of the ancient, ‘ He who practises music, imitates the Divinity itself.’ We can also now better understand the extent of the service which music can and will render to that religion, which of itself, by the reconciliation of the world with God, solemnizes in its holiest actions, the most sovereign harmony that can exist. Hence we may conclude that it is in Christianity alone music can attain its summit of perfection, as well as its true object. Is not Christianity itself the holiest music, the purest and most splendid harmony which can be conceived ? The one theme of this religion is the atonement ; and the internal harmony of this one theme is repeated through an infinite multitude of variations, which are all connected by the great and profound spirit of Christianity. Did not the Saviour come into the world amid the choral song of angels ? And had not thus our religion really a musical beginning ? Are we not daily summoned to our devotions in the temple by the harmonious ringing of bells ? Let us, then, recognize the great affinity of Christianity with music !

“ But here we understand that true music which is alone entitled to the appellation of holy. In this I do not include the modern method, whose property it is to overload the song, at the cost of melody and expression, with ever-recurring ornaments and devices, whereby the original idea is entirely set aside, and it is at most but the words and the time which distinguish one air from another. Hence the elder and purer method, wherein simplicity prevails, and the deepest feelings are faithfully expressed, is still found incomparably superior. Hence the artificial flourishes, shakes, and quavers, mar the holiness of every great impression. Amid the profane degeneracy of church music, which is so utterly adverse to the dignity of the Christian worship, the necessity of recurring to the old, venerable, and stately style of the Gregorian chant, or to the noble improvements of Palestrina, the regenerator of sacred music, cannot be too urgently enforced.”—pp. 274-6, part I.

Our limits will not permit us to analyze our author's reflections on the different schools of Christian painting ; much as

we should have wished to have noticed his beautiful critique of some master-pieces of the old Rhenish school, whose naïve piety, and captivating amenity of genius, have something singularly analogous to the mind and character of our amiable author. We must now proceed to the second section of the work.

In the second cycle of the ecclesiastical year, from Easter to Pentecost, the author expatiates on the divine fact of the Redemption of the world; then the preparation for Lent, then the fast of Lent, Ash Wednesday, the transfiguration of Christ, and the master-pieces which art has consecrated to that event; (particularly the celebrated painting by Raphael,) pass successively under review. The offices of Holy Week, and the feelings which they are calculated to excite, are more minutely analysed. The author then passes to Rome, and describes with much enthusiasm the solemnities of that holy season in the eternal city. The eternal priesthood of Christ, his resurrection, the festival of Easter and its liturgy, Low Sunday, and the first communion of children, are severally the subject of many excellent reflections. The royalty of Christ, the last discourses of Jesus, Rogation Week, (with an interesting account of the rural processions of that season) and the ascension of our Lord, come next under consideration; the section being closed with a description of the more celebrated monuments of art consecrated to the celebration of the religious doctrines and mysteries commemorated in this cycle. After pointing out the signification of Shrovetide, and commenting on the liturgy of Lent, the author has the following beautiful passage on the transfiguration of Mount Thabor:—

“Amid the gloom and darkness of Lent, this delightful and wondrous event, the transfiguration of Christ on the mount, rises like a lovely joy-beaming star. See! on Thabor He soars like a luminous cloud above the earth, his face shining like the sun, his garments radiant as light. By his side stand the two high, venerable, godly witnesses, Moses and Elias, the one representing the law, the other the prophets; confessing that this is He whom the law pointed to, and whom the prophets foretold; and attesting that in Him all is fulfilled, all is glorified and consummated. And what they vouch, God himself confirms; for out of a cloud comes forth his voice: ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.’”—(Matt. xvii. 1, 9.) * * *

“Thou wilt now, O youth, comprehend the transfiguration on Mount Thabor. In it thou seest the fulfilment of the law and the prophets; but in it is also typically comprised all that the sacred Scriptures announce concerning Christ. As often as I have read the sacred narra-

tive of this mysterious and sublime event, I have remembered words of a German theologian, lately a high dignitary of our Church. 'Christ,' says he, 'is the high centre-point of ages. The past and future alike turn to Him. Between Genesis and the fulfilment of the Apocalypse, between the infancy and the destruction of the world, Christ stands in the middle.' The transfiguration of Christ on Thabor is the first dawn of his kingdom of light. In prayer, in the converse of his soul with the Father in heaven, his terrestrial body passes to the glory of a divine transfiguration. To the yet limited perception of his disciples, the veiled glory of his divine person, the eternity and divinity of his kingdom, could not be represented in a more clear, intuitive manner than on the mount of Thabor, where the son of God manifested himself robed in the light of the other world. And since he hath been raised from earth to heaven, all springs, all aspire thither; the tomb itself is no longer tenanted by death, but contains the germ of incorruption, expecting its maturity. Like Stephen, we also see the heavens open."—pp. 435-6.

Dr. Staudenmaier now arrives at the most important season in the whole ecclesiastical year—that which has been emphatically denominated by the Germans "the week of sorrows." After pointing out the earnest beauty and deep pathos of the prayers and ceremonies of that holy season, he transports his youth to the eternal city, and discloses to his astonished eye all the splendour of devotion in that centre of Catholicity. Here he treads the same ground which a distinguished English Catholic divine has lately passed over; but the want of personal experience is not the only disadvantage which our author labours under, when this portion of his work is compared with Dr. Wiseman's *Lectures on the Offices and Ceremonies of Holy-week*. It is, indeed, the happy union of antiquarian learning, poetic fancy, and high devotional feeling, which lends an indescribable charm to the last-named production.

However, even after the interesting descriptions of those ceremonies, which these lectures have already made familiar to the British public, the following account of the celebration of Good Friday in the Sixtine Chapel, and in the Church of St. Peter's, will be read not without pleasure:—

"And now the lights are extinguished one after another, and it becomes darker and darker. The figures of the prophets and the sybils appear duskily veiled, like spirits. The deepest silence prevails. Already through the wide circuit of the chapel the last notes are dying away; and yet we linger for minutes behind; and it is only the assistants successively stealing away that reminds us the psalmody is over, whose holy tones yet resound in our breast. We have had a foretaste of celestial life, and feel by no means disposed to return to vulgar existence.

"And now, O youth, let us quit the chapel* with those feelings of eternal life, which I read imprinted on thy brow. We wish to join the procession to the Capella Paolina, which is preceded by the pope; for in this chapel the sacred sepulchre has been erected, and the blessed sacrament, amid a gorgeous illumination, is exposed for forty hours. From hence, where we behold other paintings by Michael Angelo, we shall repair with the general procession to St. Peter's Church, which we had quitted at daylight. This immense majestic temple is at this time lit by no other light than by a luminous cross, which in colossal shape hangs from the gigantic cupola, radiant with thousands of lamps, like so many burning diamonds. See, O youth! this sign of suffering, shining alone through the vast, dark aisles of this mighty edifice, is the only light in the night of this life. The great multitude of living men, rolling in, like the waves of the sea, and the statues on the tombs of the dead, form together the world whereon the light of Christ hath shone. Under the cross, where the illumination is strongest, the holy father kneels in his white vestments, and behind him are the cardinals. There, in still fervour, they pray for themselves, and for all Christendom."—pp. 487-8.

The author, after dwelling at much length on the high-priesthood of Christ, makes some elegant reflections on the ceremony of the blessing of fire, which takes place on Holy Saturday. The great mystery of the Resurrection—the sentiments which it should excite in the breast of the Christian—and the liturgy and ceremonies prescribed by the Church on Easter Sunday, next engage the author's attention. Some fine old ecclesiastical hymns in celebration of this festival are cited by him; and he has in particular enriched his work with Manzoni's splendid ode on the Resurrection.

He then passes on to Low Sunday, and gives the following naïve and touching account of the first communion of children, as celebrated in Catholic countries:—

"To this union with Christ, on the following Sunday, which we call White Sunday, those children are solemnly admitted whose childhood is drawing towards its close, and who are approaching the period of youth. White Sunday (Low Sunday) is this day called, because in the first ages of the Church, the catechumens, who, as we remarked above, were baptized on Holy Saturday, put on, on that day, as signs of innocence, white garments, and wore them until the Sunday after Easter. To this the Introit on this Sunday alludes in the following words, taken from the first epistle of St. Peter, (c. xi. v. 2):— 'As new-born babes, desire the rational milk without guile, that thereby you may grow unto salvation.' This is the reason why, on Low Sunday, the children are not only admitted for the first time to the

* The Sixtine chapel.

table of their Lord, but are made solemnly to renew their baptismal vows in the presence of the whole community.

"What an all-important, beautiful, and never-to-be-forgotten day is this, thou knowest, dear youth, too well from thine own experience, to render it necessary for me to draw your attention to the subject; and if I now refer to it, it is to excite in our mutual breasts a reminiscence of early feelings. For our whole life should be a continuation of the Sunday of our first communion.

"For a long period prior to this event has the pastor prepared the youth for this two-fold solemnity. In some places, as at Rome, the children spend the last ten days in a monastery allotted for the purpose, in order that, living there in seclusion from the world, their parents, and relatives, they may devote themselves to meditation, and to still preparation for the mighty event which is to occur. At last arrives the expected day. Early the church bells give the signal. The children assemble in the school-house; and thence, each sex apart, they proceed under the conduct of their teachers to the church. This is a highly affecting spectacle! The boys are clothed alike—so are the girls; the latter being mostly clad in white dresses, simple, beautiful and modest. But the most beautiful and touching of the whole is the expression of devotion in their countenances—the piety manifested in gait, look, and demeanour. As they approach the church, their delicate infantine voices pour forth a hymn; and as they enter singing, the organ strikes up its sweetest notes, accompanied by a chorus of the clearest, but withal the tenderest, harmony, like an angelic salutation from above. Then the community joins in saluting the young members now admitted into its bosom. At the altar, the priest stands awaiting them, robed in a long white vestment, and wearing his stole. He, too, salutes them with amiable dignity, and, after they have formed themselves in a semicircle round the altar, calls their attention, in words few, but persuasive and strong, to the important action which they are about to solemnize.—pp. 544-5.

In the third cycle of the ecclesiastical year, from Pentecost to the Feast of All Saints, the author expatiates on the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the establishment of the Christian Church. The solemnities employed in the celebration of the Feast of Pentecost, and the monuments which Christian art has devoted to the subject, are detailed at considerable length. The life, essence, and history of the Church, and the blessed influences of Christianity on moral and social existence, give next occasion to some beautiful reflections. The seven sacraments, considered in their nature and effects, as well as the prayers and ceremonies with which they are administered, form the subject of many interesting pages. The author proceeds to speak of the Sacramentalia, and here makes some very ingenious and profound remarks on the relations of na-

ture to God and to man; and on the motive of the ecclesiastical benedictions of natural objects. The various special festivals, which fall within this cycle of the year, pass successively under examination. Among these we may notice the festivals of Corpus Christi, those of the apostles St. Peter and Paul, of the apostle of the Germans, St. Boniface, of the Assumption and the birth of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Holy Angels. We cannot but regret that under the head of the Feast of the Apostles St. Peter and Paul, the author should have confined himself to a few general remarks on the propagation of the Gospel, and have devoted no special considerations to the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors. This omission, which evidently has arisen from inadvertence, will, we trust, be repaired in a subsequent edition. A detailed and very beautiful æsthetic survey of Christian architecture in all its parts, and in its various forms, makes a noble conclusion to this section of the work.

Conformably to the method we laid down at the beginning of the article, we shall now proceed to cite such passages as display most interest or talent. The following, in which the deep import of the ecclesiastical benedictions of nature is described, has struck us as at once singularly beautiful and profound:—

“Dost not this condition, oh youth, in which Nature droops, excite thy tenderest love and deepest sympathy? That such thoughts and such feelings must exercise a great influence on the treatment which we manifest towards Nature, must be evident of itself. And the Church, at least, by her benedictions of Nature, seemeth to wish to exert this higher influence, for she comprehends the deep sigh of Nature.

“But she hath another reason also to pronounce her benedictions on Nature. We have seen from Holy Writ, that by the fall of man Nature had been subjected to *vanity and nothingness*. In this vanity and nothingness she hath become a dangerous region for the human mind. What man by sin hath brought on Nature,—to wit, vanity and nothingness, he regards as Nature's essence; and the evil principle—the tempter from the beginning—will not fail to convert this vain, idle being into an instrument of seduction. It is sensuality, in all its phenomena, which attracts man, and which draws him away from God, as he himself had averted Nature from God. Hence she appears to him to speak no longer the language of God, which is the language of virtue, but to utter only the language of sensuality; and thus, Nature, which once was a revelation of God to man, an organ of celestial influence, becomes the means and instrument of sin. And this, my dear friend, the Church hath in her eye, when she sheds her benedictions on Nature. These benedictions are a liberation of Na-

We shall conclude this article with an analysis of his ideas on ecclesiastical architecture—a subject, in the treatment of which he has been perhaps more successful than in that of any other.

After briefly noticing some characteristics of the Greek architecture, Dr. Staudenmaier expounds the nature and principles of the church architecture of the Christians. He shows what a deep symbolism every where pervades it. Thus, in the form of the building, in the image above the altar, in the various works of painting and sculpture with which the interior is decorated, the cross—the symbol of redemption—is every where displayed. The high altar is placed on the eastern side, to signify, that towards the orient sun of justice, that hath risen over the world, our eyes should ever be directed. The pulpit is erected in the nave of the church, indicating that the word of God is to be announced to the community; and the nave itself, in the relation in which it stands to the choir, with the high altar, represents the connexion of the community with Christ. The baptismal font is fixed in the porch of the church, to show that he only who is born again of water and the Spirit, is capable of being admitted into the society of the faithful. In the same way the confessionals are placed in the side-chapels, or behind the nave, to signify that repentance and humility can alone prepare the way for reception into the kingdom of God.

"The bell, too," says our author, "the bell is the voice of the Church; it summons man to prayer and devotion; it excites the highest emotions of the soul; it conducts us into life, and through all the stages of life accompanies us with its sacred tones."—p. 184.

Dr. Staudenmaier here gives a short history of ecclesiastical architecture; and no higher praise can be bestowed upon it than by asserting, that his remarks may be perused with pleasure even after the masterly exposition which Frederick von Schlegel has given of the same subject. Our author considers church architecture more immediately in its connexion with the Catholic worship; while Schlegel views it not only in that connexion, but also in its relation to the general principles of art. In a series of beautiful letters,* this writer has given an account of a tour made, in the years 1804 and 1805, through the Netherlands, the Rhenish Provinces, Switzerland, and a part of France, descriptive of the most remarkable monuments of

* They are found in the sixth volume of his collected works, under the title "*Grundzüge der Gothischen Baukunst.*"—p. 223. See F. Schlegel's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Wien, 1823.

Gothic architecture ; whose profound symbolical import, as well as general artistic beauty, were at that period so little appreciated. Written about the time when the author was preparing to embrace the Catholic faith, these letters evince a high religious enthusiasm, akin to that of the mighty masters who raised these splendid domes ; and in none of his æsthetic works are the exquisite taste and profound genius of Schlegel more strikingly displayed. We wish that space permitted us, by a few extracts from these letters, to enable our readers to compare the manner in which he and Dr. Staudenmaier have treated this interesting subject.

The following passage from our author, on the Gothic architecture, is very beautiful :—

“ The architecture whereof we are now going to speak, is, from its origin, called the Gothic, but with more propriety might be named the German. It was only a new race of men, who, to the energy of vigorous, unenervated nature, united the higher force of Christianity, that had been capable of the bold, lofty conceptions embodied in the German architecture. Its distinguishing characteristic is the pointed arch, with the almost uninterrupted continuation of vertical lines, wherein the heaven-aspiring, cloud-piercing thought is symbolized. It is the deep essence of the Christian spirit itself, which in these high, colossal edifices, in this admirable symmetry of masses, in these definite, significant forms, as well as in the all-prevailing unity of thought, stands revealed before us. It almost appears (and why should it not be so ?) as if the Christian spirit, which in these lofty domes would fain symbolize the universe, had one and the same tendency with nature. For in Nature we find an architectural spirit every where actively at work, in the porphyry pillars, in the windings of rocks, and in mountainous ridges, to build up, in the most majestic forms, a temple to the Deity. In like manner, the Christian spirit, urged forward by its own instinct, seeks to construct a dome, which should be a profound symbol of the universe wherein God is worshipped and glorified.

“ The great whole of the temple is founded on the idea of unity ; the parts stand in such an immediate connexion with the whole, that they are but images of the first great idea. This idea itself must be conceived by the artist in the hour of fervent devotion and sacred enthusiasm.”

The author now proceeds to describe the several parts of the interior of a Gothic church. After noticing that the symbol of redemption—the cross—constitutes the ground plan of the sacred edifice, he says :—

“ Opposite to the choir below, and at a vast distance, the great portal opens between two towers. The porches, with earnest silence, invite to meditation, and the comer-in may here prepare himself ere he enter into the inner sanctuary. In the nave rise the gigantic pillars,

appropriate; or disturb the sanctified spinster in the very harmless gratification of reading and admiring. But, "what's in a name?" A very few pages satisfied us that its purpose was far different; and, we must add, far less innocent or reputable. We had hoped, indeed, that the time was past when a publication, such as we are sorry to pronounce *The Monk and the Married Man*, would be tolerated in this country. The day of *The Confessional of the Black Penitents*, and its compeers, we fancied, had gone by. The horrors of the *Monk*, we hoped, had outlived the sympathies of the British reader, and although the passing sneer is still as ready as in the darkest days of anti-Catholic prejudice, we could scarcely bring ourselves to believe that the coarse and wholesale slanders of our religion, long antiquated, could again be made a staple ware in the literary-market of England. But a review of the publications of the past and present season forces us to acknowledge that we had over-calculated the spirit of the times. The political outcry against us which the last three or four years has revived, would appear to have found a lasting echo even in our lighter literature.

It is with great reluctance, indeed, that we yield to the necessity of adverting to the subject; more especially as the present work, which, as being very recent, we take as a sample of the class, is the production of a lady. But we owe it, no less to ourselves, than to the friends of charity in every party, to raise our voice against the unworthy attempt to revive prejudices which should long since have been forgotten; and employ, as the instrument of their revival, slanders, which, in every reasonable and right-minded community, have long been exploded. The present work does not stand alone in the unworthy service. Perhaps it is a favourable specimen of its associates; and it is no unequivocal index of the feeling, that the home-manufacture of bigotry is insufficient for the demand. We have importations from the most orthodox, that is, intolerant, marts of the continent. Within the last few months we have observed a second translation of Spindler's bitter, but we must say coarsely executed novel, *The Jesuit*, which had already appeared in the *Library of Romance*, nor should we be surprised to see it followed by his equally offensive *Der Jude*, or *Die Nonne von Gnadenzell*.

But although these things indicate an unhappy and deplorable state of mind in that section of the community whose feelings they express, yet we question whether, if the choice were given, we should not prefer the openly and professedly anti-

Catholic novel to the silent and covert sneer from which we are never secure, even in the purely literary. The avowed party-fiction must be managed with consummate skill indeed, in order that, with most readers, its object may not, at least partially, be defeated. Suspicion is aroused by the very appearance of hostility; the mind is, of course, prepared against its influence, and like the traveller in the fable, who wrapped his cloak more tightly around him as the fury of the wind increased, closes all the avenues of confidence with a determination proportional to the display of virulence and malignity. A single insinuation, stolen in, when the mind is deprived, by the interest of the absorbing scene, of the inclination, or perhaps the power, to discuss its merits, will be remembered and felt, where pages of invective have failed to leave a trace upon the memory. A simple sketch of character, developing, perhaps, without seeming to intend it, some unpopular point of Catholic doctrine or practice, will do more than a whole volume brimfull of horrors, and appealing to the feelings at every page. If a doctrine be falsely imputed, it is easy to detect and expose the fraud. But here there is nothing definite to be combated; no tangible principle which it is possible to test. Facts, discreditable to our religion, are interwoven with the story: there is no means of questioning their accuracy. Characters which bring out our opinions into unfavourable relief, are introduced casually upon the scene, or perhaps have a part in the general machinery of the plot. For still there is no principle directly involved; no statement which admits of contradiction or dispute, and yet the impression is made, silently, but securely—an impression against which, as the experience of most readers will testify, not even positive knowledge is a protection. We need not refer to the *Waverley Novels* as an illustration of this insidious process. Occasionally, it is true, the mask is laid aside, and the attack made without cover or disguise. But occasionally also, and more frequently, without a single allusion to our principles, or a single direct statement which it would be possible to fasten upon, the unfavourable impression is made. The author's success lies in the use of that spell peculiarly his own, the portraiture of character and manners; and, when we remember the effect of this seductive reading upon our own boyish mind, we can feel no doubt, that the *Waverley Romances*, whose scene is laid in the Catholic times, *Ivanhoe*, *The Crusaders*, *The Abbot*, and more than all, *The Monastery*, have produced, and continue to produce, an impression far beyond the horrors of the Radcliffe coterie, or the equally terrific, and more coarsely revolting, machinery of the Monk Lewis school.

Of the professedly anti-Catholic novels which later years have produced in England, the reader will have remarked two very distinct classes, the controversial and the purely narrative or historical. The strictly controversial novel, if written in a spirit of fairness and impartiality, is, of course, the least objectionable of all. It is but an attempt to render the dry details of discussion more palatable, by presenting them in a more attractive form.

“Cosi a l'egro fanciul porgiamo aspersi
Di soave licor gli orli del vaso.”

The reader enters upon it with a knowledge of its tendency, and a mind at least partially prepared for the discussion which it brings before him. But unhappily the use of fiction, as a vehicle of controversy, affords too many opportunities of pious artifice—leads too necessarily, if not to the *suggestio falsi*, at least to the no less dangerous *suppressio veri*—not to betray even the ingenuous unconsciously into the character of a partizan; while, in the hands of the thorough-going advocate, it is a ready instrument of mischief and misrepresentation. The unrestricted power of selecting topics, of disguising or mis-stating the question in dispute,—the irresponsible privilege of advancing or withholding arguments at will, or of preparing them in such a form as to render their refutation easy and satisfactory—these advantages are but too apt to pervert the religious novel into a mere snare for the candid and unsuspecting student of controversy. To these pernicious facilities we may add another, even more fatal—the control which the writer possesses over the imagination, and the unlimited use which he can make of the feelings of his reader in influencing the decision of his understanding. A judicious plot, a skilful combination of circumstances,—above all, a well-conceived selection and apportionment of character, may be used with incalculable advantage. The argument, which would interest the imagination, and thus find its way to the intellect, in the mouth of an ardent and enthusiastic youth, will fall cold and powerless, if not disgusting, from the lips of an intriguing Jesuit; and in the court, when the feelings sit in judgment, there is little chance for a cause however good, however ably defended, whose advocate appears in the repulsive form of a bigoted monk, or a crafty and cruel inquisitor.

A very superficial acquaintance with the most ordinary controversial novels in our language will be sufficient to satisfy any person, who knows even the first principles of the Catholic religion, that each and all these advantages have been zealously

improved by our adversaries. Doctrines which we never professed are disproved with a triumphant flourish of logic, and practices which we abhor as cordially as the most orthodox of our antagonists, are held up, as ours, to scorn and execration; in imitation of Butler's hero, who

" Would raise scruples dark and nice,
And after solve 'em in a trice ;"

arguments which no educated Catholic would for a moment entertain, are put into our mouths for the purpose of "making play;" and a mine of learning and research exhausted in pulling down piles of argumentation, within which no Catholic in his senses would dream of entrenching himself. It reminds us of that magnanimous amusement which in our schoolboy-days we were wont to call "cock-shot." The unhappy papist is secured by the leg in the theological stocks of his tormentor, who takes care to manage so that, no matter how the game goes, he is sure, in the long run, not to miss his mark!

And yet the controversial novel, sadly open to abuse as it must be acknowledged, leaves, notwithstanding, some loophole through which the understanding can escape from the snares which surround it at every step. The arguments, however clipped or garbled, cannot be altogether suppressed; or, however unfavourably presented, cannot be deprived of all their intrinsic weight. A spirit of inquiry, at least, is created, and the reader may, perhaps, be induced to turn to other and less unfaithful sources of information. Fallacies, however specious, have a chance of detection; misrepresentation, or misquotation, is open to the possibility of exposure; and the very disposition to read a religious novel *at all*, may be expected to carry the inquirer further in the search after truth. But the second class of anti-Catholic fiction to which we have alluded, would seem to reduce this to a bare possibility,—remote, and almost hopeless. They exclude controversy almost entirely; or, if they can in any sense be called controversial, it is only because they draw upon the doctrines and practices of Popery for the character or incidents of their plot. They are, in fact, but false and distorted pictures of the habits and opinions of the Catholic body, and owe all their interest to the calumnies of the priesthood and people with which they abound. Keeping discussion altogether out of view, they present only the pretended results to the reader. If they address the judgment at all, it is only through the medium of the prejudices. Controversy is too heavy and uninteresting to be popular. Their purpose is to confirm prepossessions al-

ready existing, not to strengthen the wavering, or confound the gainsayer; and instead of grappling openly with the doctrines which they assail, they confine themselves to an imaginative picture of the frightful consequences to which, it is pretended, they lead. If conversions from Romanism are introduced—and they are almost a matter of course—they are performed behind the scenes—

“non tamen intus

Digna geri, promes in scenam.”

The eyes of the Papist are opened, perhaps by the secret reading of the Bible—perhaps by the private admonition of some intelligent friend. But all pure controversy is eschewed; the reader is left to imagine for himself the machinery by which the conversion is effected. This was the general character of the old school of anti-Catholic fiction—the controversial novel being a comparatively modern invention; and we are sorry to observe a return to it in the publications of the present day. It is now a considerable time since we took occasion to call our readers’ attention to a long list of religious tracts, which, however one-sided and unfair, at least bore the semblance of discussion. We regret to say, that the later publications, while they give evidence of dispositions even more decidedly hostile, would seem to be intended for a class with whom prejudice alone can speak, and reasoning is utterly unnecessary.

The shape in which the present work comes before us is another evidence, no less equivocal, of this unhappy spirit. It is no longer in the form of the humble tract, intended for gratuitous distribution; or the modest volume, accessible, by its moderate price, to the lowliest class of readers. We have now the regular fashionable novel, in three post octavo volumes, and at the fashionable price of a guinea and a half! It is announced in Messrs. Saunders and Otley’s list as the “New work, by the author of ‘Misrepresentation’” (singularly ominous title!)—and aspires to a place in the boudoir or the drawing-room, beside the last of the pen of Sir E. L. Bulwer or Mr. James!

The story is laid almost in our own times, commencing shortly after the return of Pius VII from captivity, and coming down to the passing of the Catholic relief-bill in 1829. We rather fear that in the anxiety to form a new scene, the chances of effect have been destroyed. Had it been laid in the dim and distant ages usually selected, the writer might have indulged her fancy at will in the invention of horrors, to

add interest to the tale. But the old-fashioned absurdities will not bear the broad day-light, to which she has injudiciously exposed them. The clumsy fictions to which hereditary prejudice may lend some probability in the reader's mind, when related of our "blind and benighted ancestors," become all but ridiculous when applied to those with whom he is in habits of daily intercourse. Men will use their own eyes and ears in examining what is within their reach; and there are few now-a-days with whom Popery is completely an unknown land. The increased knowledge of our principles and practice, which our growing numbers and more prominent position have diffused and are diffusing, demand an increased ingenuity, and a new system of tactics, from those who would make fiction a vehicle of attack. The portrait of the "ruffian monk" of the olden time will require some fresh touches, in order to present a plausible likeness of the modern ecclesiastic; and whatever prejudice may believe of our calumniated forefathers, we are not so utterly strangers to our Protestant fellow-countrymen, that it may be still safe to draw entirely upon fancy or prejudice for our character. There are monuments enough, for instance, of the learning and zeal with which we fail not to give a reason for the faith that is in us, to make even a bigot laugh at the sweeping charge which our authoress makes, that we are "usually latitudinarians to the very verge of infidelity."—(Vol. iii. p. 251.) No, no, the Catholicism of the middle age may still be a fertile subject for attack; there are many, doubtless, still, who will swallow all that is told of the corruption of morals to which it led—the utter exile of virtue and religion from earth during its gloomy reign; but it is a clumsy mistake to transfer the picture to the present times, of which the reader is himself qualified to judge. It would not be easy to persuade the public, who see us every day, that we continue to wear the doublet and hose of the fifteenth century. We cannot help thinking that there is as little chance of obtaining credit for the assertion that our religion is "a moral mildew, beneath whose poisonous breath nothing good or lovely can survive;" and that, of course, we ourselves, who have "met its pestilential breath unharmed," are—to adopt the very forcible metaphor—"worthless weeds, and loathsome reptiles!"—(Vol. iii. p. 106.) And yet the authoress would seem unconscious of any—we will not say injustice, but even unkind or unfriendly feeling, in the character which she has drawn of us. Her heroine is all charity and indulgence towards her erring brethren.

"Clara was fain to acknowledge the erroneous doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, but she could not hate its members; and more than once she questioned whether the tyranny of opinion so lavishly indulged in by some Protestants, were not in effect equally an encroachment on the right of private judgment. Then the narrowness of mind, the entire want of Christian charity, to which I have alluded, shocked and astonished her; for the persons belonging to Mr. Burton's congregation were, in their own estimation, the only members of the one true Church; while every other class of Protestants was only one degree above the Roman Catholic. And, utterly revolted by their bickerings and envyings, their gloominess of temper and littleness of mind, she asked herself whether a tree bearing such bitter fruit could be, indeed, the gospel vine? Or if a light which seemed to flash but to destroy all tenderness, lowliness, and kindness of spirit, could be an emanation from the God of love?"—Vol. ii. pp. 238-9.

"Oh! wad some power the giftie gie us,
To see oursel's as ithers see us!"

We cannot imagine how she ventures in her own person to close the third volume with the following very amiable, but to us, with the volumes before us, inconceivable profession:—

"In the hope of freeing myself from even the suspicion of harbouring an unkindly feeling towards the individual members of the Church of Rome, I cannot forbear from blotting another half page. My quarrel is not with the adherents of the Latin Church; but with its system, its policy, and, above all, its departure from the simplicity of Gospel truth, both in its doctrines and its offices sometimes even in its practice. At the same time I am aware, painfully aware, that on our side we Protestants are very far from being blameless. I blush for the rancour, the bitterness, the pride, with which, too frequently, we treat all those who differ from us in matters of religion; forgetting that we ourselves, in very many things, are also blind; and that, if in some respects light has been vouchsafed us, we may not still give way to exultation; for, what have we that we have not received? Were we not once, in all things, blind as those we look down upon?"—Vol. iii. pp. 318-19.

It is not without great pain that we feel ourselves obliged to speak in terms of censure of one who, on the score of sex, at least, should claim our indulgence. But we have a duty to perform, before which feeling must give way. The laws of charity and truth are more inviolable than the conventional ceremonial of politeness; and we owe it to the lovers of both, in every party, not to shrink from the duty of denouncing their enemies, whoever they may be. But, to say the truth, we must own that, beyond the name which the title proclaims, *The Monk and the Married Man* bears but little trace of a

female hand. We look in vain for the delicacy of feeling, the kindness of heart,—above all, the indulgent charity towards all,—which are true characteristics of the sex. We discover everywhere the working of the unfeminine motto which is blazoned upon the title page—"There is no weapon more powerful than well-directed satire; and, strange to say, satire is a weapon which women sometimes wield with more effect than men:" and in the cold, contemptuous sneer, or the harsh and unmeasured attack, the petulant irreverence with which the highest and holiest personages are assailed; and the occasional insinuations, which, were they not professedly from a female pen, we should say leaned towards the indelicate, we cannot recognize the shrinking and modest female, who commands respect because she is too diffident to claim it. We see but the literary Amazon, who has unsexed herself for the contest; and as she denies, so neither can she claim, consideration or quarter. Such were our first feelings on reading these far from lady-like volumes. But we are unwilling to give pain even where no tenderness is shown for ourselves. We have no vindictive feeling to gratify, no object to advance, but the great cause of charity, in which all are interested. We shall endeavour, therefore, to remember as far as possible what the writer has herself so completely forgotten; and while we speak the truth, which it is our duty to make public, labour to suppress the indignation which this strange perversion of its first principles is but too well calculated to provoke.

And indeed, if the subject were less serious, we could laugh at the extraordinary ignorance of our plainest doctrines which this singular production betrays. We conceived that our opinions with regard to marriage and divorce were so well known that it would be impossible to misunderstand them. Yet the hero of this elaborate tale,—a zealous and well-instructed Catholic,—in whose family, too, several similar alliances have already taken place, is thrown into despair, when he learns the invalidity of his marriage with a lady because she was a Protestant.—(Vol. iii. p. 41.) A penitent is represented as making the confession of his sins by handing in to the priest an ivory tablet, upon which they are written; and, more ridiculous still, the aforesaid hero, on another occasion, finding reason to believe that a former wife, whom he had imagined long since dead, is still alive, spends several years at Rome in expectation of a divorce from his first wife, still living, and a confirmation of his second marriage; which divorce, to crown the absurdity, is actually granted upon certain conditions!! (Vol. iii. p. 164.) The

story is made to hinge mainly upon these glaring blunders; into which we could not have conceived it possible that any well-informed Protestant, much less one who would venture to make us the subject of a book, could possibly have fallen.

But let turn to the story. The great actors in the plot of the *Monk and the Married Man*, are the De Veres, an English Catholic family of rank, and of considerable fortune. Sir Hugh De Vere had been twice married. His first wife, sister of the Marchese di Montalbano, an Italian nobleman, having died within a few years, Sir Hugh contracted a second alliance with an English lady, who had been educated a Protestant, but upon her marriage conformed to the observances of the Catholic Church. A son, Clement, and two daughters, Catherine and Henrietta, were the fruit of the second marriage; and Sir Hugh, "as Reginald, his only child by the former, appeared to inherit his mother's delicacy of constitution, had little difficulty in consenting to the proposal of his late lady's brother, the Marchese de Montalbano, that the child should be entrusted to his care, and pass the opening period of his life in the more genial clime of Italy." While yet a child, he had witnessed, and only by accident escaped, the barbarous massacre committed in the church of Nepi, by the French revolutionary troops in 1798. The bloody scene imparted a tinge of gloom to his young mind, which was fostered by the "unfortunate system of tuition" under which he was placed: and as he was "educated at Rome, and under the guidance of the Roman Catholic priesthood, each revolving year found him more narrow in opinion, and more intolerant in creed." There was one of that order, a Franciscan friar, Louis Fitzgerald, who exercised an especial influence over his future destinies. Under his care, he grew into the "bigoted adherent of a superstitious creed." The contrast of the two characters, master and pupil, is in the author's peculiar style.

"De Vere was a bigot, Fitzgerald a fanatic. Blind veneration for his ancient creed, coupled with a sincere desire to fulfil each duty she enjoined, were the characteristics of Reginald's belief; while zeal, fiery enthusiastic zeal, was the leading feature, or, it may be, the prevailing hue, of that possessed by Fitzgerald. The stake, the instrument of torture, base deceit, or pious fraud, all were alike to him, provided by such means the interests of his Church might be advanced. It mattered not what engine he employed; let Rome be served, her power augmented, or her votaries increased, and the grand object being gained, *the end, he thought, would justify the means; an error common with members of the Church of Rome; one also into which ill-regulated zeal sometimes betrays the enlightened Protestant.*"—vol. i. p. 14.

The gloomy and ascetic disposition of Reginald, who, from his early years, was disposed to take orders, afforded too favourable an opportunity of advancing this grand object, the Church's aggrandizement, to be overlooked by the zealous Franciscan. But as the youth, in his present circumstances, was "a prize of trifling value," compared with Sir Reginald De Vere, the representative of an ancient English baronetcy and the heir of a rich domain, Fitzgerald used all his arts to defer the fulfilment of his intentions till the death of his father should place him in the possession of the title and the estate. These deep and well adjusted plans are rendered abortive by the causes traditionary in the art of novel-manufacture: a secret attachment to a lady of humble rank, whose father is at feud with Reginald's uncle, leads to a private marriage. But, in a short time, the faithlessness of his bride, who elopes with a French adventurer, and, as he conceives, perishes at sea, destroys his hopes of peace for ever, and determines him to put his early resolutions into execution without delay. Meanwhile, he becomes accessory in another capacity to the service of the Church; which, "where her interests are at stake, has never been remarkable for fastidious notions of morality." (p. 67.) A certain Cardinal G., who, of course, "has been so long accustomed to the tortuous paths of court intrigue, that suspicion and concealment had become his very nature, (p. 68), has a mission of importance to the Spanish court. Fitzgerald proposes Reginald De Vere to undertake it: and the discussion of his fitness is a capital opportunity for the development of the "tortuous policy" of Rome.

" 'He is a good Catholic,' enquired the cardinal.

" 'A most upright conscientious one !'

" 'Conscientious ?' replied Cardinal G., in a tone which seemed to indicate that he considered nicety of conscience no particular recommendation in an emissary, 'conscientious did you say ?'

" 'Aye, your eminence, such was my expression.'

" 'And what if conscience should, through mistaken notions, interfere with duty. These are times, when men of pliant, supple principles, will often prove themselves more useful and efficient instruments, than their more stubborn, conscientious fellows. Zeal, led by knowledge, tempered with discretion, is a weapon better adapted for our present purpose, than nicety of conscience. You understand my meaning, holy brother.'

" 'Perfectly. Yet may I ask your eminence, with much humility, if all men may not be considered as machines, and as such, used and guided ? surely there is in every breast a string, which, if we have sagacity enough to pull aright, the puppet moves, and speaks, aye

even *thinks* as we would have it. Let De Vere be 'persuaded he stands on holy ground, is acting upon holy principles,' (an almost imperceptible smile flitted across his eminence's countenance), 'and his obedience will prove itself as unreserved, as his courage is unflinching.'

"A wise man is said to have remarked, 'he wished men had been created without either conscience or spirit of inquiry,' observed the cardinal, returning to his old position.

"In forbidding the exercise of private judgment, our Church stifles the one, and binds the other wholly to her will."

"And she does well and wisely," quickly rejoined the cardinal."—vol. i. pp. 60-3.

With regard to the nature of this mission, at the Spanish court, we are left in ignorance; but may draw what conclusion we please, from the characters of its worthy projectors, and from the fact that it fails through the *honesty* of Reginald. Being thus relieved at his post, in consequence, by the more supple Fitzgerald, he takes the opportunity to visit his relatives in England. The family picture of the De Veres is the very opposite of attractive. Clement is highly gifted, but haughty and vindictive; Catherine, cold, selfish, and little-minded; Henrietta, good-natured, but destitute of mind or energy; Clara Montgomery, a niece of Lady De Vere, who, though brought up at her house, *has been educated a Protestant*, is the only tolerable person amongst them.

In religion it is even worse: nor indeed is there a single Catholic portrait in the work which is not the same. Lady De Vere is but nominally a Catholic. Sir Hugh, a perfect indifferentist, professing that "the next world is not a nutshell." With some, the attachment to religion is the result of habit or convenience: with others, of blind unreasoning superstition. Clement is an undisguised unbeliever; and Helen Templar, his intended bride, is free in her religious opinions.

"Are you quite certain that the opinions you attribute to Miss Templar, were not in fact your own?" asked Reginald.

"No. I am not vain enough to imagine, I have the power of influencing her. At the same time I am bound to confess, I cordially agree with her in condemning the puerile, childish frivolities."

"Clement," interrupted Reginald, 'are you an unbeliever?'

"Clement remained silent, and a thrill of horror crept over the more serious Reginald.

"Reginald," at length replied Clement, 'I cannot bow my mind to receive as truth, that which appears to me a mass of fabulous imposture, nor can I see devotion in a set of ceremonies, which, whatever they may be to others, to me are little better than absurdities.'

"You mean then to apostatize, turn Protestant?"

“No; I still adhere to the family faith; it is not only the oldest, but as the merry monarch wittily enough observed, the most gentlemanlike.”—vol. i. pp. 174-5.

We doubt not, that the author describes us according to her own impressions; and can only regret that she did not take more pains to inform herself upon a matter so important in its own nature, and involving so directly the candour and sincerity of the entire Catholic body. Who does not perceive the tendency of this family sketch? Is it possible to doubt that this series of Catholic portraits, without a single exception, such as we have described them, is intended, just as much as if the purpose were openly avowed, to represent the Catholic creed as an absurd and incongruous system, whose votaries are attached only by the bond of external, but unbelieving, conformity, or the degrading fetters of dark and unreasoning superstition? What can be more unfair than this covert species of attack? But we shall not dwell upon it here, nor shall we stop to combat the flippant note, which, without producing or referring to a single authority, assures the reader that this claim to antiquity which Clement puts forward, is “entirely fallacious;” that “in fact, all the peculiar tenets of Popery are innovations, and some comparatively recent. The doctrine of Transubstantiation was first broached by a monk named Paschasius Radbertus, of the abbey of Corbay, about the year 820. The papal usurpation dates from the year 800. Image worship, from the commencement of the eighth century; auricular confession, from about the year 1215; the elevation or adoration of the Host, a few years later!” These are serious truths, too solemn to be discussed in this rapid page: and indeed we believe there is not much imprudence in leaving “old Popery” to fight her own battles with this shallow though dogmatical assailant.

Clement De Vere's vindictive temper increases with his years. An instance of its exercise, betraying great littleness as well as pride, which comes to the knowledge of Miss Templar, determines her to break off her intended marriage with him. His affections appear to have been but little engaged, but the refusal is a mortal blow to his pride; and in a paroxysm of rage and disappointment, he declares, that if she do not revoke her decision, he will immediately take the vows of some religious order upon the continent. Helen, after a violent struggle, has the firmness to persist; and Clement's proud and obstinate temper, proof against the prayers of his father, and the remonstrances of Reginald, who now relin-

quishes his own intention of going into the Church, and even against the consciousness that he possessed not one of the dispositions, but rather despises them all, hurries him into the noviciate in the Dominican convent of San Ignatio, (Ignazio at Rome. He openly avows to his brother the determination of winning his way, not to the perfection of the monastic state but to the power and authority over the minds of men, which ecclesiastical rank is sure to bestow upon the master spirit. Upon this absurd and unnatural proceeding, a perfect caricature of passion, without even disappointed affection to give it probability, the remaining plot of the story is constructed.

Then comes, as a matter of course, a full exposure of the arts employed by the crafty superior, to secure the valuable novice from the possibility of withdrawal. The picture is as old as the art of novel writing; but the author seems to calculate that there are some for whom, if it possesses not the smack of novelty, it will be sure, notwithstanding, from its genuine savour of orthodoxy to be agreeable.

“Decies repetita placebit.”

“Pending the duration of Clement's probationary year, the superior of St. Ignatio, a keen discernor of the human heart, had carefully adopted his treatment of the young disciple to the peculiar bias of his mind, and the motives which so evidently swayed him in choosing the monastic life. Marks of distinction that raised him above his fellow-novices, were perpetually awarded him. One of the brotherhood, a man of talent, family, and knowledge of the world, attached himself to Clement, and, by his artful flattery, soon gained no trifling ascendancy over the young man, and through the medium of this individual, not only was De Vere's character, and even inclinations, fully displayed to the astute superior, but his ambitious cravings were encouraged, his self-sufficiency fed, and his visionary hopes upheld. Did Clement weary of the monotonous confinement, it was hinted, aye, more than hinted, that the rubicon once passed, and he a professed member of the community, the restraint which ever galled and irritated his fiery spirit, would be withdrawn. Did he evince the faintest symptoms of repentance, his pride was instantly invoked; and it was asked, even with taunts, whether he would, indeed, retrace his steps, and prove himself a weak, irresolute, unstable man? Did yearnings of natural affection arise, his eye was quickly pointed to the bright track ambition spread before his half-bewildered brain, and lest the supplications of his family should avail to shake his purpose, their letters were carefully withheld, and, excepting in the abbot's presence, all intercourse with relative or friend, was strictly prohibited.

“And the rubicon was crossed, the infatuated Clement pronounced the awful vows; and, when repentance was impossible, when the irksome fetters had been rivetted for life, he discovered his mistake.

All tokens of distinction were withdrawn ; or, if he were in any measure singled out from his companions, it was by the severity and harshness of the superior's bearing towards him."—vol. i. p. 285-8.

The mistake once discovered, Clement, by his unmonastic spirit, soon draws upon himself the displeasure of the superior. Upon one occasion, however, policy induces the wily abbot to overlook the rebellion, and the young monk feels as if he had obtained a triumph over his oppressor. Nothing could be more puerile than the picture which is drawn of his proceedings. He struts about with a jaunty air among the solemn brotherhood ; accosts gaily, and in unseemly tones, the gravest among the number, and concludes by whistling an operatic air ! But these false spirits soon subside, and the cold realities of conventual life rise in all their weariness before him. But he has passed the rubicon indeed, and retreat is impossible. He seeks to forget his misery in the pursuit of ecclesiastical ambition ; and to find in the hollow dreams of craft-bought power, a substitute for that social happiness which he feels that he has dashed from his lips for ever.

Several years have elapsed. Lady De Vere, broken-hearted by the desertion of her favourite child, has declined by slow degrees, and died. Her daughters are married : Catherine to Lord Woodstocke, a political Papist peer, and Henrietta, to Captain Wyldeman, a Protestant and a soldier of fortune. Sir Hugh, in silent despondency, is fast following his wife to the grave ; and his only consolation is in the unremitting attentions of Clara Montgomery, who has now grown up to womanhood. In this position of affairs, Reginald returns to England ; and, according to the established rules of romance, begins to fall in love with Clara. This is an admirable opportunity of bringing out the bigotry of the papistical creed.

"The pleasurable train of thought into which Reginald had fallen, was suddenly suspended, by the, to his mind, startling recollection, that Clara was a heretic ; and almost instantly his feeling assumed another colouring. He wished that she had not received him kindly ; that she had left his mother's portrait uncopied, had neglected to preserve his sketches. For, so proud and bigoted had Reginald De Vere become, that he felt it a degradation to be in any measure beholden to a member of, as he believed, a false and blinded Church ; and, quickly leaving the apartment, he shut himself up in his own room, where he remained till after the second dinner bell had sounded, and in place of this little incident becoming the means of drawing them to closer intimacy, it seemed only to increase the distance and formality of his deportment."—vol. ii. 54-5.

And Reginald De Vere is the only conscientiously profes-

sing and practising Catholic in the entire three volumes ! What is the necessary inference ? That our creed is a narrow and intolerant system, which, if we act up to its dictates, not only shuts us out from all friendly intercourse with the members of another Church, but makes it a duty to hate and despise them,—to shrink from receiving any obligation or contracting any tie, which may subvert or weaken this pious detestation—that we conceive ourselves bound to eschew every friendly office,—that we wish not to be treated with ordinary kindness—to receive no mark of affection or esteem,—that no heretic pencil should copy the portrait of our venerated mother, no heretic hand preserve our early sketches as a remembrance of ourselves,—lest it should tempt us to violate the holy abhorrence of heretics, which is the true characteristic of pure untainted orthodoxy.

The struggle between growing passion and waning orthodoxy was long and painful, but it terminates, as in a novel it must, in the triumph of the former, and the marriage of the heretic Clara Montgomery with the bigot Reginald, now, by the death of his father, Sir Reginald De Vere. Thus at the very moment which had been so anxiously awaited, the victim had escaped from the toils of the conspirators ; and the rich prize, just as it became worth the seizing, was lost for ever to the Church ! This was a case where casuistry must strain to the utmost the limits of its pliant morality ; and where the interests of the Church may legitimatize any proceeding, no matter how atrocious. " They must be parted," argued Fitzgerald ; " *any, all means must be resorted to. In such a case all things are justifiable.*"—vol. iii. p. 100. The result is a series of the most diabolical fraud and villany. Sir Reginald is summoned to Rome, on the ground that, no dispensation having been obtained, *his marriage with a heretic is invalid*. Every representation is used to induce him to sever the hated connexion. His brother Clement, and Fitzgerald, are the ostensible actors in the plot, but the cardinal already alluded to, and even his holiness Pius VII himself, are behind the scenes, and lend it their full sanction and approval.

Nor is this all. These attempts proving fruitless, a deeper and more villainous expedient is devised. Documents are produced, which testify that his first wife Angela is still living ; and circumstances are recalled to his memory which render it but too probable. His marriage with Clara is thus invalid upon a double ground. The wretched baronet is driven to despair. For two years he struggles against the machinations

employed against him. But in vain. The enemy has laid his toils in too wide and secure a train. Escape is beyond his power. His only hope is a divorce from his first wife, which he accordingly proceeds to seek from the pope; and at length obtains (!) on condition of surrendering his Italian property, appropriating to the uses of the Church a considerable portion of his yearly revenue, and dedicating his son Walter, born during his absence from England, to the priesthood of the Roman Church. Fitzgerald and Clement being despatched to England upon some of those dark missions in which Rome delights, the latter becomes the bearer of this proposal from Reginald to his unhappy wife, who, in hopeless ignorance of the causes of his protracted absence, is pining away at home in this worse than widowhood. But, false in private feeling, as unprincipled in religion, Clement discharges the mission with malicious duplicity. Concealing the circumstances in which it was given, and the object it was intended to secure, he contents himself with presenting the order which Sir Reginald had given for the delivery of his child. The unhappy mother, believing herself now indeed deserted by her heartless husband, and confirmed in the impression by the treacherous representations of Clement, refuses to acknowledge the unfeeling mandate, and the mediator, doubly false, in his letter to Sir Reginald, places the refusal to the account of indifference and want of affection for her husband.

Sir Reginald refuses to believe, and despite an ecclesiastical mandate, prohibiting all communication with his heretic wife, hurries to England, that, if it be true, he may learn from her own lips the fatal intelligence. Alas! all things combine against the unhappy man. Lady De Vere, under the conviction that he has come in person to compel the enforcement of the cruel order, confirms by her conduct the worst representations of her enemies. Sir Reginald leaves her in despair. A long, heart-broken letter declares the unhappy truth to his wife. The announcement is too much for her intellect, already too severely tried. She rises from the perusal of the fatal letter a miserable maniac!

But enough of the tragedy. Let us hasten to the *denouement*. A disagreement between the worthy confederates in this infernal scheme, which leads eventually to a complete rupture, lets in the light upon their dark doings. Clement, who through the arts of Fitzgerald has been recalled from the joint mission, and cited to appear at Rome, betrays the conspiracy, and Reginald succeeds in compelling from the Franciscan a

confession of the forgery, and a certificate of the death of his first wife, whom the false monk had himself attended at her last hour. It is unnecessary to add, that Lady De Vere recovers her reason. Sir Reginald, by the death of a relative, succeeds to the title and estates of Lord Audley; and they are all left in fair way of long enjoying their sorely periled happiness. It does not end here.

"On the third day subsequent to their arrival, Reginald, after having been for some time buried in deep reflection, suddenly rose, and taking Walter by the hand, led him to Lady Audley.

"'Clara,' said he, with great earnestness, 'you once asked me to suffer you to educate our child a Protestant; you have yourself alluded to that requisition, and you have admitted that my acquiescence was impossible. To say the truth, I saw it in that light—to speak candidly, I considered the request unfair; but I think differently now. Take him, therefore; do what you will with him; make him a —'

"Lord Audley paused, and Clara, scarcely daring to believe her senses, whispered the word he should have spoken.

"'Yes, such as you yourself are, dearest; teach him to resemble you, and I shall be satisfied.'

"'You really will allow our precious Walter to be reared a Protestant? Oh, Reginald, how happy you make me; I dared not venture to expect such happiness. My kind, kind Reginald;' and Clara burst into a flood of tears.

"'Nay, Clara, it is scarcely *kindness*,' said Lord Audley, smiling.

"'Then it is conviction,' cried Clara eagerly. 'Reginald, your eyes are opening to the errors of the Church of Rome.'

"'Indeed, Clara, I have seen enough to shake my faith in her infallibility; and although I am aware it would be unfair to blame any religious system on account of the individual misconduct of its members, still, in the present instance I fear *it is the Church of Rome rather than her minister, which is in fault*. For is it not, alas! her creed and policy to proselytize by any means—to prevent what she considers heresy, by the use of any instrument? Fitzgerald has acted towards us the part of an unchristian man; a part which I believe numbers of the Roman Catholic clergymen would severely reprobate; but for all that, *one which the Church of Rome herself would justify*; and feeling this, I have no longer any hesitation in conforming to your wishes. Walter shall be a Protestant' (this time the word was clearly uttered); 'and,' Lord Audley added in a gayer tone, 'when he is old enough, I suppose he will join his fellow-Protestants in consigning me to eternal misery.'

"'No, no, not the most intolerant spirit would have done that, even in former times; and now, now that your views are so much altered, oh, Reginald, you tell me I must teach Walter to believe as I do. Why not rather say that he must copy you?' and Clara looked anxiously towards her husband; he turned his head away.

“ ‘ Clara, you expect too much at my age, and after having been so very rigid, you must rest satisfied if I become less of the bigot.’ . . .

“ ‘ But, dearest Reginald, you will not surely stop here ?’

“ ‘ Yes, yes, I shall,’ he answered quickly.”—vol. iii. pp. 303-6.

Notwithstanding this declaration, however, the author determines not to do things by halves.

“ Not many months afterwards, Frances Merivale spent some very happy weeks at Ravenswood, and on returning to Sandilands, brought with her the intelligence that Clara’s dearest wish was gratified : Lord Audley had gradually relinquished every former error, and was become a staunch, and thoroughly consistent Protestant.”—vol. iii. p. 309.

It is rather unfortunate for his consistency that she makes her convert carry his intolerance, as well as creed, to the opposite side of the ledger. Perhaps, however, she considers the following arrangement with regard to the household at Ravenswood, quite enough religious liberty for Papists.

“ ‘ Pray,’ inquired Mrs. Leyton, ‘ how does Lord Audley manage about his household ; has he sent all his Roman Catholic servants about their business ?’

“ ‘ No,’ replied Frances, ‘ I believe not one has left his service.’

“ ‘ And what is done respecting mass ? Does Mr. Winwood officiate ?’

“ ‘ No ; the chapel is never used. Mr. Winwood remains at Ravenswood, not as officiating priest, but as an old and valued family friend. The Roman Catholic servants have liberty to attend the chapel at Wilston, Lord Audley *merely insisting that they shall join the daily worship of the family*, which he himself conducts.’ ”—vol. iii. pp. 315-16.

Here, with this most appropriate and orthodox conclusion, end the trials of the “ married man.” The after history of “ the monk,” is left untold, and we fancy there are not many who will deplore the omission. We can scarcely regret, that the three legitimate volumes having been duly filled up at this point of the narrative, the pious author has been spared the trouble of drawing further upon imagination, for a history which we could not hope would improve either the head or heart of the reader. We have given the main story of this strange fiction, as incongruous in its plan, as it is puerile and unnatural in the description of character. There are of course many side-scenes, which we have not thought it necessary to bring forward. The death of Helen Templar is a most gratuitously painful tragedy, without even the recommendation of being strikingly related ; and an episode of a young monk, Enrico, who plays no part whatever in the main plot, is intro-

office should have begun, Enrico, fainting and weak, leant upon his deliverer's arm.

"‘That wine,’ cried Clement, ‘nay, swallow it, Enrico, you will need strength, for you must fly. The garden wall down by the river is not impassable. In fact, it must not be, for it will prove your only means of egress. Quick, quick, we may not lose a moment; lean on me.’"—vol. iii. pp. 221-7.

This we are assured is no fancy sketch, no tale of a distant age, intended merely as a stirring exercise of the imagination, or a source of passing interest, without any purpose beyond the excitement of the moment. *It is a sober and deliberate description, which the reader is expected to believe.* We may be led to imagine, a serious note suggests, "that such hellish contrivances were the offspring of a darker age, and that their use has passed away; *but we should do wrong, even in these our days; and although her powers are comparatively limited, the Inquisition has not wanted victims.*" Did no silent consciousness arise, when, at the close of this glowing sketch, the author asked what must be the nature of a creed which sustains itself by such a prop?

And this is a picture of Catholic principles and manners! not in a distant age, or a foreign country, but at home, among ourselves, and in our own day! This is held out to our fellow-countrymen, as a portraiture of our habits of every-day life! Our clergy are unprincipled hypocrites, holding no law, but that which the interests of the Church dictate; our people are blind, unenquiring bigots, or secret unbelievers, scarce disguising their contemptuous scepticism!

Gladly indeed would we look upon it in a less gloomy spirit. But the unhappy truth stares us too clearly in the face. It is vain to suppose, that these characters are introduced only for the purpose of heightening the effect; that the craft and villany here attributed to a few individuals, is not intended as a sketch of the general body. We cannot, with all anxiety to interpret favourably, forget that there is no set-off to this bad picture, nothing to relieve the darkness of its colouring. We see too evidently, that the unchristian conduct of Fitzgerald is represented, not as his own, but that of his Church; what "the Church of Rome herself would justify."

"‘Remember,’ said Frances Merivale, ‘how many good and exemplary Catholics there have been; and as Walter is so intelligent, and apparently so well disposed, hope that he will rank with Pascal, Fenelon, Bossuet, and Massillon.’"

"‘I dare not. I have seen the working of that false religion, and I can only view it as a moral mildew, beneath whose poisonous influence

nothing good or lovely can survive. The worthless weed, the loathsome reptile, may meet its pestilential breath unharmed, but for all other things—oh, they must die in such an atmosphere,' said Lady De Vere.

"*Frances felt it was impossible to dispute the justice of the observation.*"—vol. iii. p. 106.

We are disposed to make every allowance for the tempting metaphor in which this sweeping denunciation is conveyed. But it will not do. The same unworthy sentiment is repeated over and over again. The conduct attributed to the actors in the diabolical plot against De Vere, is not the result of their own moral turpitude. It is the direct working of their creed; it is all laid at the door of the "moral mildew." Fitzgerald, we are told, "*was no hypocrite, he was perfectly sincere in his opinions: what then must be the nature of the creed which he held?*"—vol. iii. p. 285. And in truth, how, according to the writer's judgment, could it be otherwise.

"'Yes,' said Clement gloomily, 'my fate is clear, I shall add another to the long list of victims to a Church, who, by the fallacies she inculcates, *drives men to infidelity*, and then exacts a fearful penalty for the opinions she has herself engendered.'

"Such of my readers as may have seen much of the adherents of the Church of Rome, in those countries where the Roman Catholic religion prevails in full force, will readily allow the truth of Clement's observation. In fact, the members of that communion are called upon to believe so much, that, *unless blindly bigoted, they usually become latitudinarians, even to the verge of infidelity.*"—vol. iii. pp. 250-1.

And this is the writer who professes her "hope of freeing herself from even the suspicion of harbouring unkindly feelings towards the individual members of the Church of Rome!" Verily she has the happiness of possessing

"That dark lantern of the spirit,
Which none see by, but those who bear it."

But we have wearied out our reader's patience, and our own, with these extracts, which, for us, possess no interest beyond their very absurdity. If, however, we have dwelt thus long upon so silly and pointless a production, it is not that we attach the smallest importance to its contents; but that we would unite the well-disposed of every party, for the extinction of the reviving spirit of bigotry, to which, as one of a numerous class, it is calculated to pander. Far from injuring, such productions, must, in the judgment of every rational man, advance the interests of our cause. We have no fear

that there is any one silly enough to believe, that men are, even at this moment, dragged away, silently and mysteriously, to the dungeons of the inquisition, and put to death by a lingering and ingenious torture. We can scarcely deem it probable, that there are many antipopish throats, capacious enough to swallow, or stomachs sufficiently powerful enough to digest, the idea of this base and villanous conspiracy, into which monks, priests, cardinals, and even Pius himself, are made to enter. Had the history been carried back a few centuries, all had been well,—or, as it is, if the prize in question were worth the trouble, a duke, or even a viscount,—there might be something in it. But a paltry baronet!—pshaw—she should have baited the trap with something worthy of the ecclesiastical rapacity she pourtrays!

“Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus.”

But putting its improbabilities, and still more its injustice, out of view altogether, what we would ask, is the good object which reading such as this is expected to promote, or what portion of the community is it likely to benefit? Will the Catholic be won from “the error of his ways,” by what he cannot but deem a coarse and unnatural caricature of all that he has hitherto held sacred and venerable? Will the wavering Protestant be arrested in his career of doubt and uncertainty? Is there in these entire three volumes, or in any one of the many similar works in which the season is so fertile, a single principle in which he will find a secure resting-place? Surely, far from removing, this harsh and flippant abuse of the Catholic religion, without a single argument to support it, will rather tend to confirm his doubt, or perhaps convert it into a certainty. And for the steadfast and unwavering, if such there be among the readers, what single element of good does it contain? No religious instruction, no moral truth, relieves the harsh and embittered page. No lesson of history or doctrine may be learned amid the vapid outpourings of hollow zeal, hollow because it possesses not charity, which is its essence and its soul! Alas! there is no good purpose it can advance, no honest cause which it can subserve. One purpose alone it can forward,—it can minister but to one cause, the hateful growth of discord, the unholy cause of bigotry.

When last we called our reader's attention to this far from unimportant subject, we had occasion in examining a number of anticatholic works, to compare them with a publication then comparatively new, *Geraldine*. We cannot refrain from again placing it side by side, with this vain, and, to forget every

serious feeling—silly production. How different the spirit in which it is conceived, the style in which it is executed ! No idle declamation, no drawing upon the imagination for effect, no attempt to veil the difficulty in a maze of words, or deprive it of its efficacy even by those artifices which fiction might seem to render legitimate. No effort to refute a creed by distorting and blackening the character of those who profess it ! Simple, but solid reasoning, honest and open discussion, are the sole instruments here employed. And how amiable the temper in which they are wielded ! Not an unkind word, not an ungentle sentiment ! No imputation of wrong or unworthy motives, not a shadow of this unamiable and ungenerous disposition. Strong in the consciousness of the truth herself had found, she would lead others by the same broad and open path ! Meekness walks hand in hand with knowledge,—charity tempers the triumphs of faith !

This is true Christian controversy. And if ever fiction is to be made its vehicle, it is thus it must be employed,—truth, meekness, above all charity, its ministers. Conducted in this spirit, we shall always observe it with interest, whether it come from friend or adversary, secure that the right cannot fail to be elicited by fair and impartial discussion. But where misrepresentation is substituted for argument, and invective takes the place of reasoning, where charity is flung to the winds, and peace forgotten or despised, there we shall hold no terms. And we trust the day is not far distant, when we shall be able to rally around us all that is honourable and right-minded in the community, prepared—

“ In every honest hand a whip,”—

to scout the offender from the rank he dishonours, and purify our literature from a stain which has too long sullied the character of a free nation.

ART. III.—*Prospectuses of New Life Assurance Companies (Various.)*

THIS subject has been much written about within the last few years ; the public attention has been awakened, and the number of the offices professing to grant annuities and assurances has increased, is increasing, and ought—to excite the attention of the legislature. When an agriculturist tries a new kind of crop, he knows that it will in its growth be subject to be choaked by weeds of its own, or destroyed by insects which

thrive better on that food than on any other. He will look out in time, if he be wise; but are all agriculturists wise?

The sound policy of our times (sound as compared with that of other days) leaves every individual to increase, invest, or spend his money in his own way. It matters nothing to the public whether one or another individual speculates well or ill; and the loss of A is only the transfer of certain moneys to B, who will in all probability make a better use of them. So it is, as long as the ill success in question is simply the consequence of private negligence or folly, in matters which most persons can manage tolerably well. But it is a dangerous extension of this rule, to propose that it shall apply when knowledge of the subject is rare, and the scarcity of it tempts the ignorant to assume pretensions to it; still more dangerous when the mischief done is of an irreparable character, though only to an incautious person; and most dangerous of all when many join in the undertaking, which is to bring large profit or disastrous loss, as the case may be.

The legislature has accordingly often interfered with regulations or prohibitions. The medical practitioner must pass his examinations, because few persons can know a pretender from a competent physician, and the mischief done by the former is deadly. The trading company is frequently under restrictions imposed for public protection; in fine, it seems to be a standing principle with respect to large undertakings, that law assumes a right of regulation proportioned to the magnitude of the interests concerned, and the incapability of private persons to judge for themselves whether their benefit will be properly consulted. If this be so, what species of combination better deserves the protection of wholesome restrictions than that of an Assurance Company? Does the disinclination of speculators to embark in them render such interference unnecessary? Let the dozens of offices which are formed every year answer that question. Are the sums invested, or proposed to be invested, puny considerations? "CAPITAL 500,000*l.*! CAPITAL ONE MILLION!!!" The reader will be pleased to compare these quotations with the originals, the next time he passes any place where the poor bill-sticker is allowed to rest his limbs for a moment, or gets the wrong half of the *Times* newspaper. Are the persons whose eyes are to be caught by the preceding *capitals*, those who ought to pay for a happy delusion? It is prudence which will suffer, if anything suffers; while the fool who trusts to his strong limbs and sound lungs to keep him alive, till he has beaten the chapter of accidents, will think *he*

was the prudent person, and the man next door, who made sure (as he thought) of something for his family, was the fool. Are those persons such as can afford to pay for not knowing that which they never could have known? This is the worst of all; the victims must, from the nature of the case, be the widows and orphans of those who never had much to lose. Lord A, and honourable gentleman B, if your preserves had been in half the jeopardy which the preserves of the poor man's savings may very soon be placed in, neither Gods nor men, nor (newspaper) columns, could have kept you from showing that you know the rights of property and the feelings of the injured well enough—sometimes. Nor can you turn the tables by reminding us that the public cared as little for your interests in the matter of game as you can possibly do for their's in the savings of their own industry; for remember, the nation to which you made such frequent speeches about and concerning your manorial rights, was not your certificated game-keeper, while you are the appointed guardians of that nation's public and private interests. All that is asked of you is, in the inquiry which there can be no doubt is approaching, to put your fellow-citizens on a level with your partridges; and may you, in return, be enabled to disperse before the first of September, and enjoy your care of the latter with the consciousness of having protected the former as effectually.

There exists at present an unlimited right to offer terms of assurance, except only when the office calls itself a friendly society, and assures support in sickness, as well as a sum at death. In this case, the rules by which every society is to be guided must have their safety certified by two actuaries, or persons skilled in calculation, before that society can commence operations. But if the proposed company be a simple assurance company, it may play with the money of any person whom it can induce to trust it, in any manner it pleases. If twelve self-made directors, having duly nominated a physician and actuary, choose to undertake the assurance of lives at half-a-crown per cent. for all ages, there is nothing at this moment to hinder them except their own sense and prudence. They may think that the time is not yet come for terms of so very low a nature; nor is it yet come, in fact: but let competition run the course which it is running, and wait the end. We know well what coach-proprietors will do to turn a rival off the road; and though, perhaps, all things considered, we shall not get the length of assurance to any amount offered for nothing, and thanks for accepting it, yet we may come so near to such a

point, that a number of so-called assurance offices shall fail—that confidence in the respectable offices shall be shaken,—that the growth of the practice shall be retarded,—and that the number of “truly distressing cases” of men living in comfort and maintaining their families during their lives, and leaving them in destitution at their deaths, shall occur in rapidly increasing numbers.

Well, but why should not this trade, as well as every other, be left to itself? We grant that imprudent persons will be ruined; but is it not *best for the public* that competition should lower everything to its proper price? Best for the public! If a lion’s mouth were opened, into which every man in the country were required anonymously to drop an account of the measures which he should consider *best for himself*, with reasons, an experienced statesman, with an honest mind, and a clear head, would, if he could read and arrange all the documents, have before him such materials for legislation as never yet existed. But suppose another orifice—an ass’s mouth it should be—into which every person was to drop his notions of what he considered *best for the public*, with reasons also; already the newspapers give us some notion of the materials which would be thereby collected, though the editors do not allow it to be as complete as it might be. It is true that many of the propositions, in furtherance of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, privately proceed upon the hypothesis that number *one* is that greatest number; but these being detected and eliminated, there would remain a large quantity of materials, which would be nearly what they were intended to be. Much of this would be leavened by the principle of free competition carried everywhere. Let all teach, for competition will show the good and cheap teacher; let all heal, and good drugs and attendance will be themselves mere drugs; let all be trusted—the rogue can never *compete* in the long run with the honest man. The dunce, who cannot think because his teacher did not think before him, will know better next time he wants to be educated (would he?); the quack who kills the father, will lose the practice of the children and neighbours (will he?); and the man of sharp practice, whose conscience is eased by the consideration that he is spending in dollars what he plundered in pounds, will not find a market for his commodity (this is the approved phrase) if he ventures to England again. The last is true, because we have the Old Bailey, an establishment whose date is anterior to the times of free competition.

Competition in buttons is invaluable; it improves machinery,

employs workmen, and produces an excellent article. If they are found to break, we go elsewhere for others ; and though we sustain some loss and much annoyance, yet upon the whole we do not demand the interference of the legislature. Nor, with regard either to buttons or many other such matters, do we much fear the unreasonably low prices at which they can sometimes be bought ; we may suspect that the seller will ruin himself, or cheat the wholesale dealer ; but

“ No matter, though the fellow be a knave,
Provided that the razors shave.”

If we rise a little higher, as high as the top of a stage-coach, we find competition leading to consequences of some moment : it upsets the vehicle, and breaks the passengers' limbs. It is all competition ; who would buy nine miles an hour for his money, when he can have twelve at the same rate ? But law here steps in, and prohibits a dangerous article from being sold, even to willing purchasers. There is no plea of ignorance to be protected ; all men are perfectly aware that they run a risk in travelling at the greatest speed, and many men are willing to encounter the danger ; but the law says they shall not do any such thing. Does any one object to this ? then he may consistently set his face against any interference with assurance offices. But those who admit that the law is in the right, must join with us in calling upon parliament to regulate the unlimited licence of contracting engagements, which are fatal in their consequences, if one of the contracting parties turn out to be insolvent. We say absolutely fatal and murderous ; for, if an insurance office were to break, being unable to fulfil its engagements to a considerable number of men at an age too advanced to make a new provision for their families, a larger proportion of those men would die of vexation and anxiety in a twelvemonth, than would be killed, or even hurt, if they were all upset in stage-coaches.

But suppose our last assertion not admitted, and leaving life and health out of the question, suppose it asked, whether the legislature, which is bound to protect the existence of all its constituents, would be unreasonably beyond precedent in compelling them to a certain degree of prudence in the management of their fortunes. We say no ; and we cite the case of the law as it stands with regard to bills payable after date. If a man give *money* without consideration, or for one which is insufficient, or even purely nominal, the cases are very rare in which the said money can be recovered. But if he give a bill, not only is it necessary that the instrument itself should state that it is given for value received, but its validity

can be destroyed upon proof that consideration was not given for it. How is this;—an abundance of cases exist in each of which present money is a valid payment, but an express promise to pay the same sum in a year is void? There can be no reason but this; it is known that men usually think before they pay, who would promise to pay without thinking, or upon an exaggerated estimate of their future means. But whatever the reason may be, it is clear that law does interfere daily to annul a contract, where it would recognize an act. Now, the annulment of a contract is always meant to be the redress of a wrong, or the prevention of an intended wrong: what is to be done in a case in which the party wronged has performed his share of the contract *ab initio*?—there can clearly be no annulment, and law must interfere by prevention.

But strong as may be the necessity for a parliamentary inquiry, which, whatever its value may be, is the only one to be got, the question must at last arise, what sort of enactment is to follow the investigation? The details must depend upon the state of things proved in evidence to exist; but the principle must be restriction, simple restriction. It must no longer be the right of a small number of persons to constitute themselves guardians of the dearest interests of others, whom they induce to trust them by flattering promises, and the most bare-faced exaggeration of the benefits to be received. Perfect security, certain gain, the most *liberal* terms: as safe as the national debt, as rich as the Equitable, as cheap as the ——. A numerous body of proprietors have signed that self-denying ordinance, a deed of settlement, not with a view to profit (that is low), but to secure to the public the “blessings” of life insurance, which the other fifty offices have, somehow or other, never fully comprehended. But if it should happen that a profit is realized, which is stated as very certain, in spite of the low terms at which assurance is offered, then the proprietors will accept a fifth, or perhaps two-fifths,—returning the rest.

A prudent man, in reading such a prospectus, asks the following questions:—1. To whom am I to trust for the truth of this statement? 2. Are the terms asked high enough to enable the office to do what it professes to do? 3. How much of the capital is paid up, and actually in the hands of the directors as a collateral security? 4. In whose hands is the management of the office? 5. How am I to know that he is qualified for his duties? 6. If anything should go wrong, what security is there that a timely warning can be given, and that it will be taken? At present he must answer these questions

to himself by information which he picks up where he can ; by the vague assurance of some friend, that his friends, Mr. A and Mr. B, most respectable men, are director and actuary ; on the faith of some " eminent mathematician," who is asserted in the prospectus to have calculated new tables, combining the best and newest information upon the value of human life. He takes some authority, and presumes knowledge in some quarter or other, from which advice, whether printed or oral, has come to him. Before we proceed to suggest methods by which parliament might help him, we must say a few words upon the province of authority in such a matter.

There is a great confusion in the minds of many, perhaps most persons, which the dictionary might help to set right. The words *indispensable* and *sufficient* give rise to it ; they are confounded. If we say that mathematical knowledge is indispensable to the successful prosecution of such and such inquiries, we shall be thought to have said that it is sufficient. Such is not, however, the case ; and we have two extreme opinions, both very common, and both pernicious. First, we have those who hold that the indispensable must be sufficient ; secondly, those whose bias leads them to suppose that the insufficient must be worthless. This is, perhaps, the proper way of stating the reason for the inconceivable reverence in which many persons hold the exact sciences, and the scorn with which those branches of knowledge are treated by others. If these sects were compelled to live for six months, the first in houses having doors, but no windows, and the second in others having windows, but no doors, the first might feel and the second see, their way to certain definite notions by which, on comparing notes, they might find themselves some way advanced towards the manufacture of a decent treatise on the use of knowledge.

When the House of Commons made the inquiries into the state of friendly societies, which fill a thick volume with the evidence collected, the members of the committee must have been surprised to find very considerable differences of opinion between the mathematicians who were examined. It would have been surprising if it had not been so, for two reasons, which we shall treat separately.

To proceed upon an example : a work before us says, " Some idea may be formed of the difficulty of equitably distributing the profits of an assurance company among its members, from the fact that in the cases submitted by the — Assurance Society in 1823, for the opinions of scientific men, the committee of the society to whom the matter was referred, stated

in their report, that the men of science *had all differed from each other in their opinions on the subject!*" The *italics* and the note of exclamation are those of the writer from whom we quote. We shall now cite some parallel cases. A countryman who went to see the American calculating boy, was observed to have something carefully wrapped up in a handkerchief. When it came to his turn to ask a question, he stepped forward, and begged the young gentleman to tell him what he had got in his handkerchief. This was declined, to the great astonishment of the interrogator. Here only one man of science was consulted, and, though but a chicken, he knew when he had not data enough. In another case, the person consulted did not act so wisely. It was a young Cambridge man, one of those who *cram*, who was asked by a wicked friend to settle the question, whether the oscillations of a nonentity *in vacuo* are or are not affected by gravitation? The man of science here consulted took to his tools, and in less than a week brought his friend two quires of paper, ending in a differential equation, which he could not solve. Had two such men of science been consulted, they would probably have *differed from each other in their opinions on the subject!* Here a society asks half a dozen men of science for an *equitable* distribution of their profits. Why do not the judges of the Court of Queen's Bench have all their cases calculated? Perhaps the result of the inquiry made by the — Assurance Company has deterred them. One man's equity is not that of another man, as we know well enough in the affairs of life; though had the half-dozen men (sound mathematicians, we have no doubt) happened to agree in their notions of *equity*,* their science would have led them to the same result, within the millionth part of a farthing, had such been thought necessary. Science, then, did not lead men to a common notion of what was equitable: put it in *italics* by all means, but why so sparing of notes of exclamation? They are not charged extra. Seriously, to form an idea (our's or another's) of the mode of equitable division of an admitted surplus, requires no more mathematics than is just necessary to understand the operation of compound interest, and the use of a table of mortality; provided that there be sense enough to see that a perfect

* The mathematical reader may possibly be reminded of the rule for the *equation* of payments (equity again) which is discussed in books of algebra on different grounds, and different results are arrived at. The common rule is equitable *quoad* all time after the last payment would have been due; a more difficult rule, preferred by the writers on theory, puts the parties in a state of equity at an intermediate time. Either is equitable on its own notions.

comprehension of the proper principle is not sufficient to enable its possessor to manage the details of the division, and to give the results of the mathematical part of the operation. Here is a mistake frequently committed: while some give up their own province to the mathematician, others invade that of the latter, and think themselves competent to prescribe the rules of operation consequent on the application of a principle, because they have a clear view of the justice of that principle. Leaving this, however, and returning to the point, we repeat again that mathematics do not teach equity, either ethical or legal: and those who send a case to mathematicians involving money paid, and do not state why it was paid, as the necessary preliminary to ascertain how it ought to be returned, must not wonder if the *pre-mathematical* considerations necessary to apply calculation, lead different men to different results. We do not expect that the actuaries themselves would agree to this; we suspect that nearly all are believers in the one true and immutable assurance office, and take the method of division of profits, and many other things, to be necessary consequences of the application of mathematics. Until, however, they are agreed among themselves, there is no occasion to dispute this, and no opportunity of knowing exactly what to dispute.

The second reason why we do not wonder at the difference of opinion among mathematicians on points connected with our subject, is this: that mathematics will not teach the cardinal virtue of *prudence* any more than that of *justice*. They may show the prudent man how to act prudently in a matter of computation, and the just man how to act justly; but here their power ends. Some men are by temperament, actors upon a degree of probability in their favour, on which others would hardly take the propriety of acting into consideration. The former set, it is true, are daily diminishing in number, some by getting under the wheels of cabs, others by driving gigs; in fact, the melancholy accidents, as people call them, which are the natural deaths of this class of men, are of daily record in the newspapers. Still, however, the genius of population recruits their ranks, and it is very possible that an actuary may be found among them. The more cautious individuals, who stop at the crossing till the cab has passed by, and know and feel that to put a high-bred horse in a two-wheeled carriage is against the eternal fitness of things, may also have an actuary among them; and when the same case is submitted to the two men, the results are surprisingly different.

"Take your table of mortality up to the actual state of things, or a trifle above it," says the sanguine man. "What if the rate of mortality should increase in the next fifty years," says the prudent one. "Four and five per cent. for ever!" shouts the first, "we can't always be at peace, and you must average your rate of interest;" for be it known, a bloody war is as much in the speculations of this calculator as a sickly season is thrown out of them. "But," answers the other, "if your day of high interest should arrive, the three per cents., into which you have bought at ninety-two, would fall to an extent which would make you lose the profits of many a long day of war prices and war interest." "You must divide largely, and *get business*," says the future experimental pavement of some one of our large thoroughfares. "Divide safely, and get good business, and above all, keep the means of fulfilling your engagements, though no more business should arrive," answers the man who shall die in his bed, if God pleases. If such differences of principle exist, and they do exist widely, to a greater or less extent, it is not surprising that the unlearned part of the community, which believes it to be all mathematics, should stare at the results, and wonder how it was that Euclid and Archimedes came to agree so well.

Now the first step of a parliamentary committee must be to *collect evidence*, and the evidence will be sure to exhibit all the differences arising from men's different notions of justice and prudence. Will they separate the two inquiries, making it their first business to ascertain what are the equitable and safe rules of conduct which our knowledge of the whole subject will enable us to acquire, and afterwards proceeding to learn the necessary consequence of these rules? Will they help the evidence of actuaries in the first inquiry, by applying their own sense and judgment to matters on which they are as competent to decide, after hearing opinions, as most juries are upon the cases which come before them? and will they afterwards trust implicitly to those same actuaries in the matters of calculation and deduction, in which their own opinions are good for nothing, and those of the calculator worth but little *before the calculation*? If they can draw this distinction, they may frame a report in which, *under proper advice*, they will lay down sound principles, and, *under proper dictation*, present the results of these principles. The first will partake of the liability to error which all men and bodies of men are under by nature: the second, of that certainty which the conclusions of exact science may reach with proper care. But the valuable part of such an investigation (even though no enactment should follow)

will be that the public will be able to separate the part of the subject in which caution feels its way, from that in which calculation hews out its road; and the houses and the nation will see that a result has been obtained. There will be no more announcement of tables calculated by "eminent mathematicians," upon supereminent data, without any exposition of the worth of the latter, and the methods of the former.

But if, as was the precedent set by the committees on friendly societies, they should dash at once into the whole subject, in an endeavour to arrive at a result out of the answers given by different men to questions of a mixed character; they will end in a report, which, however satisfactorily it may prove that men differ in opinion, will not set the reason for adopting one opinion rather than another upon any very intelligible basis. The committee will say to the house "the subject of our inquiry was mathematical; the mathematicians differed, and we have decided between one mathematician and another." To which the house, if it be wise (and the wisdom of the legislature is notorious) will appoint Mr. Baron Maule, who is well known among mathematicians, and whose position will be guarantee for his impartiality, to examine the committee, and see if they be fit to decide between differing mathematicians. But should the committee follow our suggestion, they will have to report as follows: "The subject is of a mixed nature, being the application of mathematical deduction to assumptions the extent of which must be regulated by prudent attention to facts contained in the statistics of human life and the history of the money market. The committee has diligently, with the assistance of mathematicians and men of business, endeavoured to separate the assumptions from the deductive process; and they believe that they have succeeded in putting the former in a point of view which will enable the house to see, both that there are matters on which all educated men may assume to be judges, and that those matters can be and have been distinctly separated from the others. On the rest of the subject, your committee has relied entirely on the results of professed calculators; which agree in such a manner as to make it very evident that the differences of opinion existing among mathematicians should long ago have led the public to suspect that there was something not entirely mathematical among the data of the question."

All writers, be the subject what it may, trace the origin of the inquiry they are pursuing to some ancient nation, generally the Greeks or Romans. In obedience to this rule, we lay

it down that the first assurance office was established in Egypt and was the act of a celebrated minister of that country, named Joseph, who received a supernatural warning that seven abundant harvests were to be followed by seven years of extreme scarcity. He accordingly established a corn assurance throughout the country, and collected the overplus of the abundant harvests, to meet the deficiencies of the succeeding ones. If the Egyptians had been what the Phœnicians afterwards became, a commercial and sea-faring nation, they might possibly have made another country their assurance office against scarcity; and in modern times, the progress of civilization and trade has enabled every country to consider others as insurers against the fluctuations of crops of every kind. For it is found, that in the ordinary course of human affairs, great departures from the average do not exist on a large scale. Whatever may be the fluctuations in one country, whether for good or evil, they are compensated in another, and in a long succession of years, even in the same country. So far does this law extend, that we find it even in the indications of the moral, as well as the physical state of society. It is now well known that the proportions of different crimes are as constant from year to year as those of different diseases; and statistical researches are daily making it more apparent, that the operation of *law* extends itself even to those actions which, in each particular case, are dependant upon the will of an individual. This very curious subject may here receive some discussion, because, as we shall see, the general theory of insurance (not confined simply to life or fire) very much depends upon the recognition of the state of things described above.

The old astrologers sometimes asserted that the stars possessed an actual compelling power over the minds of men; so that though in most cases the will of the individual was obedient to this power, yet if in any case it were to happen that a person had a mind to do one thing, and his stars had settled that he should do another, the latter would certainly get the better. Such a belief as this could not continue in the minds of educated men; accordingly, we find others, with Roger Bacon, maintaining that the influence of the stars is physical, acting on the mind through the body, as a headache or fever might do; thus making it possible for the individual to overcome a dissuading star, just as he might do either of the disorders mentioned, by strong motive or by mental energy. Now, if we take away the stars, and put the laws and usages of society in their place, we must all admit that they exercise a power

upon the mind, not so much with reference to particular acts, at the time of doing them, as to the state of the principles, fears, or hopes, which is gradually brought on by the constant working of external circumstances. All this is mere truism; we admit it when we allow of some excuse for the crimes, excesses, or credulity, of ignorance, for example. But truism as it is, there are many who dispute beforehand the likelihood that permanent causes, acting in the same manner from year to year, should produce nearly the same effects, numerically speaking; that for instance, the number of persons out of a thousand taken at hazard, who cannot resist a given temptation, should be found to be nearly the same as those out of another thousand who cannot resist it. Some will allow their previous objection to neutralize all evidence, however great; others will yield to collections of facts. With the first there is no dealing; with the second we may proceed to show that the principles of insurance may be facilitated in their own comprehension by examining the method of proceeding, the precautions to be taken, and the dangers to be feared; at the same time choosing a case in which none of those common notions have been formed, which are prevalent with respect to life or fire insurance.

We have some reason to suppose that an attempt will be made* to establish a society for insuring the *honesty of clerks, secretaries, collectors*, and all those persons who usually are obliged to find a friend to become security (that is insurance) for them. This at first sight may seem a strange and hazardous undertaking; but a little consideration will make it obvious that all the objections which appear incidental to the scheme, might have been made to a life assurance company, if such a thing were now to start for the first time.

If a thousand banker's clerks were to club together to indemnify their securities, by the payment of one pound a year each, and if each had given security for 500*l.* it is obvious that two in each year might become defaulters to that amount, four to half the amount, &c. without rendering the guarantee fund insolvent. If it be tolerably well ascertained that the instances of dishonesty (yearly) among such persons amount to one in five hundred, this club would continue to exist, subject to being in debt in a bad year, to an amount which it would be able to discharge in the good ones. The only question neces-

* Since this was written, the office has begun to act. We know nothing of the parties concerned, but we are confident that, with good and honest management, such a society would be profitable to its conductors, and useful to its customers.

sary to be asked previous to the formation of such a club would be, may it not be feared that the motive to resist dishonesty would be lessened by the existence of the club, or that ready-made rogues, by belonging to it, might find the means of obtaining situations which they would otherwise have been kept out of by the impossibility of obtaining security among those who know them. Suppose this to be sufficiently answered by saying that none but those who could bring satisfactory testimony to their previous good conduct, should be allowed to join the club: that persons who now may hope that a deficiency on their parts will be made up and hushed up by the relative or friend who is security, will know very well that the club will have no motive either to decline a prosecution or to keep the secret, and so on. It then only remains to ask whether the sum demanded for the guarantee is sufficient.

Suppose a company possessing capital to meet the fluctuations, were to undertake the same risk upon the receipt of a small commission or profit, over and above what is judged necessary to meet demands; we have then a case completely analogous to that of a life-assurance company; with this exception only, that the risk diminishes from year to year in each case, instead of increasing, and that the success of the company does not so much depend upon the interest of money. Both companies are subject to the danger of their mere existence procuring for them an undue proportion of the evil against which they are security to others; the life company may have bad lives palmed upon it, and the guarantee company bad morals. Both use means to avoid this which are confessedly not always sufficient; and both make the insurers pay for this risk as well as for that which it is the main intention of the institution to meet. The premiums of the assurance office are sufficient to meet all claims, not only those which arise from the failure of lives which were at the time of assurance as good as they were stated to be, but also those which come from the death of such individuals as would have been refused if the office had known all it ought to have been told. It is known from experience that sufficient safeguards have been and are provided; it remains to be ascertained what amount of precaution is necessary in the society before us. The capital must, in the first instance, stand the risk of the undertaking: it may happen that the premium now demanded, which is, we believe, about ten shillings per cent., may be found insufficient, in which case, the above-mentioned capital must pay the difference upon all engagements contracted previous to the time at

which the premiums are raised to new incomers. But it may also happen that the per centage charged is more than enough, in which case the society will reap, and ought to reap, a good harvest, until the time arrive at which competition compels a reduction of premium.

All that is established has this advantage, that possible dangers do not strike the mind with the strength with which they come upon it in respect to undertakings which have not stood trial. The preceding institution will be no sooner newly mentioned than half a dozen objections will occur. Let it be so; our present object is to ask, firstly, whether all the perils which suggest themselves are not equally incident to the existence of an annuity or assurance office? and secondly, whether in the enormous competition which is now taking place in the latter, the dangers of insecurity are not actually encountered, to an extent of which the public is wholly unaware? It is for the legislature to ask this second question; it would be most gratifying to us if it were found that it could be in every case satisfactorily answered. But will the attempt be made? Is the crash and the panic actually to arrive, if it be to arrive, before the din of politics will allow the guardians of the country to open their eyes and ears to the vital importance of the subject?

We have said that we believe a parliamentary inquiry into the state of the law and practice of life assurance (including the granting of annuities and all that relates to contingencies of the same sort) to be daily becoming of more and more necessity. It must come at last; but the deferment may be of such length as to allow time for much mischief. It might be presumptuous to give any decided opinion as to what enactments are necessary, but the following suggestions will serve for matter of consideration. We propose:—

1. That the name and address of every director of every new company should be announced *at full length* in the *Gazette*, and three times in each of two daily papers, with a penalty for every false announcement which has the appearance of being designed to mislead, and recovery against any director or shareholder of any sums paid to the company making such announcement falsely, with intention.

2. That such names and addresses, (with the profession, &c. of the parties) should be registered by companies, new and old, in some place accessible to the public; such register to be renewed once in every year, with penalty in case of omission, and consequence of fraudulent intention as before.

3. That no company should be allowed to commence bu-

business until after proof given that a certain amount of capital (it need not be large) is actually paid up, and vested in trustees.

The preceding regulations are simply to secure some little pecuniary solvency in the directors, and a fair description of who they are. There are certain names so well known in the money-making world, that, be the letters which compose them ever so soft, they absolutely chink in the ear, like the dropping of coin on a pavement. Some perhaps sound rather like the rapid motion of a pen in the hands of the endorser. In either case, the effect of such names in a prospectus is very soothing and comfortable to any one who is contemplating an investment. Now it seems to us that there is in four out of five proposals for new companies, rather a show of such names among the directors. Are these really the money-giants of whom the letters remind us, or only their names, borne by some person who may have a legal title to the sounds, but none to the heaps of coin with which they are associated? It is for the framers of those prospectuses in which Christian names are given in initials, and addresses are omitted, to answer this question.

Next to the danger of having men of straw under *feigned* names, comes that of having respectable men used as men of straw, that is, who lend their names, upon the assurance of some one whom they know, that the company will be properly managed. To which we may add, that designing men may use the names of men of high station, without the latter knowing anything of the company or of their own appearance as its patrons. Suppose then,

4. That the public office in which every insurance, &c. company registers the names of its directors, should be required to give notice, every time such registry is repeated, to every member of either house of parliament, that his name appears in the prospectus of such and such an office.

5. That every person, not being a salaried officer* of a company, whose name can be proved to appear in the prospectus with his own consent, shall be held liable for all the engagements of that company, in the same manner as one of its shareholders.

6. That in every unincorporated company, no engagement between an individual and the company that the liabilities of the shareholders of the latter towards the former shall be

* We should have no objection whatever to include the actuary, or scientific adviser, by whatever name he may be called, among those who are to be liable.

limited to the amount of their shares, shall be of any effect whatsoever.

Some time ago, some parties to a fraudulent company stuck the name of the Duke of Wellington at the head of their proposals, in the character of a patron. They would have been wiser if they had inserted Buonaparte in his place, for it is not at all clear that the honest people who are gulled by such proposals know that the latter is dead, while the impostors found to their confusion that the former is alive. By the aid of a police magistrate, the offenders were put to the rout, and obliged to decamp. Notwithstanding this, another equally fraudulent concern advertised the same respectable name, and was only prevented by the editor of a Scotch paper, of whom more presently, from using it to the detriment of many persons in that country. When such things take place, it being remembered that public men may be widely advertised before they have any knowledge of what is going on, is it too much to ask that, in the registration which we confidently expect must sooner or later take place, means should be taken to put those persons on their guard, who are particularly liable from their station to be put forward as the asserted patrons of dishonest schemes? But if such persons, or any others, should really consent to their names being used as inducements to the ignorant, is it again too much to require that they should take their risk, and that, as in other commercial dealings, an advertised partner, consenting to the advertisement, should be made a real partner? Is it fair that those who neither have, nor can be expected to have, any means of knowing that the name of a nobleman or member of parliament appearing in a prospectus does not make him legally liable, should by their reasonable faith in such a name, put forward expressly that they may have faith in it, be exposed to irremediable loss? We think there can be but one answer. The uninformed part of the public believes, that the noble and parliamentary names which figure in lists of patrons, are really those of persons who are actively engaged in the details of management. Many persons cannot be convinced but that Lord Brougham writes the *Penny Magazine*, *Library of Useful Knowledge*, *Penny Cyclopædia*, and all that appears under the sanction of the Useful Knowledge Society, of which he is president: occasionally, perhaps, employing Lord John Russell or the Bishop of Durham to correct a proof, or it may be to fill up an unfinished sketch: and to this day, Mr. Charles Knight's little tracts on the results of machinery are placarded in shop windows as having

been written by Lord Brougham. If an old woman living in the country, be induced to buy an annuity with the few hundred pounds she may possess, and if, trusting to the high station of certain printed names, she place it in a quarter which wholly or partially fails in a few years; and if, moreover, she should appeal to the House of Commons in a petition, setting forth that several members of that house had taken all she had, and made her no return,—would it be an answer to such a plea, that the poor old woman knew nothing of life, and that the honourable members had no more to do with the management of the society than herself?

The agreement referred to in the ninth regulation proposed for consideration is often made, and may have the effect of precluding the party who may have to seek redress from a complete remedy.

Putting fraud out of the question (as to which it is not mere liability that will act as a check, though the necessity of actually paying up a respectable sum may be a preventive) let us suppose a really respectable company compelled to stop payment by the consequences of an insufficient amount of precaution in its management. This, perhaps the reader may say, never would happen, for it is preposterous to suppose that the failure could be such as would require more than all payments which have been made, and the capital besides, to meet it. It is not, however, at all impossible, if we consider that the list of shareholders may be incomplete. Say that a company, advertising 100,000*l.* worth of capital in 2,000 shares of 50*l.* each, begins business with 400 shares taken, on each of which 10*l.* is paid up; making 4,000*l.* at starting. A good outlay is made in taking a residence, fitting it up, paying the preliminary expenses of advertising, &c. &c., and by dint of the exertions of the directors, who work like new brooms as they are, a good quantity of business is procured. Suppose now that the society is unfortunate to an extent which we will admit has not yet happened (at least in the case of an *assurance* office), but which, considering that new bodies are every day arising, each nearer the ground of insecurity than its predecessors, is the thing which we fear to see arrive. The claimants have been made to believe that 100,000*l.* are mortgaged to them; whereas, owing to the agreements which they have severally made, *they* cannot find more than 20,000*l.*, of which 4,000*l.* has been nearly all sunk. *Have they not a claim on some person or persons to the amount of 100,000*l.*?* What was it that first stared the insurer in the face when he took up the prospectus?

CAPITAL, 100,000*l*. Can it be that any number of persons may positively declare that they can pledge and have pledged 100,000*l*., and by virtue of special agreements, afterwards maintain that the sum named is not what they had got, but what they would have got if persons could have been found to take their shares? We maintain that common justice requires at least that the shareholders should be liable to the full amount of the capital advertised by them, be their number many or few, their share-list empty or full.

When law interferes to regulate the manner of making a bargain between one keen merchant and another, whatever restrictions policy may impose (and we know that there are many), it may at least suppose that when a formal agreement is set down in words, the matter of it is fully understood by both parties, and should be binding upon both, unless some public considerations make its enforcement a public evil. But when on the one hand we have a company of men of business, trying to catch the ignorant by flattering advertisements, does it by any means follow that the latter will be properly aware of the tenor of *subsequent* agreements, containing clauses which are entirely against the spirit of the prospectus? They pay their premiums, and are then told to sign the policy of assurance, a wordy instrument, being, as most of them imagine, precisely the embodiment of the conditions which they have seen and read. If such be not the case, shall the law, so fond of protecting those who can protect themselves, refuse to step in for the security of those who cannot? We incline to think that every agreement which is to any extent against the true intent and meaning of those proposals by which customers are invited, should be to that same extent null and void.

The six hints which we have given, refer to the character of the management, and we now pass to the methods employed to get business. In walking along the streets, we see that a great many of the offices are "empowered by act of parliament;" others are empowered by "special" act of parliament; others again, go so far as to name the acts under which they are empowered, but whether 2 Wm. IV, or 1 Vic. or any other, does not much matter. Mr. Squeers says a man may call his house an island if he pleases, and certainly an assurance company may take powers under many acts of parliament; all, for example, which have been passed for the *regulation* of joint stock companies, which being for the most part prohibitive of powers till

then enjoyed, resemble empowering acts about as much as a house does an island. All that we know is, that the acts under which these societies take privileges frequently do not mention their names; and next, that the inscriptions to which we have alluded are meant to imply that parliament has been so sensible of the merits of each of these offices, as to pass a special act to secure their profitable existence. It is an advertising trick, not one bit more worthy of respect than that of many publishers (and among them some of the most respectable) who will write thus in the daily papers, "To those who . . . *This day* is published," of a work which was published many months ago, and has not received one iota of alteration. In both cases it would probably be answered, "It is a form, we *always* do it." We should suggest,

7. That no office, unless incorporated by act of parliament, or in some other way specially noticed, should hold out to the public that they possess any special authority under any act of the legislature.

If it be desirable to prevent an office from using the name of any particular legislator without his knowledge, is it less so to hold out a prohibition against the similar use of the Queen, Lords, and Commons, in a body? Newly established offices have a trick of putting down that they are "to be empowered by act of parliament." They might as well add "if parliament see fit."

The next point to which we shall allude is the *bribery* which nearly all the offices practise. This was defended in a late number of the *Quarterly Review* in the following manner:—

"What is a poor man, living in the heart of Wales, and wishing to effect an insurance, to do, but apply to his man of business, or the agent of some office, who must take his examination, send it up to the office, employ a medical man, &c. &c., and can it be expected he shall do all this without remuneration? We believe that the whole of the country business with the offices in London is, and must be, transacted through agency; and though each agent may have his peculiar office, yet it is undoubtedly his duty to explain to his private employer as far as he knows, the different terms on which different offices grant assurances. For residents in London, *we believe*, agency is not* given, as the party can himself apply."

Now, *we believe*, that if any person had *tried* to blink some questions, confuse others, and wrap the whole subject in mist, he would not have succeeded so well three times in a hundred trials, as the author of the preceding article, who writes both

* This is a complete mistake.

ingood faith and honest intention. The preceding was an answer to a passage in Mr. De Morgan's work on the subject, of which the two following sentences are a part.

"As between one office and another, the attorney is in a judicial capacity; and as regards his client, *he is already the paid protector of the interests of another person* the time will come when the offer of money to a person whose unbiassed opinion *is already the property of another*, will be taken to be what it really is, namely, *bribery and corruption.*"

As this is a matter of great importance, *and which may affect five per cent. of all moneys* invested in assurance*, we shall, at some length, state the facts, and exhibit a view of the question which shall at least have the merit of distinguishing those totally different considerations which the writer in the *Quarterly* has (in pure haste we suspect) confounded together.

Many offices advertise thus: "Solicitors and others, *bringing business to the office, will receive a liberal commission;*" while some more modestly say: "The *usual* commission will be allowed to solicitors and others." This is addressed to the agents of other persons; besides which, many offices have their own agents, established in all parts of the country, who do not profess to act for the benefit of any person or thing except the office which employs them, and of whose duty it is no more a part to mention any other office, than it is a part of the duty of the agent of one Manchester house to suggest that another sells better goods. With the latter we have nothing to do, nor had the writer on whose work the remarks in the *Quarterly* were made. They are the *employés*, each of his own office, and of course receive a payment for their exertions, each from the office which employs him. It would not be creditable in any one of them to recommend another office in preference to his own, because there is an agreement, known to the insurer, that the agent shall faithfully serve the office which employs him. We do not know of such a thing as a person who is agent to more than one office. And we say that the agreement is known to the insurer, because we presume that every man who sees written up, "A. B., agent to the C. D. company," knows that A. B. is employed by that company, whether it deal in assurances or asphaltum. We should not think of insisting on such simple points, if it were not for the remarks above-quoted. The writer of them would perhaps have avoided the confusion of this agent with the solicitor, &c., *already paid by the insurer*,

* It is believed that upwards of 7,000*l.* has been paid in one year by one office to solicitors, &c. who have brought business, or had brought business.

or at least employed in his behalf, if he had attended to the whole paragraph, of which he has only quoted a part. It runs as follows :

“ Commission, in general, means either a per centage paid to a factor for the transaction of business, or a voluntary relinquishment in favour of the person who brings business, of a part of the profit which the said person, *being honourably free to choose between one competitor and another*, has brought to the trader, who, therefore, allows the commission. It answers to the profit which the retail dealer is allowed by the wholesale merchant from whom he buys. But when an assurance office announces to the solicitor, attorney, or *agent of the party* desiring to insure, that they will allow him a liberal *commission*, the term has a different meaning.” (Here begins the *Quarterly*.) “ As between one office and another, the attorney is in a judicial capacity ; and as regards his client, *he is already the paid protector of the interests of another person.*”

We hope now that our reader is, if he were not so before, in a condition to steal a march upon the writer in the *Quarterly*, and to follow us through our account of the way in which the offices *offer to bribe the agents of other persons*, without confusing that bribe with the *honest gains which they allow their own agents*. We say *offer to bribe*, because it does not follow that the party accepting this offer *is* bribed. Though we object very much to those who clothe their conduct with what may give occasion to the enemy to blaspheme, and blame them unequivocally, yet we should be very sorry not to be able (as we are able) to think that a great many solicitors, &c., though they take the commission, are not bribed by it: that is to say, have really gone to the office of which they think best, and have done their duty by their clients. But alas for human nature ! Who can know, when he takes the commission, how far the offer may have biassed his judgment, unknown to himself ? A heart may be deceitful above all things, without being desperately wicked. But even if such agent were thoroughly honest in the most exalted sense, how does that excuse the offices which offer the bribe ; *what did they mean by the offer ?* They must have meant one of two things ; either they exhorted to this effect, “ Come to us, and take our commission ; but on no account unless you believe us to be better for your client’s purposes than other offices, that is, unless you would have come to us without the commission,” or else they insinuated “ Come to us, *instead of going where you otherwise would have gone, and—hold out your hand, if you please !*” Now which of these two was it ;—did the offices mean to pay

for the business which they would have got without, or did they wish to bring business which they would *not* have got without, and that from the agents already engaged in other persons' behalf? Gentlemen of the jury, how say you, guilty or not guilty?

The history of the commission is this; the oldest offices, the Amicable, and Equitable, never have given it, and never will; as new offices sprang up, they considered it their only way of getting business, and the more recent offices found the custom established, and followed it. There are several honourable exceptions besides the two mentioned; we should name them if we were sure of them all. The commission is generally five per cent. on *every* premium paid: some offices give ten per cent. for the first year. Let us take the simple five per cent. The average amount of a policy of insurance is 1,000*l.*; the average age of insurance is perhaps forty. The average premium of the offices, at the age of forty is, according to Mr. Finlaison, 32*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* for 1,000*l.*, and five per cent on this is 1*l.* 12*s.* 7½*d.* Pretty well for the simple *effecting* an insurance, as it is called (as if it were really a feat), and afterwards sending a clerk once a year, pursuant to a printed notice from the office, with 30*l.* 19*s.* 10½*d.*; or the more difficult evolution of charging with a thirty-three pounder in hand, and receiving the enemy's fire in the shape of seven and sixpence, together with the commission. Or even if the agent should live in the country, what is the trouble of the process, as banking goes, more especially if he be already paid for his services? One life with another, a man of forty lives twenty-seven years odd, and pays twenty-eight premiums; multiply 1*l.* 12*s.* 7½*d.* by twenty-eight, and the result is, altogether, 45*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, which, one policy with another, may be considered as about the agent's "remuneration," as the *Quarterly* hath it.

On *ten* new insurances made in each year, and kept up in an effective (or effected) state, the yearly profits will come to be 456*l.* 15*s.* Let us allow only 500*l.* to each policy, and say that the agent must be saddled with the trouble of twenty new insurances yearly to get the moderate income just quoted; well, even thus, we feel a right to end with!!!

The preceding calculation is certain: it is well known that most of the offices give five per cent. commission on *all* premiums; the average age of insurance is, perhaps 40; if it be more or less it does not make much difference, as in the former case there are higher premiums, and fewer of them, and in the

latter case the contrary; the average amount insured is at least 1,000*l.*, and its premium, in one case with another, 32*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; five per cent. on 32*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* is 1*l.* 12*s.* 7½*d.*; and at forty years of age, one person with another, twenty-eight premiums are paid. The more it is dwelt upon, the more monstrous does it appear that such a sum should be called "remuneration;" and the following statement will make it still more apparent that it is not *remuneration*, but *douceur*.

Insurer John entrusts the effecting an insurance to agent Thomas; agent Thomas does the feat, and of course receives the commission on the first premium; after which he hands over the policy to his principal, telling him that he must remember to pay the annual premiums. In a year, insurer John receives the printed notice, and walks off to the office to pay his second premium. Not a word does the clerk who receives it say about returning five per cent.; but in a few days afterwards comes agent Thomas, reminds the office that he *is* agent Thomas, and receives his five per cent. on the second premium. This may go on for twenty years, agent Thomas having in the meantime quite lost sight of insurer John, until one day, when he walks to the office to be "remunerated," the clerk says, "No, no, Thomas; you are no longer agent Thomas; your man is dead; we paid his claim three months ago. Can't you bring us any body else?" We are not *certain* that all offices which give commission carry it to this point; but we believe it to be the general rule, that it is the original *bringing of business* which gives the claim to commission, and that it matters not who pays the subsequent premiums.

This matter is so bad, that it has never been openly and fairly discussed; it is one of those dubious practices, the friends of which wince when it is mentioned, and the advocates of which are driven to queer shifts of argument; like the writer in the *Quarterly*, who can only meet it by confounding the agent of another person with the agent of the office; and to make the confusion still more complete, by partially imposing on the latter the duty of acting as the former.

It is impossible to legislate against this practice—(though be it known, that if it were an *annuity* instead of an *assurance*, by 53 Geo. III. cap. 141, any person acting as broker, and taking more than ten shillings per cent. on the money advanced, is punishable by fine and imprisonment; and it has been decided in *Bromhead v. Eyre*, that where a *solicitor* purchases an annuity for a third person, he is not entitled even to *this* commission;) but the insurer will put an end to it

himself; and any one who will attend to the directions we are going to give, may have five per cent. on his premiums.

First, let us suppose a person living in London, or being in London for the time. He wants to insure his life. When he has determined upon an office, let his first question be, "Does this office give commission to those who bring business?" If the answer be "No," let him proceed as usual; but if the answer be "Yes, five per cent.," let him rejoin, "I want to insure my own life; I am my own agent, and I expect the same commission as if I were that of another person." If the answer be in the negative, let him say, "Then I must go elsewhere." Before he has left the office he will find himself called back, and he will then do his business five per cent. cheaper than he would otherwise have done. But in all probability the clerk will put on one of those half-comic half-respectful looks, which a man of business so often gives to a person who he sees is up to him (or down upon him, or whatever the phrase may be), and will at once accede to the proposal.

Next let us suppose a person living in the country—and before we begin let us stop to say, long live Rowland Hill!—let him not have anything to do with the agent of the office, but let him write, under a government plaster, informing them of his intention, and requiring the commission as his own agent. He should have ready the certificate of his usual medical attendant, and that of two persons to whom he is well known. He will find his proposal accepted, and the office will manage to make all necessary inquiries, and to take him on his own terms; or if not, let him write to another, or to one of the offices which give no commission. Such must be the natural death of the system of commission; every body must become his own agent; after a time solicitors will become ashamed of taking so large a "remuneration," and will do this business, as they do all others, for a proper charge made at the time when the trouble is taken.

An office might, (but we really hope and think no office would) evade the allowance of commission to the assurer himself, by giving it to him for the first year, when he *is to be* caught, and refusing it in the second and subsequent years, after he *is* caught. Should such a thing happen, the precaution in future cases must be to have the premium agreed for *in the policy*, made five per cent less than that in the office tables.

On the vital questions which remain, as to the management of the offices, it is not our intention to enter: the object of this article being, solely, to excite attention to those points

which must be canvassed before parliament, and that shortly. When the solvency and respectability of the management is secured at the outset, and it is forbidden to state falsehoods in the prospectus — when, moreover, the liabilities of those who engage in this traffic are made more heavy, there is no fear that honest and intelligent men will be found insufficient to manage a concern of this kind without legislative directions.

In the meantime, the turn which the present system is taking is frightful; bad enough as to assurances, but absolutely ruinous as to annuities. We have before us a pamphlet,* by Mr. Christie, of Edinburgh, written to prevent the irruption into Scotland of a society called the Western Annuity Society. Mr. Christie has no interest in this question, except that which every man feels when he sees his fellow-countrymen invited to hazard the subsistence of their children in attempts to make something out of nothing. It fully appears from Mr. Christie's statement, that the society in question is attempting to grant deferred annuities upon premiums which do not warrant their paying more than half what they propose to give. It is an error of judgment, originating in benevolent motives, and supported by men of high station; but it can only end in disappointment; that is to say, the families of those who have the good luck to die first, will eat away the premiums of those who live longest. Societies are now in existence which commenced their career upon an understanding that the premiums paid were sufficient to secure an annuity of 50*l.* to survivors, and which are now paying less than 10*l.* instead of 50*l.*

Much of this bad speculation in annuities arises from more or less of adherence to the old Northampton table, which, making the duration of life too short, has benefited the assurance offices, and injured the annuity societies. The reason is evident: tables which make life too short, will give premiums higher than is requisite, while the value of annuities will be made too small. But as many readers will not even see this clearly, let it be thus stated:—In the assurance, the office pays a fixed sum, and receives annual contingents, depending on the life of the party; in granting an annuity, the office *receives* a gross sum, and *pays* an annual contingent. The positions are therefore reversed in the two cases, and whatever is calculated to benefit the office in the first case, is also calculated to injure it in the second; and *vice versâ*. If an office which

* "An exposure of the unsoundness of the Western Annuity Office Society established at Exeter, &c., &c., and of certain kindred societies. By Robert Christie, accountant in Edinburgh." Bell and Bradfute, Edinburgh; Longman and Co., London; and J. Cumming, Dublin.

both grants annuities and takes assurances, could choose its own lives, it might make itself certain of realizing a profit on any table of mortality whatsoever.

We have not said a word about the actuaries, or other scientific advisers of the different companies, and we do not think that much is necessary on the subject. The only question that could arise would be this: Is it expedient that from henceforward every person wishing to practise as an actuary should undergo an examination before a competent board, and receive a certificate of competency? Should this profession, in fact, be placed on the same footing as the medical and clerical? We must, in answering this question, put the history and present state of this method of gaining a livelihood before our readers.

The earlier professional actuaries were excellent mathematicians. The first of whom we know is De Moivre, of whom it is on record that he subsisted in his later years principally by answering cases, which was done in a methodical, though not what we should now call a business-like manner. The actuary and his client repaired to a tavern in St. Martin's Lane, where, over a bottle, the calculation was made, and the fee paid. It is to be hoped they drank fair, and that the client did not get all the wine while the actuary was consulting his tables. At this time, and throughout the century preceding, the profession of an accountant was in high repute; since it so happened either that those who turned their attention that way were led to the cultivation of liberal science, or, which is more likely, that in the then state of elementary writing and instruction, it was not easy to learn a little only with any chance of being able to apply* it in practice. Collins, the correspondent of every man of science in Europe, the associate of Barrow, Newton, &c. was a poor accountant; the writers of common treatises on arithmetic were men of finished education. The most trifling problems relative to accounts were thought necessary to be certified by the highest names; and the book of leases which is still sold as being the production of Newton, was so called because it was considered expedient to procure his attestation of the truth of the methods employed in it. In the times succeeding De Moivre, but still anterior to the present, Thomas

* We have lately had occasion to glance through hundreds of folio pages, in which good Latin and bad astronomy were applied to form a rule for finding Easter. We quote it as a strong instance of the depth into which simple things were thrown. A child of our day might have learned how to find Easter, and have calculated a century of instances, in less than six hours; but the men of 1500 A.D. learned a couple of simple rules out of a number of pages, the mere recitation of which would have taken twelve hours.

Simpson, Dodson, and others, preserved the connexion between the pursuit of accounts as a means of gain, and the cultivation of the higher branches of science. Nevertheless we may say that, till about the close of the last war, and even beyond it, the number of assurance offices was so few, that the professional class of men whom we now call actuaries,* did not exist. When a new office was established, a person "skilled in calculation," was induced to abandon his other pursuits, and the remuneration was of course liberal. The actuary was sometimes an excellent mathematician, sometimes moderately skilled in that science, sometimes not at all so. With the increase of the offices, a number of actuaries, trained in the older establishments, swelled the ranks of this profession, which were still further augmented by recruits from miscellaneous quarters. The rate of an actuary's remuneration fell, of course; and as the number of such functionaries, actually engaged in the superintendence of offices, and still more of aspirants, is on the increase, it may naturally be supposed that the fall is not yet finished.

On this last point the whole question turns, with which we began this part of the subject. Up to the present time there has been no occasion to wish for legislative regulation of the conditions under which a person shall hold himself out as fit to manage the important and extensive pecuniary interests which have been committed to the charge of these functionaries. That they were in good odour at the time of the Friendly Societies' Act, is evident from their admission as guarantees of the soundness of the rules of the institutions to which that act refers, under no limitation as to who should be considered as entitled to the name: and also from the rejection of a proposition which was made, that the actuary of the National Debt Office should be the only authority on such matters. No past expe-

* We do not know exactly when this title came to be used in its present sense, though we imagine the Equitable Society was the first assurance office which gave it to its principal officer. That of the Amicable (the oldest society) is called registrar. *Actuarius* (according to Ducange) was, in the middle ages, *Scriptor publicus, qui facit acta*; but under the empire, *actuarii* were officers appointed to receive the corn from the storekeepers, and distribute it to the soldiers. They also advanced pay to the soldiery before it was due, that is, discounted their bills, and as no doubt they made good allowance for the chance of the debtors being knocked on the head, their first occupation was not entirely alien from their present pursuits. To judge from the number of regulations made concerning them in the Theodosian code (referred to by Ducange *in verb.*), they must have been troublesome gentry. In later times, the word meant the registrar of the proceedings of a court or other public body; and they are described as using shorthand. The clerk of the convocation is called *actuarius*. They are recognised in the modern sense by the Friendly Societies' Act, as "actuaries or persons skilled in calculation."

rience, then, would need the question to be raised whether an actuary should be recognized as such without producing proof of competency; and it only remains to ask whether any reasonably-grounded anticipation of a future alteration of circumstances would dictate such a demand as a measure of precaution.

Our own feeling decidedly is, though we cannot see the necessity of such a step as one of precaution, that it would be for the benefit of the public service, and of no bad tendency in any one particular, if the examination and the certificate were granted as a boon to those who ask for it. A young man, unknown out of his own circle, but knowing himself to have acquired all the requisite knowledge, is without any proper means of advertising his proficiency to those who might be glad to know of his existence. It would be a great favour conferred upon him, and a great stimulus given to others, if any road were opened by which he might attain that distinction and notoriety. The University of London, which is understood to have it in contemplation to establish a degree for civil engineers, will, we sincerely hope, also provide for the future actuary in the same manner. Whatever reason exists for attention to the first class, must be equally strong for the second; and it will, we doubt not, eventually suggest itself to the senate of that body, that by the extent of knowledge which they might reasonably require as a preliminary to the attainment of their certificate, they would be judiciously and usefully aiming at one of the details of their great object, the increase of the amount of liberal education, and its cultivation over the whole of those grounds which have hitherto only received the fortuitous seed of circumstances. The consequence of some exertions in this particular behalf on the part of a public body like the university, would be not only the mere promotion of acquirement among those who compete, but the imposition of a necessity upon others preparing for the same profession, to complete and extend their course of study; upon writers, to enlarge their acquaintance with those higher branches of mathematics in which the *steam-power* of the sciences is found; and upon examiners, to keep their eyes upon the prevailing opinions and methods, and upon the new wants which the increasing complication of actual business is every day creating.

The number of schemes which have been tried or canvassed for the reduction of premiums *with safety*, by persons who are honestly desirous of security, but have nevertheless been stimulated by competition, is very large. Many of them have been founded on fallacies, and have arisen from a want of

clear perception of the wholesome truth, that out of nothing can come nothing. The hope that a sum of money called by one name, would realize more (the investment remaining the same) than the same when called by another, has been clung to more than once. There are nevertheless some plans which may be feasible, and some which are too feasible; we shall notice one or two of these.

To obtain business, the offices have relaxed their old severity, and permit persons to travel, without extra premium, much farther than was formerly usual; many of them have also modified the strictness of the forfeiture in cases of suicide. This is all very well, both in prudence and policy; but we doubt whether the same can be said of the plans, the action of which is an alleviation of the premium at first, on the condition that the arrears shall be paid up afterwards. We will explain our meaning. Some of the offices will allow their customers to retain half the premiums in their hands on payment of five per cent. interest. The interest is always paid in advance, so that the matter stands thus: at the beginning of each premium-year, that is, on the anniversary of the day when the first premium was paid, the customer pays, First, half his premium for the current year. Secondly, five per cent. on each half premium in his hands. Thirdly, five per cent. on the half premium just due, and which he retains. If he should die, the half premiums due to the office are deducted from his claim; if he should live, and abandon his policy, the half premiums may (?) be recoverable by law, but if not, the office is not injured; for the half premiums *paid* are enough (at least when some years have elapsed), to cover the risk of the parties dying in the several years of tenure. It may be therefore on the part of the office, a tolerably safe investment of one half of the premium at five per cent. But with regard to the customer, how stands the matter? He is lured on by the prospect of present ease, and furnished with facilities for running in debt. He will not pay up the half premiums at last, but will, in nine cases out of ten, abandon his policy rather than bring the arrears due from him. We disapprove entirely, on moral considerations, of this very business-like attempt to draw business; it is the policy of the tradesman who gives long credit, by which the party trusted, and to whose want of forethought the appeal is made, will certainly be a loser in the long-run.

There is another practice which is coming into vogue, namely, the holding of public meetings, with chairmen, speeches, and resolutions, as if the assurance office were a

public and political concern, and not a collection of private transactions. We have lately seen one or two reports of meetings of this kind; whether paid for or not we do not know.* Now it will of course be sufficiently well known to the initiated, that every man who attends these meetings is a manager or a creditor of the society: so that each initiated person will know the precise value of the *public* display. But it is not so with others, who may, if warning be not given, really imagine that these exhibitions are the spontaneous effusions of disinterested persons in favour of the advertising office. Suppose a firm of grocers were to collect their partners, their clerks, shopmen, and creditors, in a room at the Crown and Anchor, to put one of their wholesale merchants in the chair, and proceed to speechify about figs, the stimulants of virtue in juvenile minds, and sugar, the sweetener of our—tea. Suppose a set of resolutions were passed, in which general praises of colonial produce were made the premises to a conclusion that the meeting *felt itself called upon* to declare that no grocery wares could compete either in price or quality with those of Messrs. Hyson and Humbug. Such a puppet-show would deceive no one; why is it that assurance companies hope for better success? For the simple reason that many benevolent persons being desirous of propagating knowledge on the important and not yet understood subject of life assurance, the directors of one and another company may think that the praises of this method of securing provision for a family may usher in a few words as to the “peculiar advantages” of their own particular company. Unfortunately, the benefits of retail trade are so well known, that it is useless to speak of them; so Hyson and Humbug have no chance.

The “farce of public meetings” must surely be drawing near its last act. We have received an advertising circular of what the proprietor calls a “finishing establishment” for teaching writing. It asserts that this system was the object of a *public meeting* more than twenty years ago; but it shall speak for itself.

“At a public meeting held at the Freemason’s Tavern, His Royal highness the Duke of Kent in the chair, it was unanimously resolved,

“That the system of penmanship taught at this establishment is very superior to any now in use; that the **FREE USE OF THE FINGERS, HAND, AND ARM**, as taught by this method, affords such a facility in the art of writing, *that if generally introduced, will be a saving both*

* In the *Times*, they were advertisements. We are no friends nor approvers of the politics of the *Times*, or of its virulence; but on this point we must say it has always set a shining example to other papers. Every commercial insertion which is paid for is headed “Advertisement.”

of time and expense, and **THIS MEETING DO THEREFORE STRONGLY RECOMMEND IT** to all persons interested in teaching that branch of education.

Edward (Duke of Kent).

J. Hume, M.P.

J. Bond, D.D.

C. Downie, K.C.

J. Rudge, M.A.

J. Collier, D.D.

W. Corston, &c."

This very simple attempt at imposition is intended for the same purpose as the public meetings of the new assurance companies; we suggest to the directors of them to write their public meeting; and send it to the papers,—if indeed they do not do so already (for reports do not always represent what passed); it will save some time and expense, and catch just as many flats. As to the morality of the fiction, the less we say in either case the better.

Since the capabilities of an assurance office must very much depend upon the interest of money it can realise, it is natural that the directors of those establishments should turn their attention towards the very high rate which can be got both in some of our colonies and in the United States. Interest varying from six to twelve per cent is very tempting to the speculators of a country in which the best securities only yield three and a half. Of all the variations which may affect an office, that of the rate of interest can be least foreseen; and nothing is more easily credible than that, within half the life of man, the market rate of interest may be halved or doubled. If then an assurance office were to start on the principle of selling the bird in the bush, and presuming upon a continuance of that enormous interest which new colonies yield, its existence would be of a most precarious kind. It is not for us to say it would certainly be ruined; but it is important that all who deal with it should know that it is not properly an assurance office. If it have a large guarantee of capital, it may be safe up to a certain point; that is to say, if the worst come to the worst, the assured may be done justice to by the ruin of the shareholders. Still, however, it might happen that the losses of such a company would raise a panic against it, such as would be sure to give it a disastrous fate, as concerns the proprietors at least.

But if on the other hand, a company possessing capital, and starting on the principle of being prepared for the worst (which is *assurance*, in the office meaning of the term, though some establishments seem to read it in that sense which is most pleasing when preceded, which it is not with them, by the word *modest*), that is to say, demanding such premiums as will secure their creditable existence, under any rate of

interest which has ever been permanent ; if such an office, we say, were disposed to make colonial investments, with proper judgment, and by the agency of persons who understand and have thriven in the colonies, undoubtedly they might take their share of the good things which a new country offers ; and the hope of sharing in their profits might be fairly held out to induce custom. But they must remember that *high interest, so called, is not all interest* : some of it is allowance for *risk*, which is altogether a different thing. Among the perversions of opinion which produced and maintain the usury laws, the fallacy contained in the words *high interest* is conspicuous ; because such and such a sum was too high for the fair use of money, it was prohibited to be given for the *risk* of money, — a perfectly distinct thing. We apprehend that many persons really expect to net, one investment with another, the very large rate of what is called interest in the colonies, which we feel sure they will not do ; though it must be admitted that the real interest of money is higher there than here.

We have noticed an article in the *Quarterly Review*, for the purpose of impugning the doctrines there laid down, on one material point. We have now to repeat the notice, with the more pleasant task of approving its conclusions, and endeavouring to reinforce them. The subject is an office actually established and doing business in London, upon terms which carry either fraud or insanity upon the face of them : the object is to deter the unwary, to make them reflect a little, and, if possible, to prevent them from ruining themselves ; the means, an exposure, first, of the proposals of this office, next, of their proceedings. The article in the *Quarterly* first brought to our notice the office called "The Independent and West Middlesex Insurance Company," which holds forth at a house in Baker-street. We afterwards learned that a private individual had brought an action for libel, in the name of this company, against the editor of a Glasgow newspaper, and had failed. We made inquiry into the grounds of this action, and convinced ourselves that an attempt had been made to gain at Glasgow, where the company (so called) was not known, something which might be carried to their credit in London. The metropolitan journals took no notice either of the action against the editor, or of several actions brought against the company's agents on the score of fire insurances made in Scotland. It is for us to repair this neglect, and to put the public on their guard.

When an office professes both to grant assurances and annuities, each species of table forms a check on the other. Granting, if you please, that different notions upon life and its value may justify two persons in believing different premiums to be allowable, it is impossible that any person who understands the most common principles can fail to see, that *cæteris paribus*, the lower a person believes the proper rate of assurance to be, the lower would be the rate of annuity that he would grant. Imagine a madman possessed with the notion, that all men from this day forward must live a thousand years each; and we can see that his conclusion is not a mad one, though his premises are so, when he proposes to insure lives at a halfpenny per cent.; since there can be no doubt that, duly paid for a thousand years, a halfpenny, with its accumulations of interest,* would yield him a most enormous profit. But supposing the same individual to be possessed with the notion that he could compete with all the present offices in granting annuities; nay, more, that he could grant 90% on every life for every 100% paid down; we should say that there must be a most curious dovetailing of opposite insanities in his constitution, since either his insurance or his annuities would, it should seem, infallibly ruin him. Yet a rate of interest so high might be named, that he should not only not be ruined, but should realize enormous gain even by his annuities.

But give him a sound view of the actual state of the money-market, and of the duration of human life, and let him be convinced that money cannot make more than four per cent., and that fourscore years is a good old age; and if he cannot then be convinced that both his annuity and his assurance office will bring him to ruin, and that if one would not, the other would, he must be pronounced incurable.

By the preceding extreme case we may illustrate the following statement. One office grants assurances at very low rates; good, the directors think that human life is much better than is usually supposed; they may be very wrong, but it does not follow that they are either knaves or fools: they *may* be right; time will show. Another office grants annuities at a much lower rate of payment than any where else: good again; the directors think human life much worse than is usually supposed: nothing follows against them either; they *may* be right, and time will show. To time we leave them

* A single halfpenny, improved at only one per cent., for 1,000 years, would yield 44 pounds; at three per cent., upwards of 14,300 millions of pounds.

both, confident of the ruin of one or the other. But a third office not only sells annuities at a lower rate than elsewhere, but assurances also: what are we now to say? it cannot be the value of life on which the directors hold ultra opinions, for if they sold their assurances low, on a belief of the great vitality of the community, they would sell their annuities high, or *vice versa*. It must then be by making very large interest of their money that they hope to thrive, if they have any hopes of thriving honestly. And here is the touchstone to which we propose to subject the tables of the office before us. Give us the rate of annuity which they propose to grant for 100*l.*, and the rate at which they propose to assure 100*l.* to a person of the same age, and, if any calculations have been made at all, the rate of interest upon which they reckoned can be detected, certainly and mathematically. If they had given their assurance rates only, or their annuity rates only, this could not have been done: since any variation from the usual terms might have been caused by new assumptions as to mortality, and not as to interest, or *vice versa*. But let them give both; then it is known to the mathematician that they cannot help exposing their proposed rate of interest, and the rule for detecting it is as follows, exhibited in a form which every arithmetician will most readily understand.

To 1 add the annuity they propose to give for 1*l.*, and multiply the sum by the premium at which they propose to insure 1*l.* Divide a hundred times the excess of the annuity over this product by one more than the product, and the quotient is the rate of interest which it is proposed to gain.

For example, a company grants 10*l.* of annuity, per 100*l.* paid down, upon a life which it would insure for 100*l.*, at a premium of 5*l.* What is the rate of interest supposed?

£10 upon £100 is £.1 upon £1, the annuity

£5 upon £100 is £.05 upon £1, the premium

1+1 or 1.1 multiplied by .05 is .055

1- .055 is .945 and 100 times this is 4.5

1 and .055 is 1.055, and 4.5 divided by 1.055 is 4.265, that is, £4. 5*s.* 3*d.* percent is the interest which was calculated upon.

We have given this method at length, because the more obvious method, being only an approximation, may be asserted to be wrong by those who are interested in defending a bad system. If any one should say that an individual may, on the above scheme, buy an annuity of 10*l.* for 100*l.*, and insuring his life at a premium of 5*l.*, might put the other 5*l.* in his pocket as interest, he would be, though roughly correct, since

the interest he gains is four and a quarter, not be sufficiently correct to come to close quarters with a practised opponent, who would answer that his method is wrong (and so it is), concealing that it is a sufficient approximation to give a guess at the pretensions of the scheme. The following table exhibits the rate of annuity granted at several ages for each 100*l.* paid down, and the premium for insuring 100*l.*, both taken from a recent prospectus of this Independent and West Middlesex Company. The third, &c. columns contain the rate of interest which the office, if any calculations have been made, must have been imagined to be obtainable; first, on the supposition that no part of the charge was put on for management or profit; next on the supposition that 10 or 20 per cent. of the charges made consist of an allowance for management and profit.

Age.	Annuity for each £100.	Premium for £100.	Rate of interest, allowing for profit.		
			0 p. c.	10 p. c.	20 p. c.
30	£8 0 0	2 0 0	5 14 0	6 16 0	8 2 0
35	8 0 0	2 6 0	... ..	... ..	... ..
40	8 0 0	2 15 0	... ..	... ..	... ..
45	8 10 0	3 5 0	4 16 0	6 1 0	7 13 0
50	9 0 0	4 0 0	4 9 0	5 16 0	7 9 0
55	9 10 0	4 18 0	3 19 0	5 8 0	7 4 0
60	10 10 0	6 6 0	3 6 0	5 0 0	7 1 0

The reader can now pretty well judge for himself whether this farrago has been calculated from a table of mortality, or whether it is fancifully put together at the taste of some person thoroughly ignorant of the subject. Let us suppose that the managers of this concern have allowed ten per cent. for management and profit. How is this, then; does the money of a man of sixty yield them five per cent., and that of a man of thirty nearly seven? Does the Australasian or American company with whom they invest (and how else can they get this interest?) say to them "I see by the colour of *this* sovereign that you got it from a man of thirty, and I will therefore give seven per cent.; but *this one* was evidently paid in by a man of sixty, and therefore you shall have only five per cent"? This would be a curious company; but not more so than the one before us. If the difference had lain *the other way*; if the interest granted to young persons had been less than to the old, we might have supposed a reason; we might have imagined that they had allowed for the longer continuance of a young person among their creditors; and remembering the probable fluctuations of the money market, we should have approved the not assuring to young lives a permanence of that rate which we could not

have thought advisable to grant even to old ones. But here is an odd state of things, truly; the younger life, in all cases and on all suppositions, is allowed a higher interest than the old one; which amounts to saying, that an improvement in the rate of interest shall be guaranteed to those who live long enough.

But we feel that we are all this time throwing away good computation; for we are confident that the preceding table of annuities and premiums never was made from any table of mortality. If any such had been resorted to, it must, be the table what it might, have given the same premiums where it gave the same annuities. For the premium depends entirely on the value of the annuity and the rate of interest; what then can be meant by saying that 8*l.* of annuity can be given both at the ages of thirty and forty, while the premiums at those ages are 2*l.* and 2*l.* 15*s.*? Simply this, that the table of annuities has been cooked after one fancy, and that of premiums after another: nice made-dishes are they both, but they will not do to be eaten together.

All that precedes is independent of the table of mortality, and shows the inconsistency of the two rates (of assurance and annuity) upon any and every supposition. Let us now try them by tables of mortality, taking four per cent., a higher rate of interest than any office should permanently count on, with tables which are true, much more with those which are against the office. Let us take the Northampton table for the annuities, which being very well known to give life too short at the younger ages, would indicate a higher rate of annuity than ought to be given. In fact, the use of this Northampton table (however beneficial to an assurance office) has ruined more than one annuity office. Opposite, then, to that which the Northampton table will allow an office to give, and not allowing one farthing for management or profit, we put that which the Independent and West Middlesex Company offers; the third column is the Carlisle table, a safer guide:—

Age.	Northampton.	Ind. & W. Midd.	Carlisle.
30	£6 16 0	£8 0 0	£5 19 0
35	7 2 0	8 0 0	6 6 0
40	7 12 0	8 0 0	6 13 0
45	8 3 0	8 10 0	7 2 0
50	8 17 0	9 0 0	7 16 0
55	9 16 0	9 10 0	8 17 0
60	11 1 0	10 10 0	10 7 0

It appears that, through the greater part of this table, *more*

is offered by this company than is indicated by the Northampton table at four per cent.

With respect to the table of assurances, let us now take the Carlisle table, again at four per cent., and without allowing a farthing for management: this table gives lower premiums than the Northampton.

Age.	Carlisle.	Ind. & W. Midd.	Average of the Offices.	Recommended* by Mr. Finlaison.
30	£1 12 0	£2 0 0	£2 10 0	£2 1 0
35	1 17 0	2 6 0	2 17 0	2 7 0
40	2 4 0	2 15 0	3 5 0	2 16 0
45	2 12 0	3 5 0	3 14 0	3 6 0
50	3 4 0	4 0 0	4 9 0	4 1 0
55	4 3 0	4 18 0	5 7 0	5 0 0
60	5 7 0	6 6 0	6 11 0	6 5 0

We have given these results to the nearest shilling, as being sufficient for comparison. Observe, then, that even though Mr. Finlaison (an advocate of rather low premiums) recommends the premiums of the last column to be increased for charges of management, the premiums of this company are lower. Nevertheless, their insurance plan is not so monstrous as that which they propose for annuities; indeed, taking the former as safe, which we do not think it to be by any means, it is sufficient to expose the monstrous character of the latter.

We now come to those statements of proceedings to which we have previously referred. An action of libel was brought against Mr. Peter Mackenzie, editor of the *Scotch Reformers' Gazette*, a Glasgow paper, by George Williams, whose name appeared in the list of directors of the Independent and West Middlesex Company. This action was dismissed on the ground that it was not competent for an individual to seek damages for a libel alleged to have been published against a company. (Mr. Mackenzie therefore had no occasion to prove the facts which he had collected against this so-called company; but in his defences, dated July 9, 1839, he set forth a statement, of which the following is an abstract.

That in 1836, a plan was devised to set up this assurance company, which was said to have been founded in 1696 (!) and to have a capital of a million. That it was sparingly advertised at first in London, but plentifully in the provincial papers. That agencies were established, and among other places, at Glasgow, where a good deal of business was done. That the monstrous character of the benefits proposed excited attention,

* On the supposition that a proper increase is made for management.

and that explanation was asked of the agent. That this agent having visited London, declared that he had seen several of the directors, whom he had found to be of the highest respectability, and that he had been informed by Sir John Rae Reid, Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, that the company was in every way trustworthy. That Sir J. R. Reid, on being written to, denied ever having made such an assertion, and declared that he knew nothing of the parties in question. That the agent had represented the names of H. R. Perkins and James Drummond, which appeared in the list of directors, as being those of the well known brewer and banker. That Mr. Mackenzie thereupon warned the Glasgow public, by writing an article on the subject, and publishing Sir J. Reid's letter, with one from Mr. Barber Beaumont, giving an account of several circumstances calculated to throw suspicion on the company. That all the exertions of the London police failed in discovering the alleged directors of this establishment. That one of the leading officials, when traced out, was found to have been a tapster in a tavern in London, where he had failed; that another of them was his brother-in-law, who had been dismissed in December 1837 from his employment as a journeyman bell-hanger, in which capacity he had been making thirty shillings a week, out of which his parish had compelled him to pay five shillings a week for the maintenance of a wife whom he had deserted, while he lived in adultery with another woman. That a third had been a gentleman's servant, and was afterwards employed in taking orders for a wine merchant, in which character he had also failed. That one person at least, connected officially with the Independent and West Middlesex Company, had been connected with a fraudulent concern called the "London Equitable Loan Company," which had assumed the name of the Duke of Wellington as their patron, and had been disavowed by the Duke. That their solicitor, having come down to Scotland in consequence of certain actions brought against the company, was himself arrested on a *meditatio fugæ* warrant; and when examined before the magistrates, refused to answer any questions as to the constitution or character of the company, and after finding caution, left Scotland with great expedition.

Such is Mr. Mackenzie's description, which he was prepared to justify, of a company which still continues to do business in London, and which is reported to have been very successful in the country. These allegations are widely known in Scotland, and should certainly be made known, and, if those con-

cerned can do it, answered, in England. If they should be true, the whole thing is dreadful to think of; and this one instance alone would justify the rational part of the community in demanding legislation on the subject. Whether this company be what it has been represented to be, or not; that is, whether ignorance and rashness, or preconcerted fraud, be the key to the extraordinary annuity and assurance tables which we have exposed, the consequences will be equally fatal to the numerous subscribers, who, with their families, must be injured, and may be ruined, by the operation of this *impossible* scheme. Law must step in, sooner or later, and once again we ask of our legislature, What are you waiting for? Will you never believe that the plans which tend to the ruin of the widow and the orphan on a large scale, are to be checked, until you hear the cry of the injured reproaching you for the past, because you would not take the clear warning which pointed out the future? Is there no member of either House who has time or knowledge to turn his thoughts to the present state of the *trade* which we have been describing? If the unfortunate persons who have been or may be deceived by the various arts to which we have alluded, had committed larceny or felony, both houses would have spent long evenings in discussing plans for their punishment or reformation, and my honourable friend, and my honourable and gallant friend, and my honourable and learned friend, and all the denominations of honourable friends (and how friendly they are to be sure!) would have cried Hear, hear, until the report of the debate was as wet as a fresh newspaper, the best half of every sentence being "drowned in cheers." Prevention is better than cure, but here prevention is the only cure, for the disorder is deadly, and the mischief is that of a plague which strikes at the life of hundreds, and takes no single victim. A healthy system has grown and is growing; but the weeds have sprung up in the crop, and must be rooted out. Without metaphor, the confidence of the public in the whole system of assurance, *the ultimate abolisher of all poor-laws*, will receive a strong check if certain and speedy remedies be not applied to its abuses, as it now exists among the middle classes. Let such a check be given, and the progress of its influence among the poorer classes will also be retarded; a few years of delay may postpone for generations the time when *every man throughout the country, who has not an independent fortune, shall make his day of health and strength the SOLE and ASSURED earthly support of his sick bed, and of his surviving family.*

ART. IV.—*Hungary and Transylvania ; with Remarks on their Condition, social, political and economical.* By John Paget, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London : 1839.

WHEN Dr. Bright was travelling some quarter of a century ago in Hungary, he was asked by a mining officer of Kremnitz whether Mexico was not an English island, and if rice, sugar, and coffee were not the products of Great Britain. These questions undoubtedly displayed a considerable degree of ignorance on the part of the doctor's acquaintance. But the tables might be easily turned upon ourselves. There is much of justice in the complaint made to Mr. Paget by the Hungarians, that Englishmen in general were more interested about the islanders of the South Sea and the negroes of Africa, than about the inhabitants of the east of Europe. It is but a few days ago that we heard a member of parliament ask in what part of Circassia Khiva was situated,—Khiva, which is not in Circassia at all, but many hundred leagues distant from that region.

In fact, until public attention was attracted to the Danube through the Count Szechenyi's exertions to render it navigable by the steam-boat, the whole of Europe, to the east and south-east of Vienna, may be said to have lain under a dense cloud of oblivion, so far as the active nations of the west were concerned. Although the eagles and legions of Rome had found their way into those vast and fertile countries stretching from Illyria to the Carpathian mountains; had to a certain extent civilized them, embellished them by noble structures, and rendered their inhabitants conversant with that language which is never to die; yet when the empire fell, Cimmerian darkness again claimed them for "her own." The wars between Turkey and Austria for awhile reminded us that Belgrade, Peterwardin, Buda, and Pesth, were still in existence. But the French revolution, the victories of Marengo and Austerlitz, the marches to Berlin and Moscow, and all that succession of marvellous events which terminated at Waterloo, so completely averted all minds from the more distant nations of our hemisphere, that when the first Englishman who steamed it down the Danube described his voyage, and spoke of the population on its banks, he was represented by more than one of his critics to have introduced his countrymen to the knowledge of a "new world."

A "new world" indeed! It was a phrase against which the Hungarians had good right to protest. Ten or eleven

millions of people, possessing institutions as free and quite as ancient as our own, a territory much more extensive and fertile than Great Britain, and a religion derived from the source of truth which they have ever cherished, and to which the great majority still firmly adhere,—had good right to murmur when they were alluded to as mere strangers in Europe. It is high time that we should reform our own shallow notions in this respect, and that we should at least render ourselves a little better informed in geography than the representative of one of our counties, who asked in what part of Circassia Khiva was to be found.

It must indeed be confessed that both Hungary and Transylvania present many difficulties to a traveller, which the mere summer tourist would have little disposition to conquer. The people are every where civil and hospitable; but the access to their principal towns, and the most interesting portions of their territory, are confined to roads which are still in a state of nature. The plains of Hungary are traversed by highways best known to the horses accustomed to run from stage to stage, and scarcely distinguishable except by deep ruts here and there, through scanty herbage, or low brushwood, which seems to have no limit. The highways and byeways of Transylvania are still less inviting. The mountainous character of that region renders a journey through it an affair of no ordinary peril. No very pleasant sensations arise from the rocking which a traveller must undergo, who, seated in a wooden cart, or a vehicle of wicker-work, is often knocked about from one side to the other, and occasionally pitched bodily out upon a ledge of rock, or perchance into a ravine, while descending what is called the king's "high-road." The greater therefore are the obligations which are due from those

"Gentlemen of England

Who stay at home in ease,"

to Mr. Paget and other enterprising persons, who rough it through those *terræ incognitæ*, and then take the trouble to tell us of all that they have seen and heard during their journeys. To Mr. Paget, very particular marks of our gratitude ought to be paid; for he not only imposed upon himself a great deal of personal toil and privation in endeavouring to explore the interior of Hungary and Transylvania, but also no small pecuniary sacrifices; for he took with him an eminent artist to sketch the scenery, and has illustrated his volumes so abundantly with landscapes, and groups of the natives, and sketches of mountain fastnesses, and ancient castles, that he can scarcely expect a sale sufficient to cover his expenditure.

We must therefore begin by forgiving him for the very slender knowledge he evinces, throughout his work, of botany and geology. In mineralogy he seems somewhat more of an adept. Indeed we have a sharp suspicion that he was tempted into Transylvania by some other "prospects" than those which the face of the country opened to his view. The dreams awakened by certain mining speculations, in a region where every mountain is said to teem with gold and silver, may possibly have had for him a spell which he could not well resist. It is certain that he speaks with more than usual warmth of language, about a certain little branch of solid gold which he saw or read of, and believed to have sprung from a trunk of the same highly prized metal. Nor can we imagine that the great and diversified volume of nature could have possessed many real attractions for a tourist, who could write in the following style about a sunrise :—

"A sunrise may be a very delightful thing, and I have *almost* enjoyed it, when stern necessity obliged me to be moving at such a time. But I do most solemnly protest against the imputation of ever having risen voluntarily at so unseemly an hour for so absurd a purpose. To a sunset commend me if you will; there you have glorious colours, and feelings congenial to them; all the brilliancy of golden lights and purple shadows, all the poetry of warmth, the luxury of shade, and the still sweetness of reposing nature. But in the morning, the poor sun itself looks no better than a huge Seville orange; and the raw air, and cold dead smell of night, together with the gray tints of surrounding objects, make one shiver at such mockery of life and heat. I would as soon get up to see the housemaid make my study fire, as worship the god of day till he has fairly warmed the air, and made it fit for mortal breathing."—vol. i. p. 185.

We should be glad to see dame Nature give Mr. Paget a pinch in the ear, or a good ducking in a shower of rain, for such a piece of, we were going to say, impertinence as this. But the phrase is rather stronger than we should like to use, and moreover it would not be quite justifiable; for albeit he thus speaks slightly of the glorious pageantry that attends the god of day upon leaving the eastern gates for his usual visit to the haunts of men, still our author, in spite of the little spice of dandyism infused through his intellectual constitution, does often betray a sincere love of beautiful skies, and of those gorgeous mantles, as Milton describes some clouds, lined and edged with cloth of burnished gold.

Mr. Paget commenced his Hungarian tour in June 1835, setting out from Presburg, and proceeding thence, after he was tired of witnessing the proceedings of the diet, and examining all the "lions" of the place, to the "valley of the

Waag, a romantic region, which, though at so short a distance from Vienna, has hitherto been scarcely heard of by Englishmen. The Waag river, born somewhere among the valleys of the Krivain, winds northward until it is lost in the Danube at Komorn, about midway between Presburg and Pesth. In the lower part of its course, it irrigates rich plains covered with corn as far as the eye can reach. But in its more northern courses, which are somewhat lawless, (as its name, derived from the Latin *Vagus*, intimates), it leads the traveller through wild and fantastic scenery. It is often a most dangerous and treacherous river. Without giving anything like fair warning, it will suddenly quit its previous channel, and turn off elsewhere, sweeping away whole villages with their inhabitants, and leaving behind it, instead of green pastures and smiling harvests, vast beds of sands and stones.

Without stopping to examine all the charms of the valley, its hot springs and various villages, we shall transport ourselves at once to the caves of Demenfalva.

"Having applied the evening before for permission to visit the cavern of Demenfalva, to a gentleman of the name of Kubin, on whose property it is situated, and having been kindly promised by his lady, who received us in his absence, that she would find us guides, and make every necessary provision for our visiting it, we started for the village of Demenfalva; when, being provided with a guide, we drove on to the cavern, about five miles distant. I shall not easily forget that drive. We were in a light carriage of the country, without springs, and had to pass along the rocky bed of a mountain torrent. It is almost impossible for a carriage of this description to fall over, but it required all our care to avoid falling out; for every turn of the wheel brought it over huge masses of rock, from which it fell down again with a shake that seemed to dislocate every bone in our bodies.

"At last we came in sight of the cavern's mouth,—a small hole at a considerable height on the side of a limestone mountain, in a very wild and beautiful valley. Here another guide awaited us, both being as savage-looking fellows as I ever saw, and unfortunately ignorant of any other language than Slavackish. The entrance, not more than three feet high, opens into a high passage, which descends rather suddenly for several hundred feet, and leads into the first cavern, the roof and floor of which are beset with stalactytes and stalagmites, though not of any great size. From thence we descended by a broken and very rotten ladder, into a larger cavern, out of which, a low archway conducted us to the great curiosity of Demenfalva, the ice grotto. In the centre of this grotto, which is rather small, rises a column of beautifully clear ice, about seven feet high, on which the water falls as it drops from the ceiling, and immediately freezes. The floor is one mass of thick ice. Still lower in the same direction, is a much larger chamber, where an ice pillar, of several feet in thickness, reaches from the roof to the

floor. It is formed of small irregularly rounded crystals of ice, of about the size of drops of water, which reflected most brilliantly the light of our torches as it fell on them.

"It is the presence of the ice in this cavern, and the various shapes it puts on, which imparts to Demensfalva its peculiar interest and beauty. We have already seen it forming the slender column and the stately pillar; a little further on, it presents in wonderful exactness the beautiful appearance of a frozen waterfall; in one place it hangs in such graceful and delicate folds, that the statuary might borrow it as the beau ideal of his drapery; while in another, it makes the elaborate fretwork of the Gothic roof. It was singular to observe the apparent uncertainty as to whether ice or solid limestone should result from the water which trickled through the roof; in one instance, where the roof of the cavern was covered with hard limestone stalactytes, the floor was composed of icy stalagmites. It seemed as though the one or the other was indifferently formed. To what this circumstance is owing, in what respect Demensfalva differs from other caves where limestone deposits take place, but where there is no ice formed, I cannot say. Ice is also found in an old mine at Herrengrund, as well as in one or two other caverns in Hungary. That of Herrengrund is remarkable as having only begun to form, on the miners' opening an old shaft, and as having proceeded so fast, as to oblige them to discontinue their workings. It is said still to go on increasing, though much is consumed in summer by the inhabitants of Neusohl, for whom it forms a common ice-house; nay, so well does it answer this purpose, that the greater the heat of the summer, the more rapidly is the ice said to increase.

"As far as I am aware, no satisfactory explanation has been given of this phenomenon. At Demensfalva, there was no perceptible draught of air, which our lights, if not our feelings, would have indicated; nor, as far as I could judge (my thermometer was broken), was it at all colder here, than in Adelsberg or Aggteletk. The stratum, a compact limestone, is the same in all those caverns I have seen, and the quantity of moisture differs but little.

"After sketching the second ice grotto, we passed onward into a long cavern with a gothic arched roof, containing a number of stalactyte pillars of beautiful forms. The floor was here no longer of stone or ice, but covered with a very fine dry lime dust. Two more caverns of great size, and so high, that the feeble light of our torches lost itself in seeking to define their limits, led us to a narrow passage, where the bottom was covered with a soft white mud, common in such places, and called by the Germans *berg milch*, (mountain milk), and which soon became so deep, that it was impossible to proceed further. We returned by the same road, which I should think was about a mile long, having occupied two hours in the cavern."—vol. i. pp. 141-5.

There is more celebrity attached in Hungary to the office of member of our Parliament, than we had thought of. The

Waagites seemed, according to our author, to think, that the House of Commons especially, must needs be the resort of everybody. He had heard young men declare that they would slave a whole life long, for the pleasure of once seeing and hearing the debates of that house. Had they, however, been present at some of the debates upon Lord Stanley's Irish registration bill, and witnessed the conduct of some of our young lordlings, and disappointed place-hunters, upon those occasions, we presume that they would scarcely have felt any very ungovernable desire to quit their native vales for a second visit to our legislative bear-garden. Some of their questions, however, were rather piquant. "How did Lord Grey look?" "How could Peel hold with the Ultra-Tories?" or, indeed, they might have added with any other Tories, all of whom, we suspect, he would wish to see crammed into a ship bound for New Zealand. Another droll question which the Waagites, (is not our word "Wag" borrowed from that valley?) put to Mr. Paget was, "Did Stanley really believe all he talked about Church property?" Doubtless this was one of the interrogatories which, our traveller confesses, puzzled him "not a little."

Mr. Paget devotes many pages to the constitution of the Hungarian chambers, a rather trite subject, upon which his researches, if they be indeed worthy of that name, have thrown no new light. One of the most distinguished members of the legislature, the Count Szechenyi, has been for some time known to all Europe, on account of his great personal sacrifices and exertions in favour of his country. The following sketch of his character we know to be perfectly correct as far as it goes:—

"Count Széchenyi István* is the third son of the founder and benefactor of the museum of Pesth, a scion of the same house which produced two of the most distinguished archbishops of Hungary. For seventeen years Széchenyi served in the Austrian army; and it was not until the peace had rendered it an idle life, and removed all chance of distinction, that he determined to quit it. Perhaps disgusted with the system of favouritism, or the personal enmity which had kept him down to the rank of captain; perhaps moved by that spirit of regeneration, which, from the mountains of Transylvania, spread over the plains of Hungary, and was felt even at the gates of Vienna itself; or, it may be, warned that the freedom with which he had dared, under the influence of this spirit, in his place as a Hun-

* In Hungarian, the Christian-name is placed after the surname, as in natural history the name of the species follows that of the genus.

garian magnate, to address the Upper Chamber, was inconsistent with the uniform he wore. Such have been suggested as among the causes which may have driven him from the army, and which soon placed him in the foremost rank of Hungarian patriots.

"The leisure which he now enjoyed was occupied in foreign travel. England particularly fixed his notice; our manners, our institutions, our commerce, were objects of his study, and offered him useful hints for the improvement of his native land. The causes which impeded the introduction of commerce in Hungary, and the great development of her natural resources which must result from their removal, first occupied his attention. At home, he found a government and people mutually distrustful. The Hungarians complained to him that foreign—so they called Austrian—jealousy and oppression, were the sole causes of all their misfortunes; while, beyond the Carpathians, he heard his countrymen described as a tyrannical, ignorant, and turbulent nobility; the oppressors of a poor, idle, and slavish peasantry; the one class who would, the other who would not, effect anything for the common advantage of their country. On all sides, a reform in Hungary was declared impossible.

"Széchenyi was not to be turned from his object. His plan was cautiously laid down, and has been so far steadily followed up:—to labour incessantly at improvements, and to pursue such only as the strength of his means gave him a reasonable hope, that, with unwearied perseverance, he might carry through. In common with others, he has always striven for the great objects of reform in the laws and institutions of the country, an extension of the rights of the lower classes, and a more equitable and just government; but his great and peculiar glory is in the path which he has marked out alone, and which, in spite of all obstacles, he still follows with the greatest success—namely, the improvement of the material condition of Hungary.

"One of the first objects to which Széchenyi drew the attention of his countrymen, was the improvement of the breed of horses; a subject particularly suited to their taste, and likely to attract their notice. A large stud, often from one to two hundred horses, forms almost a necessary part of a nobleman's establishment; and yet they rarely breed anything but a cross of the common country horse with the large, slow, high-actioned Spanish horse, a race of little use but for the pomp of ceremony. Széchenyi introduced the English race-horse and hunter; and to show their superiority, he instituted races, and kept a pack of hounds; in short, he succeeded in making English horses a fashion, which is now generally followed.

"The races take place twice a year—at Pesth about the end of May, and in autumn at Parendorf, near Presburg—and are so well attended that it is evident they suit the taste of the people, and it is highly probable that they will one day form a part of the national amusements."—vol. i. pp. 204-7.

No person knows better how to apply to patriotic purposes means in themselves intangible even to Austrian law, than the

Count Széchenyi. His mode of proceeding has been, throughout his career, the true secret of his success. Scrupulously careful in avoiding any measure that might lead to sanguinary results—sufficiently attached to the interests of his own “order” to preserve their privileges, so far as those privileges are really useful to good government, untouched—and above all things, dreading the evil consequences that would arise from lifting the flood-gates of democracy—the Count has gone on from step to step, contenting himself with whatever he can gain, provided only his progress be real and substantial. This species of reform is, perhaps, the only one that could be beneficial to Hungary in its actual condition. It requires great prudence, and untiring patriotism. There are many well-informed and high minds amongst the better classes of the Hungarian nobility; many minds also, which, though not so well instructed, are susceptible of generous emotions, which the Count knows how to turn to advantage. His tactics are, to get these individuals to meet together as often as possible—sometimes at county assemblies—an old privilege of the Hungarians—sometimes at horse-races, which the Austrian government dare not venture to oppose—sometimes at the casino, or club, which has been for many years established at Pesth, chiefly through the Count’s exertions. By these means also the Count has succeeded to a very great extent in restoring to general use the Hungarian language, which was fast falling into desuetude. He has written and published several volumes and tracts in that language of a most valuable character, and uniformly speaks in Hungarian whenever he addresses the Chamber of Diet to which he belongs. His admiration of England and her institutions is enthusiastic. He has been charged with having lately somewhat relaxed in the activity of his patriotic career, in consequence of his having been appointed by the Austrian government chief commissioner for perfecting the steam navigation of the Danube. Mr. Paget has given these accusations an answer, in every word of which we, who also have the honour to know Count Széchenyi, entirely agree.

“ Looking at the whole tenor of Count Széchenyi’s public life, we feel convinced that he has not acted without reflection, and probably not without good reason, in withdrawing from the political arena for a time; but he must not forget how much Hungary, how much Europe expects from him. When a man has once embarked on the stream of public life, he has no longer a right to disappoint the just expectations of the world. When such a man fails, the honest confidence, the

high resolves, the purest aspirations of millions are sacrificed. One feels a sickening at the heart, a contempt for virtue, a hatred of one's kind, when the man we have worshipped as the idol of our hopes, deceives us in the expectations we have formed of him.

"The Hungarians, however, need not entertain such fears; whatever may be the difference in opinion as to the means, no one can doubt the rectitude of Széchenyi's object. It cannot be denied that the support of high moral principles, the unflinching advocacy of just rights, and the unyielding defence of the injured and oppressed, are yet more important to the well-being of mankind than the mere improvement of their material existence; but few in the Hungarian Diet have fulfilled these duties better than Széchenyi, while the other objects at which he has so industriously laboured, the detractors of his fame have entirely neglected.

"Those who read Széchenyi's works, and know the reception which they met with—who are acquainted with the excessive national susceptibility of the Hungarians—and who recollect how just, and therefore how bitter, was the satire he directed against them—will not suspect him of seeking popularity, except so far as it is necessary to the furtherance of his objects.

"That Széchenyi has not attempted what he could not do, and what others have failed in doing when they did attempt, is, both at home and abroad, no uncommon subject of complaint against him. To me it appears one of his greatest merits. To have known his own powers, to have calculated accurately how far his means would enable him to go, to have reflected deeply on the practicability as well as utility of a scheme before he proposed it for adoption, would seem just those qualities which best entitle a man to the confidence of a nation; and which, when united to high talents, necessarily make him the leader of a party."—vol. i. pp. 226-7.

Mr. Paget made a very agreeable excursion to a pretty little bathing-place, called Fured, on the shores of the Balaton lake, about eighty miles south of Pesth. It shows how little we know of Hungary, to find that our author and his companions were the first Englishmen who ever visited Fured. Balaton, or, as it is otherwise called, the Platten Sea, extends about fifty miles in length; its breadth is nowhere less than eight or nine miles. It communicates with the Danube by the river Scio, which unfortunately is not navigable. Upon this internal sea, there was not a single sail. Some authorities have stated that it ebbs and flows regularly, and is also salt, like the ocean; but Mr. Paget contradicts this assertion. To a question why they did not turn it to advantage in the way of communication, the Hungarians replied, "Oh, we do in winter; we then drive from one side to the other of it, as if it were a road!" The lake abounds in delicious fish, especially

in the species called the fogas (*perca lucioperca*), said to be, from its flavour, and the firmness of its texture, the best fresh-water fish in Europe. The gourmands also set a high value on the crawfish of the Balaton, which is not unlike the small lobster. Our author was nearly caught by another kind of fish—a lady blooming in all sorts of charms, whom, however, in a short time, he discovered to be a most complete coquette—a fortunate discovery for the future Mrs. Paget, (the daughter, we believe, of the Count Wesselyni,) to whom, by-the by, we are pleased to see, her husband has, in a few affectionate expressions, dedicated the present work.

Some peculiarities still adhere to Hungarian society, which a little more intercourse with the western circles will doubtless speedily correct. For instance, the ladies in a ball-room cling always together, even when promenading. At supper also, the gentlemen took out their pipes, involved the room in a cloud of smoke, and kicked up a general row before the ladies could have made their escape. In excuse for this scene, Mr. Paget, however, states, that the “gentlemen” then at Fured were chiefly country squires, and those too not the most polished of their order.

A transition of great importance to the general welfare of Hungary, is at this moment, and has been for some time, in progress in that country. Formerly the proprietor of the land, and his serfs (for such they were) upon them, cultivated the soil in common; and in return for their privileges in this respect, the peasant yielded either a certain number of days’ labour, or a portion of corn, or both. The proprietor frequently found this system inconvenient, as, there being no defined limit between the land which he wished to cultivate himself, and that tilled by the peasant, he experienced insurmountable difficulties in introducing any improvements in the management of his property. Laws have been recently enacted authorising the proprietor to place within a ring fence as much of his land as he deems equitable; but in lieu of any tracts comprised within his limits which have hitherto been occupied by any of his peasants, he is bound to give them allotments elsewhere. The change, though manifestly calculated to benefit both parties, has caused no slight discontent. It is, however, proceeding; and we have, in Mr. Paget’s work, a very favourable account of the results in some districts, to which we are anxious to invite the attention, particularly of our own countrymen, under the hope that some measure of a similar kind might be devised for improving the relations between our landlords and their tenantry.

It would, perhaps, not suit our land proprietors—especially those who are in the class of absentees—to farm their own estates so extensively as some of the Hungarian magnates do; but there are some other points among the agrarian reforms now going on in that country, which might be adopted in Ireland with great advantage. But let us first see how these reforms have worked. A number of peasants, who some years ago had lived chiefly in miserable cabins scattered here and there over the surface of a particular estate, are now collected in a village, consisting of rows of neat whitewashed cottages, shaded by avenues of acacias and wallnuts, presenting every possible appearance of cleanliness and comfort. Let us step with our traveller and his host into the first cottage they visited, while they were passing through one of his villages.

“It was that of a poor widow. I was positively startled at the kindly feelings with which the Count was received, and the proofs of comfort which everywhere met my eye. The widow was poor, for she had lost her husband and her sons—all, except one, who was a soldier; and she had none, therefore, to aid her to till her little farm. But yet nothing like want was apparent in any part of her arrangements; and her heart was glad, for the Count had succeeded in obtaining the young hussar's discharge, and the mother's gratitude was warmly and affectionately expressed. From thence we crossed the street to the house of an opposite neighbour, a stout middle-aged man, and one of the richest peasants in the village. Joy sparkled in the good man's face as he doffed his broad-brimmed hat, smoothed his long black hair, and kissed his master's hand, in delight to see him in his cottage.—vol. i. p. 286.

The kissing of the superior's hand is no badge of slavery in Hungary. On the contrary, it is a token of the warm feeling that exists between the head of a family and his kinsmen and dependants, and is always practised whenever he meets them. It is a beautiful spectacle, which we ourselves have often witnessed in that country. Mr. Paget thus minutely describes one of the cottages lower down the village in question :

“It is, for the most part, a long one-storied building, presenting a gable only to the street, with an enclosed yard facing the whole length of the building. The gable end is generally pierced by two small windows; or, rather peep-holes, for they are very rarely more than a foot square, below which is a rustic seat overshadowed by a tree. The yard is separated from the street, sometimes by a handsome double gateway and stately wall; sometimes by a neat fence formed of reeds, or of the straw of the maize; and sometimes by a broken hedge, presenting that dilapidated state of half freedom, half restraint, in which pigs and children so much delight, where they can at once enjoy liberty, and set at nought control.

“ Passing through the gateway, we entered the first door, which led into the kitchen ; on either side of which was a good-sized dwelling-room. The kitchen, whitewashed like the rest of the house, was itself small, and almost entirely occupied by a hearth four feet high, on which was blazing a wood fire, with preparations for the evening meal. The room to the left, with the two little peep-holes to the street, was evidently the best room of the cottage, for it was that into which the peasant was most anxious to show us.

“ In one corner was a wooden seat fixed to the wall, and before it an oaken table, so solid that it seemed fixed there too ; on the opposite side stood the large earthenware stove ; while a third corner was occupied by a curious phenomenon,—a low bedstead heaped up to the ceiling with feather-beds. The use of this piece of furniture completely puzzled us,—to sleep on it was impossible ; and we were obliged to refer to the Count for an explanation, who assured us it was an article of luxury on which the Hungarian peasant prided himself highly. For sleeping, he prefers to lay his hard mattress on the wooden bench, or even on the floor ; but, like other people who think themselves wiser, an exhibition of profuse expenditure in articles of luxury,—feather-beds are his fancy,—flatters his vanity. These beds are generally a part of his wife’s dowry.

“ In the favourite corner we commonly observed—for the peasants of Z—— are Catholics—a gilded crucifix or a rudely-coloured *Mater dolorosa*, the *penates* of the family ; while all round hung a goodly array of pots and pans, a modest mirror, perhaps even a painted set of coffee-cups, and, sometimes, a drinking glass of curious workmanship, and of no ordinary dimensions. A Protestant peasant supplies the place of saints and virgins by heads of Kaizer Franzel, and Prince Schwartzenberg ; and, not unfrequently, Buonaparte and Wellington look terrible things at each other across the room.

“ The corresponding apartment on the other side of the kitchen was furnished with more ordinary benches and tables, and served for the common eating and sleeping-room of the family. Beyond this, but still under the same roof, was a store-room and dairy ; and below it a cellar. The store-room well deserves its name, for such quantities of *turo* (a kind of cheese), lard, fruits, dried herbs, and pickles, laid up for winter use, I never saw ; and in some houses the cellar was not less plentifully supplied, and that too with a very tolerable wine. The cow-house was rarely without one or two tenants ; the stables boasted a pair or sometimes four horses ; the pig-sties, it is true, were empty, but only because the pigs had not yet returned from the stubble-fields : and to these most of the houses added sheep-sheds and poultry-pens,—presenting altogether perhaps as good a picture of a rich and prosperous peasantry as one could find in any part of the world.”—vol. i. pp. 287-290.

Alas ! how completely is the Irish cabin described in the following picture, (which Mr. Paget has given for the sake of

the contrast,) of a very different kind of dwelling which he found upon the estate of a very different proprietor.

"Take G——, a small village in the north of Hungary, difficult of access from the bad roads in the neighbourhood, and not favoured by nature with the richest of soils. The peasants love the brandy-bottle, and hate their landlord. The Baron B—— lives in Vienna, and lets his village to a greedy Jew, who grinds out of the people every particle of possible profit, no matter how injurious ultimately such conduct may prove to them or to their master. The dingy cottages are built of unhewn firs, carelessly put together, and plastered with mud on the inside; they rarely consist of more than two, and generally only of one chamber, where the whole family must live. Attached to the house is a shed for the oxen and pigs; horses and sheep they have none. I must confess, I cannot speak so minutely of the interior of the cottages here as at Z——, for, in going towards one of them, I stepped up to the knees in a mass of putrefying hemp; which, with the filthy appearance of the children crowding the threshold, effectually cooled my curiosity."—vol. i. p. 292.

The bad roads,—the unfriendly soil,—the loved bottle,—the hated landlord,—the absentee lord,—the greedy agent (an attorney) "who grinds out of the people every particle of possible profit," the dingy cottage,—the one room,—the pigs,—the putrid dung-hill,—how completely descriptive of the poor peasants dwelling in many parts of Ireland which we could name,—parts too in which, instead of any chance of amelioration, we perceive signs only of a still more wretched state of things, verifying to the letter the address of Richard to the peasants of Essex, when, after the insurrection of Wat Tyler, he used these words, "*Rustici quidem fuistis et estis, in bondageo permanebitis, non ut hactenus, sed incomparabiliter villiori.*" "Villeins indeed you have been and are; in bondage you shall remain, not as hitherto, but still more vile than ever." Too nearly akin to the tyrannous spirit of Richard is that by which those landlords are actuated who are now leagued together for the avowed purpose of expelling from their lands their Catholic tenantry, and forcing them either to emigrate to the colonies, or to seek refuge in the suburbs of the nearest town, where they must become mendicants.

In Hungary, such a state of things formerly gave rise to many risings of the discontented peasantry; similar to those which in Ireland have been designated agrarian disturbances. But in Hungary a good sovereign came to the aid of the people, and by an act of power, somewhat arbitrary it must be confessed, but perfectly excusable, seeing that it could not be accomplished with the assistance of the diet, Maria Theresa gave

them the celebrated "Urbarium," a code of laws which in return for certain payments to the crown, and contributions in labour or produce to the lord, conferred upon the peasantry a kind of *joint property* in the soil, of which the latter could not deprive him without his consent, except in some particular cases specified in the laws.

This "Urbarium" enabled the peasant to bequeath his "fief," or rather indeed its usufruct, to his children. A peasant's "fief" consisted of a house and garden-ground, to the extent of one acre,—of an arable and pasture farm, varying in different counties, and according to the qualities of the soil, from about sixteen to forty acres of arable, and from about six to twelve acres of meadow land. We have no doubt that in the course of time the contributions to the land in labour and produce will be commuted for a fixed rent in money, and that the usufruct will then be converted into a real estate, thus altering most materially the condition of the Hungarian peasant from that in which it was, when a diet of the olden times declared that, "Nulla res magis florenti quondam Hungariæ statui nocuisse videtur oppressione colonorum quorum clamor ascendit jugiter ante conspectum Dei." "Nothing seems in former ages to have more materially interfered with the prosperity of Hungary than the oppression of the peasantry, whose cries ascended directly to the throne of God!" How truly might we not apply the same language to many parts of Ireland! Some such measure, as a joint or separate right of property in the land which he cultivates, must, we think, sooner or later be established in favour of the occupying tenant in Ireland. At least, some system of law must be adopted which shall compel the landlord to consider that he has duties to perform as well as rights to exercise. The soil of a country, filled with a population, ought not to be held in the contemplation of law as a species of property capable of being dealt with so absolutely as a herd of cattle or a flock of sheep. Even if it were *de facto* and *de jure* in possession of the sovereign, there are certain natural claims arising out of the birth of a human being upon the spot—the ordinance that he shall earn his bread upon it by the sweat of his brow—which precede all other dispositions of the land, whether made by decree of the monarch or the authority of the legislature. These natural claims are deeply founded, and ought to be respected. Laws at variance with them cannot obtain a willing obedience in any community which the world has yet seen, and therefore we must not wonder that the rights attempted to be enforced with

so much rigour in Ireland by the legal proprietors of the territory have created so large a share of discontent as they have done,—discontent which must go on increasing until some system shall be adopted which may reconcile the just interests of all parties. What that system should be we are not at this moment in a situation to state. But we apprehend that some materials for appeasing the disquietude which exists upon this subject, may be found in the quantity of waste lands with which Ireland abounds. A distribution of this land ought to be effected upon terms which would render it purchaseable by the industrious peasantry who reside near it. Similar distributions might take place with respect to such portions of the bog land as could be drained and cultivated. The success of the loan banks in many parts of Ireland for small commercial purposes, is sufficient to encourage the establishment of institutions of the same kind for agricultural objects. If the work were set about properly, with the assistance of the Irish government, it would be difficult to calculate all the benefits it would confer upon Ireland. Before the lapse of many years it would give rise to a numerous class of substantial yeomen, who possessing a solid stake in the country, would exert themselves in every way to preserve public order and inculcate a sincere attachment to the laws.

The reader who has any interest in the subject of the mines in Hungary, will find much useful information in the latter chapters of the first volume of Mr. Paget's work. For our part we prefer taking a trip with our traveller to Tokay, where the celebrated wine that goes under the name of that place may be found in its greatest purity. "Everybody," he exclaims with the ardour of a connoisseur, "has heard of Imperial Tokay; and here we were in the very midst of the vineyard, where the king of wines has established his throne." The town itself is insignificant. The Bodrog and the Theiss unite just above the town, and form a fine navigable river to the Danube. As yet it cannot boast of a steam-boat; but it cannot be long without that great instrument of prosperity, seeing that the country upon its banks teems with productions that would be deemed of great value in the western markets of Europe. The sturgeon of the Theiss is smaller than that of the Danube, but it is remarkable for its fatness and its peculiarly delicate flavour. It is a vulgar error to suppose that all the Tokay vineyards belong to the emperor of Austria. By far the greater part are in the hands of private individuals. A few words as to the manufacture of this seducing beverage. (Oh, Father Mathew, forgive us!)

"The whole of the Hegyalla mountains, extending along the banks of the Bodrog twenty miles north of Tokay, produce the Tokay wine. The finest sorts, however, are grown only in Tokay, Tartyal, Zombor, Tallya, Máđ, Keresytur, and some few other villages; the very finest only on a small hill, the Méyes-Male, in the parish of Tartyal. About Tokay, and I believe along the whole chain, the hills are composed of basalt and trachytic conglomerate, covered with a deep sandy soil. The grapes are of many different kinds, of which the Formiset and Champagne are considered the best. The lateness of the vintage, which is not begun here till the 26th of October, when it is finished in other parts of the country, has considerable effect on the quality of the wine.

"Three kinds of wine are made at Tokay,—the *Essentz*, the *Ausbruch*, and the *Máslás*, so called from the different modes of preparing them. From the length of time the grapes hang, a great number of them lose part of their juice, begin to wither, and become exceedingly sweet. These grapes, when gathered, are placed on wooden trays, and sorted one by one with the greatest care, only the finest being selected; those which are too much withered, and those which are unripe, being alike rejected. When it is wished to obtain the *Essentz*, these grapes are placed in a barrel with holes at the bottom, through which all the juice that flows, without any other pressure being applied than their own weight, is allowed to pass off, and this it is which constitutes the *Essentz*. After the *Essentz* is extracted, or, as happens most frequently, when none has been taken, the grapes are at once placed in a vat, and gently pressed with the hand, a small quantity of good must, or new wine obtained in the ordinary manner, being poured over them to increase the quantity, and facilitate its flow; and the result of this process is the *Ausbruch*. To produce the *Máslás*, a large quantity of less choice must is poured over the same berries, which are now pressed as in making common wine. The *Essentz* can only be obtained in the very best years; and, indeed, it is only in favourable years that *Ausbruch* of a good quality is produced. The wine ought to have a fine bright topaz colour. The *Essentz* is sweet and luscious to the highest degree, and is esteemed rather as a curiosity than as pleasing to the palate; but it is the *Ausbruch* on which the reputation of Tokay depends. It is a sweet, rich, but not cloying wine; strong, full-bodied, but mild, bright and clear; and has a peculiar flavour of most exquisite delicacy. I have never tasted it in perfection but at private tables, and that only twice; I could then have willingly confessed it the finest wine in the world. The *Máslás* is a much thinner wine, rather sweet, with a preponderating flavour of the dried grape.

"The product of the whole Hegyalla vintage, in an ordinarily favourable season, may amount to about two hundred and fifty thousand *eimers*;* of which not more than one quarter, and probably much less, is *Ausbruch*.

*The eimer contains about as much as sixteen ordinary wine bottles.

"Tokay should not be drank till it is some years old; and it is none the worse for twenty years keeping in a good cellar. Even in Hungary, I have known a ducat, (ten shillings) given for a pint bottle of good old Tokay. For a fair wine, however, of three or four years old, four shillings the common bottle is a good price, and it may generally be obtained at that rate without difficulty. The expense of transport and duties comes, I think, to about two shillings the bottle more. Great care, however, should be taken in choosing a person to whom it may be safely confided. Two cases, which we entrusted to a merchant of Pesth, arrived in England in a state of fermentation, with more than half the bottles broken, and the rest quite spoiled. We have every reason to believe that this arose from a portion of our wine being taken out, and the bottles filled up with new wine; and, though the evidence is not sufficiently strong to justify me in publishing the name of this person, it is more than enough to make me caution any future traveller to be quite sure of his man, before he ventures on giving such a commission. A society for 'making known Hungarian wines,' has lately been formed at Pesth, and in its cellars genuine wines, supplied by the growers themselves, may be obtained; and Mr. Liedermann, a merchant and banker of Pesth, who is connected with the society, will undertake to forward them."

The districts of Hungary which lie between the Waag and the Theiss abound in rich and smiling valleys, well watered by lovely brooks, adorned by magnificent woods, and cheered by prospects of lofty mountains. But eastward of the Theiss a very different scene opens to the view. The whole territory which extends from the line of the Danube south of Pesth, to Transylvania, is, in fact, one vast plain, occupying a space of nearly five thousand square miles. This plain, called the Puzta or Steppes of Hungary, is covered with sand and alluvium; and, as it is surrounded on every side by mountains, there can be little doubt that in former ages it was the bed of a vast lake, which eventually forced its way to the Euxine, through what is now the channel of the Danube. The northern and central portions of this plain are comparatively unproductive; but the southern districts, well known by the name of the Banat, might be called, from its wonderful fertility, the "golden vale" of Europe. Unfortunately, it is very thinly inhabited; it is chiefly occupied, moreover, by the Magyars, an indolent race, much more prone to war than agriculture.

There is, however, a charm for the traveller in these wildernesses, which no one but a traveller can appreciate. The shepherd's hut, the mysterious tumulus, the constant hum of insects, the screams of birds of prey, the lowing of cattle,

of which herds of many hundred head are occasionally to be seen, the groups of wild horses, the myriads of sheep which graze upon these steppes, give them, indeed, a character altogether different from that of the desert. Nevertheless, we understand the sense of great enjoyment which was required to draw from Mr. Paget (whose imagination is not often excitable) the following poetical description:—

“The feeling of solitude which a vast plain impresses on the imagination* is to me more solemn than that produced by the boundless ocean or the trackless forest; nor is this sentiment ever so strongly felt as during the short moments of twilight which follow the setting sun. It is just as the bright orb has disappeared below the level of the horizon; while yet some red tints, like glow-worm traces, mark the pathway he has followed; just when the busy hum of insects is hushed as by a charm, and stillness fills the air; when the cold chills of night first creep over the earth; when comparative darkness has suddenly followed the bright glare of day: it is then the stranger feels how alone he is, and how awful that loneliness is, where the eye sees no boundary, and the ear detects no sign of living thing.

“I would not for the world have destroyed the illusion of the first sunset I witnessed on the Puszta of Hungary. The close of day found us far from any human habitation, alone in this desert of luxuriance; without a mark that man had established his dominion there, save the wheel marks which guided us on our way, and the shepherds' wells, which are sparingly scattered over the whole plain. I have seen the sun set behind the mountains of the Rhine, as I lay on the tributary Neckar's banks, and the dark bold towers of Heidelberg stood gloriously out against the deep red sky; as the ripple of the lagoons kissed the prow of the light gondola, I have seen his last rays throw their golden tints over the magnificence of fallen Venice; I have watched the god of day as he sank to rest behind the gorgeous splendour of St. Peter's; yet never with so strong a feeling of his majesty and power as when alone on the Puszta of Hungary.”—vol. ii. pp. 7-8.

All the magical phenomena of the mirage are witnessed in great perfection upon the Hungarian steppes. It is not, however, to be understood that they are altogether destitute of villages, and those, too, of a considerable size, worthy almost of the appellation of towns, had the houses and streets not been so thoroughly rural in their appearance. The cottages are usually built on a uniform plan;—a gable end, with two small windows, faces the street, from which it is nearly hidden

* “In many parts of the Puszta there are soda lakes, which dry up in summer, and leave the earth incrustated with soda, which is collected, and re-forms every three or four days from May to October. It is reckoned that 50,000cwts. might be gathered annually if care were taken.”

by acacias and wallnut-trees, with which it is shaded ; the roofs are beautifully thatched with reeds.

"The part of the plains left for pasture is occupied, as we have seen, during the summer months, by immense herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. In winter these are either brought up into the villages, or stabled in those solitary farms which form another striking peculiarity of the *Pusztá*. Far from any beaten track or village, the traveller observes a collection of buildings, enclosed by a thick wall of mud or straw, with an arched gateway, and containing a large court, surrounded by stables, barns, sheep-houses, and a shepherd's cottage, or two. Here the sheep and cattle are wintered, for the sake of saving the draught of fodder ; and here their guardians often remain, the whole winter, without exchanging a word with any other human beings than those composing their own little domestic community ; for the trackless snow renders communication extremely difficult. In summer the shepherd's life is even more monotonous. He often remains out for months together, till winter comes on, and obliges him to seek shelter.

"Almost all the inhabitants of the plains, except some few German colonists, are true Magyars ; and nothing is so well adapted to their disposition as the half-slothful half-adventurous life of a *Juhász*, or *Pusztá* shepherd. His dress is the loose linen drawers and short shirt, descending scarcely below the breast, and is sometimes surmounted by the gaily embroidered waistcoat, or jacket. His feet are protected by long boots, or sandals ; and his head by a hat of more than Quaker proportions, below which hang two broad plaits of hair. The turned-up brim of the hat serves him for a drinking cup ; while the bag, which hangs from a belt round his neck, contains the bread and bacon which forms his scanty meal. Over the whole is generally cast the *bunda*, or hairy cloak. I must not forget, however, that his shirt and drawers are black. Before he takes the field for the season, he carefully boils these two articles of dress in hog's lard ; and, anointing his body and head with the same precious unguent, his toilette is finished for the next six months. I feel assured that the penetration of my English readers will never dive into the motive for all this careful preparation, and that they will be little inclined to believe me if I tell them it is cleanliness ! Yet, so it is ; for the lard effectually protects him against a host of little enemies, by which he would otherwise be covered. To complete his accoutrements, he must have a short pipe stuck in his boot-top, and in his belt a tobacco-bag, with a collection of instruments—not less incomprehensible to the uninitiated than the attendants of a Scotch mull—intended for striking fire, clearing the pipe, stopping the tobacco, pricking the ashes, and I know not what fumitory refinements besides.

"But the *bunda* deserves a more special notice ; for in the whole annals of tailoring no garment ever existed better adapted to its purpose, and therefore more worthy of all eulogy, than the Hungarian *bunda*. It is made in the form of a close cloak, without collar, and

is composed of the skins of the long-woolled Hungarian sheep, which undergo some slight process of cleaning, but by no means sufficient to prevent them retaining an odour not of the most aromatic kind. The wool is left perfectly in its natural state. The leather side is often very prettily ornamented; the seams are sewed with various coloured leather cords; bouquets of flowers are worked in silk on the sides and borders, and a black lamb's-skin from Transylvania adorns the upper part of the back, in the form of a cape. To the Pusztá shepherd, the *bunda* is his house, his bed, his all. Rarely in the hottest day of summer, or the coldest of winter, does he forsake his woolley friend. He needs no change of dress; a turn of his *bunda* renders him insensible to either extreme. Should the sun annoy him, as he is lazily watching his dogs hunting the field mice, or the earless marmots, to supply their hungry stomach—for, like their masters, they trust chiefly to their own talents for support—he turns the wool outside, and, either from philosophy or experience, knows how safely it protects him from the heat. Should early snow on the Carpathians send him chilling blasts before the pastures are eaten bare, and before he can return to his village, he a second time turns the *bunda*, but now with the wool inside, and again trusts to the non-conducting power of its shaggy coat. The *guba*, woven of coarse wool, presenting much the same appearance, is a cheap but poor imitation of the *bunda*.”—vol. ii. pp. 12-16.

Mr. Paget has given several specimens of the Magyar national melodies, and translations of some of the songs by which they are accompanied. For foreign ears they possess very little attraction; but the Magyar deems his native airs incomparable. Indeed everything peculiar to his race and country he looks upon as far beyond all rivalry. A poor peasant Magyar nurse, sitting by the bedside of her mistress, a German countess, heard her utter, while under severe suffering, the common exclamation, “Ach Gott! ach Gott!”—“Ah, my lady,” observed the poor nurse, “God forgive me, but how can you expect God to listen to you, and give you ease, if you speak to him in a language which he does not understand!” Magyar was, in this woman's opinion, the only dialect known in heaven!

Mr. Paget made a steam voyage down the Danube, from Pesth to Orsova, but he adds nothing material to the information already supplied on that subject. He presents, however, some very interesting notices of the beauties of Wallachia, and the manners of its inhabitants.

“One of the Wallack's most prominent virtues, is, his love for his parents, and his respect and care for them in their old age. They would consider it a disgrace to allow any one else to support their aged and poor, while they could do it themselves; and I certainly do

not remember to have seen any beggars among them. The idiot is here, as with all the peasants of Hungary, considered a privileged person, and is allowed to make himself at home in every cottage.

"There is among the Wallacks a peculiar tenacity to localities, which, besides having maintained them in this land, where Romans, Goths, Vandals, and Huns, in vain tried to gain a permanent footing, still attaches them, notwithstanding the injuries and injustice to which they are exposed, so forcibly to their native villages, that if a possibility of existence remains, they rarely quit them. This tenacity is an important fact, and ought to make the Magyars very cautious how they attempt to force prematurely any reform in language, religion, or customs, on such a people. They may, perhaps, be led—no one yet has been able to drive them. Rude as he is, the Wallack feels deeply; he loves the land his fathers tilled—the house his fathers lived in—the soil where their bones have found a resting-place. Such sentiments may sometimes interfere with the schemes of the improver; or the profits of the speculator; but, utilitarian as I am, I should be sorry to see this stuff of the heart bartered for such gains as theirs: I hate the pseudo-philosophy which cannot appreciate the utility of sentiments and beauty.

"United to a very strong religious feeling, which they manifest sufficiently by the exertions they make to obtain suitable places of worship, they possess a mass of superstition, which mixes itself up with every action of their lives. Many of their beliefs and superstitious observances, strongly resemble those of some other nations; whether from direct communication, or because similarity of circumstances produces similarity of ideas, I leave others to decide. The notion of hidden treasures being concealed under old castles, in tombs, and such-like places, is very common; and, as in Tartary and Circassia, the peasants here believe them to be guarded by some evil spirit. In the old castle of Gyalie, formerly a fortress of Rakótzky, now rendered a very agreeable residence by Count Banffy, it has always been said that the treasures of that unfortunate prince were buried. A few years since, some of the servants obtained permission to dig under the great gateway, where rumour located the hidden wealth, and to search for it; and they proceeded accordingly with their task; but on the second day, or rather night, for they worked in darkness, something so mysterious and horrible took place, that one of the men died of fright soon after, and the others begged permission to be sent away, though nothing could ever draw from them the cause of their alarm, or induce them to recommence their search.

"Like the Turks, the Wallacks ornament their burial places by planting a tree at the head and another at the foot of every grave; but, instead of the funereal cypress, they plant the *swetschen* or plum, from which they make their brandy,—a very literal illustration 'of seeking consolation from the tomb.' For the death of near relations they mourn by going bare-headed for a certain time; a severe test of sincerity in a country where the excesses of heat and cold are so great as here."—vol. ii. pp. 220-23.

Amongst their other amusements, the Wallacks are particularly fond of dancing. Those residing near the village of Varhely, appear to have a singularly odd custom, connected with their favourite enjoyment.

"A party of idle young fellows sell themselves, as they say, to the devil, for a term of three, five or seven years; the number must be unequal, or the devil will not hold the bargain; engaging to dance without ceasing during the whole of that period, except when they sleep; in consideration of which, they expect their infernal purchaser will supply them with food and wine liberally, and render them irresistible among the rustic belles. Accordingly, dressed in their gayest attires, these merry vagabonds start out from their native village, and literally dance through the country. Everywhere they are received with open arms; the men glad of an excuse for jollity, the women anxious perhaps, to prove their power,—all unite to feed and fête the devil's dancers; so that it is scarcely wonderful there should be willing slaves to so merry a servitude. When their time is up, they return home and become quiet peasants for the rest of their lives."—vol.ii. p. 225-6.

The principal features of Transylvania are of course its numerous mines, several of which Mr. Paget appears to have visited with great interest. These he describes often so minutely, that we are glad to make our escape from them occasionally, to the house of a quiet Transylvanian country gentleman.

"The life of a country gentleman in Transylvania, though somewhat isolated by his distance from any large capital, and by the badness of the roads, is by no means without its pleasures. For the sportsman, a large stud of horses,—few men have less than from ten to twenty,—every variety of game—from the boar and wolf, to the snipe and partridge,—and a boundless range for hunting over, are valuable aids for passing time. If a man likes public business, the county will readily choose him Vice Ispán or magistrate; and the quarterly county meetings are a constant source of interest, and afford ample opportunity of exercising influence. If agriculture has any charms, some thousands of untilled acres offer abundant scope for farming, and promise a rich return for capital. If philanthropy has claims on his heart, the peasantry, who look up to him for everything, afford a fine scope for its effusions, and a certain reward if judiciously and continuously exercised.

"The houses of the richer nobles are large and roomy, and their establishments are conducted on a scale of some splendour.

"It is true, that they are deficient in many things which we should consider absolute necessities, but on the other hand they exhibit many luxuries, which we should consider extravagant with twice their incomes. It is no uncommon thing, for instance, in a one-storied house, with a thatched roof, and an uncarpeted floor, to be shown into a bed-room where all the washing apparatus and

toilet is of solid silver. It is an everyday occurrence in a house, where tea and sugar are considered expensive luxuries, to sit down to a dinner of six or eight courses. Bare whitewashed walls and rich Vienna furniture; a lady decked in jewels which might dazzle a court, and a handmaid without shoes or stockings; a carriage and four splendid horses, with a coachman whose skin peeps out between his waistcoat and inexpressibles, are some of the anomalies which, thanks to restrictions on commerce, absence of communication, and a highly artificial civilization in one part of the community, and great barbarism in the other, are still to be found in Transylvania. It is not, however, in such houses as the one in which we were visiting, that such anomalies are to be sought, but rather in those who boast themselves followers of the 'good old customs of the good old times.' But laugh as we young ones may, at those 'old times,' it is not altogether without reason that the epithet of 'good' so pertinaciously clings to them. There is something so sincere, and so simple in the manner of those times,—when an Englishman wishes to express his idea of them, he calls them homely, and in that word he understands all that his heart feels to be dearest and best,—that see them where we may, they have always something to attach and interest us."—vol. ii. pp. 317-19.

In short the manners of the Transylvanian squires are in many respects truly patriarchal.

"At one, the old-fashioned family, even of the present day, assemble in the drawing-room, and proceed to dinner. It is rarely that they sit down without some guest; for, whoever of their acquaintance happens to be travelling near, always manages to drop in about dinner-time, as he knows he will be well received; indeed, his passing by without stopping, would be considered an insult. And a goodly sight is that hospitable board, for it is crowded by those who might otherwise be ill-provided for. Besides the family and guests, all the governesses and masters dine at table; and then there are three or four stewards and secretaries, and the clergyman of the village, or perhaps both clergyman and priest, and the poor schoolmaster, all of whom never dine at home when the seigneur is in the country.

"The dinner, instead of being placed on the table, is carried round, that every one may help himself, each dish being first presented to the lady of the house, who never fails to take a small portion, by way of recommending it to her guests. As for telling the reader of what the dinner is composed, it is impossible; but I can assure him, that both in quality and quantity, he must be very difficult to please, who is not satisfied. The *élite* of the company retire to the drawing-room after dinner, to partake of coffee and liqueur, while the inferior guests who have not the *entrées*, make their bows and depart. When speaking of the occupations of the ladies of Transylvania, it would be very ungrateful were I to omit their talent in making liqueurs; some of the home-made liqueurs of Transylvania equal the best marasquinos

and curaçoas in flavour. A drive out in the cool of the evening in summer, and embroidery, cards, books, and conversation, with the interlude of a *gouté*, composed of fruits, preserves; savoury cold meats, and, now-a-days, tea, and at nine, a supper nearly as large as the dinner, complete the occupations of a day in the country, in Transylvania."—vol. ii. pp. 321-23.

The remarks of Count Széchenyi, with which the following extract concludes can hardly fail to amuse the reader.

"The habits of society in Transylvania, in many respects differ little from those of England about the end of the last century. The ladies usually pass their mornings in attending to the affairs of their household, or in listening, over their embroidery, to the news of the day, which a neighbouring gossip has kindly brought to them. Some of them, it is true, spend these hours at the easel or the drawing-table, and others store their minds with the choicest products of foreign literature. In addition to a pretty good circulating library, which Klausenburg already contains, the ladies have lately established a book-club among themselves, in order to insure a better supply of new books. I know many ladies to whom the names and works of all our best classics are familiar, either in the originals or translations; and there are very few who cannot talk learnedly of Byron and Scott. This may not be thought to show any very great proficiency in literature, but I am afraid if we were to ask English ladies how much they know—not of Hungarian writers, but of those of Germany even,—we should often find their knowledge still more shallow.

"The education of children is, for the most part, committed to the mother's care. In the richer families she is aided by a governess and a master; in those less rich the whole duty rests on her, but in no case is it left entirely to the care of strangers. Boarding-schools are almost unknown, and the boys are consequently committed to the care of private tutors, often priests or clergymen, till fit to be sent to college. It is a great misfortune that the wholesome lessons which pride so often receives in public schools, cannot be enjoyed by these children. Too often their tutors are little more than their servants, and they are consequently brought up with an overweening idea of their own consequence, and of the inferiority of all around them. Count Szechenyi has given a humorous description of this sort of education, and its effects, which is worth quoting. Although intended for Hungary, and a little exaggerated, there are not wanting instances, even in Transylvania, to which it might be well applied.

"Many of our children, from their very infancy, have always been attended by a couple of hussars, whose labour has been to praise their little master's every act, in the hopes of adding a trifle to their wages by their servility—although they have rarely succeeded in that matter. Has the little count walked half a mile—'O, what a pedestrian he will make!' Has he got through an examination—private, of course—and are his parents in office—'What a great man he will turn out

some of these days !” If the young gentleman, attended by a handsome suite, pays a visit to his father’s estates, every body is in waiting to receive him, and he sees things only in their holiday dress. Suppose his studies now finished—that is, his private tutor dismissed—and he sets out on his travels to gain a knowledge of the ‘world.’ He pays a visit to Count N——, to Baron N——, to the Vice Ispan H——, and to Squire F——; he passes through a good part of his father-land, finds horses everywhere ordered for him, and is sure to be well received wherever he presents himself; and so, between visits to his friends, and a few weeks bathing at Mehadia or Füred, manages to get through the summer. After a six weeks’ residence in Venice and Munich, to complete his knowledge of foreign ‘*Weltweisheit*’—world-wisdom, he returns home, and is appointed to an office already waiting for him. And now he plays the great man; he knows his father-land—has travelled into foreign countries—talks about the English Parliament and the French Chambers, and enlightens his hearers with his opinions on these matters. Then he tells them in how sad a state France is, how her agriculture is fallen, and darkly hints that Great Britain may yet be ruined by her steam-engines and machinery !” —vol. ii. pp. 503-5.

Read what books of travels we may, we are always sure to find that the tourist who writes out his journal this year, discovers abundance of errors in those who have immediately preceded him in the country he has just traversed. Thus, Mr. Paget dedicates some pages to convince the world that Mr. Quin, in the description of his voyage down the Danube, did great injustice to the Hungarian ladies in general, because he happened to speak of a “little elegant countess, who was ignorant of French and Italian,” adding at the same time that he had afterwards learned that, “the education of the fair sex in Hungary had been, hitherto at least, very much neglected.” Upon these very limited statements, Mr. Paget raises several articles of impeachment against Mr. Quin, which we give in his own words:—

“As the common dinner-hour at Pesth is two or three o’clock, the time for making calls is between six and eight. On these occasions it is the custom to dress almost as for an evening party; the ladies in caps and low dresses, the gentlemen in silks and shoes. On paying a visit of this kind at the house of Madame F——, I by chance interrupted a conversation on a little matter of scandal which had just occurred at Milan, between a certain prince and his lady. On being informed of the nature of it, and expressing my wonder that I had not heard of it before, one of the ladies, a desperate politician, and a staunch Austrian, exclaimed—‘No, no! we don’t publish such matters in our newspapers, as you do!’ and with that she commenced a general attack on England and the English, from which I was evi-

dently expected to defend them. The abuse of the press was the more immediate object of her denunciation ; and very justly did she declaim against the immorality of certain disclosures in a celebrated *crim con* case, which had then just astonished the continental public. Our libels, too, were not more tenderly handled. 'Nay,' she continued, 'not content with libelling one another, you must come here and libel us. A book, I see, has just been published in England, in which all the ladies in Hungary are spoken of as ignorant and uneducated !' Of course, I had not a word to say then in my defence ; but I think I have a fair right now to revenge myself on Mr. Quin, for getting me into such a scrape.

"Many, I dare say, remember a very agreeably written book, called 'A Steam-boat Voyage down the Danube—that is, from Pesth to below Orsova, and occupying about ten days ; during which time the author thinks he has collected information about Hungary which entitles him to pronounce opinions on all sorts of matters, and, amongst others, on the education of Hungarian ladies.

"On the authority of his not understanding the language in which some young ladies on board the steamer conversed, he affirms not only that they spoke no other language than Hungarian, but that such was generally the case. Now it is a fact, however little it may be known to Mr. Quin, that the education of Hungarian ladies, as far as languages are concerned, is very much more advanced than that of English or French ladies—aye, or gentlemen either—of the same rank. I have passed a considerable time in the country, and have had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of many Hungarian ladies ; and I do not know one who speaks only Hungarian, though I do know several who do not speak that language. It is accounted one of the great misfortunes of Hungary, that instead of Hungarian, German is the common language used in most families ; and in the drawing-rooms of the capital, German, French, and even English, are more often heard than Hungarian. If it were not calling in question our author's erudition—to which he makes some pretensions—I would wager that German, and not Hungarian, was the language which so terribly puzzled him. Let me assure Mr. Quin that all Hungarian ladies speak German, most of them French, many of them English and Italian, besides, what to Mr. Quin might appear barbarous tongues, such as the Magyar, Schlavackish, and Wallachian. And I may remark, *en passant*, that it must have been peculiarly difficult for the pretty countess, who, he says, spoke neither French nor Italian, to have communicated with the French femme de chambre who accompanied her. And so having vented some of my spleen against Mr. Quin's negligence and want of gallantry, I shall let him off, at least for the present, without exposing any more of the many mischievous blunders with which his amusing book abounds."—vol. ii. pp. 558-61.

If we were to criticise this passage minutely, we could lay bare some very unlucky blunders in Mr. Paget's "parts of speech." For instance—"On the authority of his *not* under-

standing the language in which," &c. That is to say, Mr. Quin's ignorance of the language was an *authority* upon which he *affirmed* so and so. This is an odd sort of *authority*. Our author next states that he "does not know one Hungarian lady who speaks only Hungarian, though he does know several who do not speak that language." According to the first member of this sentence, the Hungarian ladies of Mr. Paget's acquaintance must speak Hungarian, and also some other language; but if we are to rely upon what is said in the second member, several of the said ladies did not speak the said language at all! If this be not a blunder, we know not what a blunder can be. As to Mr. Quin's imputed "negligence and want of gallantry," we must confess that we see nothing in his very short and guarded statement to justify Mr. Paget's charges; and if he has perpetrated no crime beyond those of which he here stands accused, we cannot agree that he has been altogether so "mischievous" a blunderer as Mr. Paget represents him.

So much for our author's badinage. To come to more serious matters, we are happy to find, from intelligence received while this sheet was passing through the press, that several important acts were passed during the late sitting of the Hungarian Diet, especially one for the extension of commerce with foreign countries, and particularly with England.

"Commercial tribunals," it is added, "are to be established at nine of the principal towns, and with a court of appeal at Pesth; and these will afford to the merchant as speedy and certain justice as he can obtain in other parts of Austria; thus one of the great difficulties which now interfere with commercial transactions between foreigners and Hungarian merchants, is in a fair way of being obviated. The laws are, in most respects, assimilated to those of Austria, and all parties are on an equality before the law in commercial and pecuniary transactions, if it is stipulated beforehand that any differences that may arise between them shall be referred to the new tribunals."

We hardly expected that our anticipations as to improvements in the law between landlord and tenant, to which we adverted in a preceding part of this article, would have been so speedily realized as we now perceive to be actually the case. The authority just quoted, upon which we have reason to rely, further informs us that

"The peasants are now allowed to free their lands for ever from all services to their landlords on payment of a sum of money—in fact, to become landowners—a privilege hitherto reserved exclusively to the nobles—and to have their land clear of entail. About 400,000 farms,

to posterity the means of forming a correct judgment, based on the official notes that have passed between herself and the cabinet of Berlin. Her proofs are in our possession, and now that the first effervescence of feeling has passed by, we may claim credit for impartiality in the examination of them. The charges of high treason and revolutionary designs have ceased, which were formerly brought against the archbishop of Cologne, in the hope of drawing down upon his venerable head the animadversions of the friends of tranquillity and public order. This question, which was at first taken up so warmly by the two belligerent parties, has reacted upon the minds of the Catholic population, and awakened in them a life, and religious energy, of which they had scarcely been supposed capable. Facts have brought on discussions, and these discussions again have become facts of grave importance, since their result has been to arouse men from that religious indifference which is the scourge of modern times. There is scarcely now a Catholic who does not, with fervent gratitude to the Most High, acknowledge that this memorable catastrophe has proved the greatest blessing that Providence could have bestowed on the Christian community. It is the centre of a reaction, begun by the Catholic principle, against the principle of Protestantism. It is the commencement and the pledge of the approaching triumph of the Church, over the so-called Reformation of the sixteenth century. The solemn disputations which have arisen from it, show clearly on what side are truth and justice, and in the course of this article, our readers will recognise the divine character of the church in all its acts, and even in its diplomatic relations. They will see how everywhere and always she justifies her title to be called "the pillar and the ground of truth;" while the government of Prussia, which took its rise in the Reformation, which owes its very existence to guilty and sacrilegious spoliation, has not been able to support its pretensions otherwise than by the most ignoble and revolting falsehood; thus constituting itself the organ of the spirit of darkness. While the court of Rome has shown the most upright good faith, the most charitable condescension, and its strong attachment to the most scrupulous veracity, we find in the Prussian statesmen, machiavellism, unjust exactions, deceit, and untruth. If any one doubt the justice of these preliminary observations, let him inspect the official documents published respectively by the Holy See and by the Cabinet of Berlin. These documents will form the basis of our labours, and we will advance nothing which we cannot establish by the

clearest and most convincing proof. For we are, and desire to be only, the faithful historians of an event which the enemies of the Church have made the subject of endless diatribes against our holy faith, against the venerable head, and against the ministers of the Catholic society. The cause we defend is that of truth and justice—it is that of humanity; since the happiness or unhappiness of mankind is inseparably connected with the destinies of the Church, as the experience of these latter ages has shown but too clearly. The affair of Cologne represents the struggle that is going on between the spiritual and the temporal power, upon the decision of which depends the question, whether the Catholic Church shall preserve her free and independent existence, or whether she shall give way before the despotism of the Protestant principle, which has taken possession of all the governments of Europe. In the present instance, the object of the struggle is to maintain for Catholics that religious liberty which was secured to them by the most solemn treaties, and which, since the peace of Westphalia, has formed the basis of the political edifice of Europe. Before entering upon the especial examination of our subject, it may be as well to give a glance at the state of the Church in Germany at the commencement of the nineteenth century. For, the recent attempts made against the Church, in the person of two of her most distinguished prelates, are but the result of a plan conceived years ago by the secular governments. We will borrow for this purpose the very words of Mgr. de Droste; our readers shall see the picture drawn by this generous confessor himself of the state of religion in 1817, in the Germanic provinces; by which he will be enabled better to comprehend the nature of the late transaction, as also the fears and hopes which our holy Church must entertain for the future prospects of those countries:—

“The spirit of our epoch,” says the Archbishop of Cologne, “which considers itself an enlightened spirit, and which many persons look upon as such, thinks it proper to make the authority entrusted with the administration of spiritual things rest on the temporal power—upon the state; wherever the rulers have embraced this opinion—wherever it has influenced the progress of events—the dogmas of politics tend to eliminate from the Church her divine element, as the modern expositors have eliminated this same element from the sacred books.

“In the same manner as religion stands in need of the Church for her maintenance and development, so does the religious liberty of Catholics imperatively require the support of the Church’s independence. The coldness of the world for divine things is also shown in

this, that the policy of our times usually considers the interests of the Church as a secondary object, little worthy its attention. So long as the revolutionary madness continued in France, this terrible catastrophe was generally attributed to the decay of religious feeling, and great anxiety was affected to find a remedy for this decay. But all these protestations and fine sentiments did not—at the conclusion of the ten years' war waged by the sovereigns of Europe against the revolutionary hydra—prevent the oppression and spoliation of the Catholic Church in Germany, which by this policy was placed, as to temporal matters, in even a worse situation than that of the same Church in France. For, the concordat which had been executed a short time previously between the Holy See and the French government, had inspired the Church of France with the hope of recovering the possessions she had lost, and even some part of the prerogatives of which she had been despoiled.

“What in France had been the consequence of revolt and anarchy, was in Germany the result of a political resolution, taken by the sovereigns themselves. The disastrous and inevitable consequences which such an event brings with it are not immediately perceived; they are successively developed. The first effect of the spoliation of the Church, was to destroy her liberty and her independence. Her bishops and chapters became the pensioners of the state, whose most earnest wish was, to limit, according to its own good pleasure, the action of the spiritual authority, and to bring it into complete subordination to the views of the civil power, a task which was not difficult of accomplishment, since the first care of the state had been to break the spring, which might have caused a permanent reaction. The rights and prerogatives which until then the bishops and their chapters had exercised without dispute, were now contested, arbitrarily curtailed, or interdicted altogether, without ceremony. It was represented as being necessary to trace an exact and rigorous line of demarcation between the purely spiritual prerogatives of the Church, and those which were of a mixed character, the result of which division, made by the state alone, which was thus at once judge and party in its own cause, was to leave to the Church no power whatever which she could exercise without the previous authorization of the temporal government, and very few and restricted powers, even with that authority. The *placetum regium* was indefinitely extended. The sanction of government was refused to acts of episcopal authority which were not of a nature to occasion it the slightest uneasiness, merely because the personal impressions of the men in political power did not accord with the opinion of the bishop. Not content even with rejecting the episcopal injunctions, the civil authority sometimes went so far as to prescribe the alterations which should be made in them; in short, it was decreed that no pastoral letter should be published until it had received the express and special sanction of the head of the state. As to the chapters of cathedrals, the greater number of governments considered them as totally annulled; and this idea was

in some degree corroborated by the specious pretext afforded them by some of the members of these religious bodies themselves, many of whom did not scruple to relieve themselves from all the obligations imposed on them by the canons of the Church, as if the religious existence of the chapters had really been annihilated at the same time as their political condition, although the decree of the Diet of 1803 had left the hierarchical organization of the cathedrals uninterfered with. At any rate, these corporations must shortly have disappeared, since after 1803 none of the benefices which fell vacant were filled up. But the absolute nullity of the chapters of cathedrals in the eyes of government was most plainly shown at the deaths of the bishops, when the canons durst not attempt any of the necessary measures for administering to the diocese, although it was clearly their duty to do so, according to the canon law, ratified by several general councils. All parties acted upon the false hypothesis that the chapters were dissolved, even in their capacity of ecclesiastical corporations, and that consequently they could not legally either meet or perform any act of canonical jurisdiction. In some states the bishops were not allowed to take cognizance of the examinations which must be gone through by ecclesiastics seeking to obtain benefices. In one of these states, the government went so far as to name its own deans, in opposition to the rural deans appointed by the bishops, and with a view to neutralizing the power and influence of the latter. Almost everywhere in Germany the priest was forced out of his natural position, for, with a great appearance of respect for the clergy, the state left no means untried to bring them down to the level of agents of the civil police. As functionaries of the state, the priests were obliged to do, or to leave undone, many things in a way quite inconsistent with the sacerdotal dignity. The union which should exist between the bishops and the clergy of the second order, became daily more relaxed. The morality of the priests suffered in exact proportion as their hierarchical subordination became weaker. This dissolution of discipline rendered it extremely difficult for the bishops to procure a better education for the young clergy, to increase the spiritual influence of the pastors, or to give new life to the different branches of the sacred ministry.

"Germany had still retained one advantage over France: the wealth of parishes, schools, and other charitable institutions, had not been given up to temporal rapacity. On the contrary, the § 65 of the recess of the Diet of 1803, had declared these possessions to be inviolable; but, with the fall of the constitution of the Germanic empire, this legislative barrier also disappeared, and the claws of the finance officers seized with eagerness all that remained of the property which the piety and charity of former ages had entrusted to the solicitude of the church, and placed under the safeguard of the state, for the supply of wants of a higher nature than the mere interests of this present life.

"The care and administration of this property was removed from the Church. Measures were taken for placing the whole regulation of

ecclesiastical wealth under the state. In the name of the state, special administrators were appointed to superintend the management of the income of the Church, and these administrators absorbed a considerable portion of our revenues; the immediate and baneful effects of which measure are perceived in this—that these new administrators now declare themselves unable to meet the expenses appropriated for the object of these foundations.

“And now, let us ask, what good can be effected by a Church despoiled of her wealth, her self-government, her liberty? Can she give efficacious concurrence in the maintenance of public order, when she has no longer power to repress the disorders that arise in her own bosom? How can she assist in obtaining deference for the state, when she herself enjoys no deference? What effect will attend her representations, when seeking to enforce respect for the administrative laws and measures of the state, if she herself is reduced to extreme dependance upon that state? With what dignity can she preach beneficence—a virtue so important to the happiness of society, when she has become poor and destitute and unable herself to set the example of it? With what grief must she see the poor raise their suppliant hands to her for help, and feel herself unable to relieve them by a charitable alms? Will the ignorant and uncivilized part of the population entertain much respect for religion, when they see her ministers and her institutions neglected by the authorities, and given over to penury? Or can it be hoped, that nobleness of sentiment and true patriotism will strike deep root in the hearts of a clergy who feel themselves reduced to be the vile instruments of the police, and to depend for their livelihood upon the small salary paid them for mercenary services? Institutions which depend on the favour and good pleasure of the sovereign, are less suited than any other for watching over the durable progress of civilization, such as is worthy of the name; and consequently what can be hoped for, from the weight and influence exercised by pastors who are no pastors, who have no existence independent of the state, no livelihood but the wages they receive? The most precious advantage which the state owes to religion, is the divine sanction conferred by her upon the civil power; a sanction through which the will of the sovereign, ceasing to appear in the eyes of the people as an arbitrary caprice, becomes the expression of the will of the Most High. But how shall they who are charged to pronounce this sanction, obtain the confidence of the public, when they are paid by the state, and dependant upon every order that emanates from it?”

Such was the religious situation of Germany when the different courts consented to give to the Church a more settled organization, and with this view to enter into correspondence with the Holy See. Concordats were signed between the court of Rome, and the courts of Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Hanover, Stuttgart, and others. A new era seemed commencing for our holy faith; and if the Church was not rein-

stated in her ancient privileges, at least she received promises, the execution of which must have restored her to new vigour, and have facilitated the accomplishment of her divine work amidst modern societies. But the spirit of lying, jealous of human happiness, recommenced with fresh vigour his attempts against the Lord, and against his servants; that bad leaven which had penetrated every part of the civil administration, remained not long concealed, and its disastrous consequences were felt but too soon.

The concordat of 1821 fixed the number of Prussian bishops at six, who were to be under the jurisdiction of the archbishops of Cologne and Posen. Government appointed to the see of Cologne the Count Ferdinand de Spiegel, a man of feeble character, remarkable for his subservience to authority. Complaints were soon heard from all sides of violations of the religious liberty guaranteed to the Church for her dogmas, her discipline, and her hierarchy. The censors of the press were on the watch to silence these complaints, by the most jealous and arbitrary measures; but they became more loud and bitter. Facts were cited and grave accusations brought against the civil authority. At length the press denounced the cabinet of Berlin to all Europe, as seeking to destroy Catholicism by unjust, dangerous, and vexatious measures. To neutralize the bad effect which these accusations were beginning to produce on minds hitherto accustomed to hear the government of Prussia praised as a model administration, and its sovereign honoured with the surname of *Just*, the cabinet of Berlin thought it not sufficient to deny positively the imputations cast on it, and to confiscate every writing which could throw an unfavourable light on its proceedings; it endeavoured to refute these accusations in a manner more striking, and more calculated to blind the public; and when the metropolitan see of Cologne became vacant by the death of Mgr. Spiegel, the vacancy was filled up by a man whose name no sincere Catholic pronounced without veneration. It was supposed that the selection of a man whose courage was so well known, and whose writings breathed the firmest determination to maintain the prerogatives of the Church against the usurping pretensions of the government, would in itself clear that government from all the imputations brought against it, by what must then appear to be calumny. But it is a common mistake with the men of this world, to think that they can bribe the children of God to their cause by loading them with honours and dignities, and admitting them to have a share in the world's favours. And thus

the cabinet of Berlin not only expected to deceive all Catholic Germany by the choice of Mgr. Droste-Vischering as the successor of the Count Spiegel; but it also hoped, under the plea of duty and gratitude, to gain over the new metropolitan, and to carry on, under his venerable name, the underhand game which had succeeded so well with the preceding archbishop. Mgr. de Droste took possession of his see on the 29th of May, 1836, and on the 20th November, 1837, he was, by an order of the king, dragged from the palace he had so lately entered, and carried, guarded like a state criminal, to the fortress of Minden. All Europe was struck with astonishment at so deplorable a catastrophe.

The whole series of the measures taken since then, has clearly proved how well grounded were the rumours which had previously drawn public attention to the anti-Catholic designs of power. But Rome has spoken; Rome has undertaken the defence of the oppressed pontiff. She has also declared that God must be obeyed before man. Our enquiry into the conduct of the archbishop, will now shew how completely it has been conformable to the principles of that Catholic Church, whose legal existence, Frederic William of Prussia recognized and guaranteed in his dominions.

The civil power has drawn up several accusing statements, to demonstrate the legality of the steps taken against Mgr. de Droste. The first of these statements is a pamphlet published by M. Rehfuës, royal commissary at the university of Bonn, and is entitled "The truth of the Hermesian question at issue between the faculty of Catholic Theology at Bonn, and Mgr. the Archbishop of Cologne," (*Die Wahrheit in der Hermes'schen Sache zwischen der Katholisch-theologischen Facultat zu Bonn, und dem Herrn Erzbischof von Cöln. Darmstadt, bey C. W. Leske, 1837.*) The second is a proclamation which was posted in the public places of Cologne, and signed by the ministers of justice, of worship, and of the home department, dated 15th November 1837; the third is a letter bearing the same date, and addressed by the minister of worship to the metropolitan chapter of Cologne. Upon the basis of these three documents of Prussian legislation, and of the official declarations of the court of Rome, we propose to ground our enquiries. We shall consider the subject in a judicial point of view, and we hope to dissipate the prejudices entertained by many, against a prelate whom they accuse at the least of obstinacy and fanaticism, if indeed they do not openly side with the Prussian government. It will not be

difficult to discover the real motives which have brought about a conflict between the episcopal authority of Mgr. de Droste, and the temporal power. Protestant Prussia believes herself called upon to be the centre of the reformed interest in Germany, and neglects nothing, in the fulfilment of this mission, which can be detrimental to Catholicism.

Even whilst the constitution of the Germanic empire was in full vigour, the house of Brandenburg seized every opportunity of consolidating this religious protectorate, with the intention of thus extending and strengthening its political influence. And agreeably to the same tendency, Prussia has begun a system of oppression against the Catholic Church, which, although it has long been denied as an absurd fable, the invention of malevolent fanaticism, is now become too evident in all its frightful consequences, to be gainsaid by the most unobservant. In pursuit of these designs, Prussia believed that she had discovered two infallible means of overthrowing Catholic institutions, and obtaining the triumph of Protestantism. These means, drawn from the bosom of reform itself, are Dr. Hermes' system of theology, and the encouragement of mixed marriages. Of these means, the first seemed the most proper to gain over insensibly the body of the pastors, and the second to act upon the masses. The clergy were to be subdued by the apotheosis of reason, and the faithful by a complete indifference to the decisions of their Church. Already there had been found men so little circumspect, so weak, and so corrupt, as to lend themselves to the designs of a power, hostile to the Catholic Church. Even amongst the bishops, error had found friends and protectors, as well as servile ministers, who were willing to violate Catholic discipline, in obedience to an authority that was seeking to prevaricate the faith it had sworn to Catholics. And the court of Berlin considered itself aggrieved, when archbishop Clement Augustus adopted a different line of conduct, and one wholly devoted to Catholic orthodoxy. Had the new metropolitan shewn himself as condescending as his predecessor, to the Hermesian doctrines, and to a mitigation of discipline, in the celebration of mixed marriages, he might like him have deserved the favours and distinctions of his sovereign. But could the archbishop of Cologne, without violating his conscience, become so complaisant an adopter of the doctrine and discipline which were sought to be imposed upon him? What was in fact the conduct of the prelate upon these two important subjects, of Hermesian theology and mixed marriages?

From the answer to this question, we shall be able to draw conclusions as to the legality or injustice of the measures adopted against Mgr. de Droste. The Prussian government, at the time when new Catholic provinces were added to its dominion, continually, and in the most solemn manner, protested, how great was its respect for all the rights and prerogatives of the Catholic Church, of which it recognized and swore to maintain the inviolability, in all that pertained to its doctrine, morals, hierarchy, and discipline. This inviolability was sanctioned by authority, not only by verbal promises, but by authentic acts preserved in the archives of the state, and inserted in every work treating upon civil, religious, or political rights. These promises were the basis, the primary conditions of the fidelity which the new subjects in their turn vowed to their new masters. We must therefore suppose that government intended nothing,—it could not, unless by the grossest breach of faith, have intended anything,—in contradiction to the Catholic Church. We cannot believe it to have designed anything prejudicial to the integrity of faith, the maintenance of discipline, or the consideration and respect claimed by the hierarchy in all things appertaining to spiritual matters. Now it is certain that the laws made by the civil power, are only binding upon a Christian, in so far as they do not violate those of the Divinity, for in the sacred books we are told, that we “must obey God rather than men.” A law is of no value, except it be restricted within the limits which nature and reason assign to it. As no sovereign ever attempted to impose laws upon the subjects of a foreign prince; so no secular power can exercise any legal jurisdiction *quoad sacra* over the faithful, who in religious matters depend solely upon the hierarchy instituted by Jesus Christ in his Church, and to whom he has committed the care of the flock which he has redeemed by his blood. We do not think our most decided adversaries will dispute this truth with us; it is the most simple mandate of the evangelical doctrine; it is also consistent with the plainest common sense: we have therefore taken it as the basis of the argument upon which we must enter, to appreciate fully the causes and the effects of the affair at Cologne.

However we may be disposed to do justice to the intentions with which Dr. Hermes constructed his system of theology, it is incontestible, that in it the author has been drawn into lamentable aberrations, and that what he believes to be the surest means of consolidating the Christian belief, is in fact a destructive principle. If we examine this new doc-

trine by the light of faith, and compare it with the solemn decisions of the Church, we find that the principle laid down is precisely that which brought about the revolution of the sixteenth century. Reason is the only criterion of truth; to it alone belongs the construction of the theological system, after each particular dogma which goes to constitute the great whole, shall have been subjected to its scalpel. It is no longer the divine word, no longer the authority of the Church, nor that humble faith commanded and recommended by the Saviour, which can conduct us to the understanding of religious truth. Reason alone can guide us to it, by the means of absolute doubt, as our point of departure; such is the principle upon which the doctrines of Dr. Hermes turn: the errors contained in his works, and which the holy see has solemnly condemned, respect the nature of faith; the essence, the holiness, the justice, and the liberty of God; the ends which the Most High proposed to himself in creation; the proofs whereby the existence of God should be established; revelation; the motives for belief; the scriptures; the tradition and ministry of the Church as the depository and judge of faith; the state of our first parents; original sin; the moral dispositions of fallen man; and the necessity and the distribution of divine grace. We have not room enough to give as clear an exposition of these erroneous doctrines, as might be necessary to prove how imperative a duty it had become, for the head of the Church to repress the propagation of a system, which, while it seemed to defend Christian and Catholic revelation, must infallibly have undermined it, wherever it prevailed. We must however give one passage from the works of Hermes, in which the error is very evident, and we have ourselves read this article in the original language, and not in any version of it. It is necessary to state this, because the partisans of Hermes have dared to cloak their refusal to submit to the judgment of the Church, under the pretext, that Rome mistook the sense of the words of the German author, and attributed to him opinions which he did not entertain. The Hermesians have used the same subterfuge, to evade the severe blows which have been dealt against their system, by the celebrated Jesuit Perrone, one of the most vigorous and learned adversaries of the new errors.

Let us hear how Hermes expresses himself respecting faith; and we shall none of us doubt that such principles are incompatible with Christian doctrine, and that the supreme pastor could not have done otherwise than meet them with the most positive condemnation.

"*Faith* ; this is the proper, although generic term in the ordinary value of language, that we employ to designate that state, in which reason, practical and theoretical, stops at the truth which its efforts have enabled it to discover, and accepts it: we employ this expression, in so far as the maintenance and the acceptation agree with the reality of the object acknowledged, without enquiring whether it is in an immediate manner, or by means of the truth of the idea which is maintained and accepted. Whenever we make use of the word faith, we intend to express *that we consider a thing as undoubtedly true*, but without any consideration of the motives which make us consider it so. But, since, in the sense we have just laid down, faith expresses only a subjective state of our soul, that is to say, that state in which a doubt of the real existence is excluded, it is manifest that faith, as such, does not yet offer any guarantee for the reality of the object of our belief, but that all still depends on the motives from which our faith emanates. Now there is no motive sufficient for a certain faith, or, which is absolutely identical, for a rational faith, unless it be the sole necessary adhesion of theoretical reason, or the sole acceptation of moral or practical reason ; since, beyond these two means, there exists not a third, by which reason may make us secure of the truth and reality of an existence, and because excepting reason, we possess no faculty which can supply us with such a result. We must therefore be assured of this source, for all that concerns the object of our belief. If then we wish to explain what is to be understood by *true faith*, in opposition to all that is not so, even of what may be true by accident, but is not the less rejected before the tribunal of reason ; we should say that it is a conviction existing in us of the reality of a known object, a conviction which is given to us, by a necessary adhesion of theoretical reason, or by a necessary acceptation of practical reason. This faith, which is rational faith, is the final end of all philosophy, the only true regulator of man, and the indispensable condition of his elevation. And it is in a wide and eminently religious point of view, that the great apostle of the nations has said, ' Faith is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that appear not.'—Epist. Heb. cap. xi. 1."—Philosophical Introduction, § 44, page 267-9.

"We must also consider, with reference to what we have said, a very common interpretation given by theologians to faith. To believe, according to them, is to admit something upon the authority of another, of God or of a man. In this sense they employ the word *faith*, to designate a particular sort of adhesion, or of the acceptation of our mind, while in strict language, if things are not treated superficially, we should not consider the species but the result of this same adhesion, and of this same acceptation. At any rate, the consequences of this abuse are not very serious. There is not less of inaccuracy in the essential attribute *upon the authority of another*, not only when we consider the words in their general acceptation, but also in the particular sense given to them by theologians. In the

language of theology, we constantly find use made of the formula. '*We believe in a God.*' But upon whose authority is this faith founded? It cannot be upon the authority of God, for faith must first of all pronounce upon the existence of a supreme being, nor can it be upon the authority of a man pledging himself to this truth—it is true that reason is often forced to admit an external authority, not only divine but even human, as a motive of knowledge, and a motive of faith: but to make this authority the exclusive foundation, and also the first cause of faith, as the theologians pretend, is to take from faith all value, and to yield up the most important objects of our belief, such as the existence of God, and many others, to the most boundless scepticism."—*Philosophical Introduction*, pp. 264-69.

This single extract from the works of professor Hermes, is sufficient to give an idea of his doctrine. We might have chosen other passages, of which some are positively blasphemous, but we have preferred selecting one of those, in which are laid down the foundations of the whole system, which proclaims human reason the only judge of faith, and of the motives of credibility. We shall henceforth understand, why a Protestant government should have espoused with so much partiality the Hermesian doctrines. After a long and scrupulous enquiry, the pope, in a consistory of all the cardinals, pronounced a sentence of reprobation against the Hermesian doctrines, and published a brief, dated the 26th September 1835, which, under the severest canonical penalties, enjoined the faithful of the whole Catholic world, neither to study, nor to propagate thenceforward, anything which had any relation with the condemned system. The brief is of an essentially dogmatical character; it is addressed indefinitely to all the Catholic Churches in the world; and none of the faithful can refuse it their assent and submission, without ceasing by that act to belong to the holy Roman communion. In spite of such palpable proofs to the contrary, the Prussian government did not hesitate to maintain, in one of its acts of accusation against the archbishop of Cologne, that,

"the charge of professing erroneous doctrines, had been brought only by a coterie of laymen, and had been carried by them so far, as to obtain a sentence of condemnation from the head of the Church; but that with the exception of the redemptorists of Vienna, no theologian, nor even any ecclesiastic, had taken part against Hermes."—*Die Wahrheit in der Hermesschen Sache*, pp. 7-32.

To this audacious assertion, we shall content ourselves by opposing the formal declaration of Gregory XVI, in the preamble to the brief of 1835.

"In compliance with the indications, the representations, and the

prayers which have been addressed to us," says the sovereign pontiff, "by many theologians, and many bishops of Germany, we have entrusted to theologians well acquainted with the German language, the charge of making a minute and severe examination of the works of Hermes, and have then committed the results of their labours to other doctors in theology, to be by them also subjected to a conscientious enquiry. All those to whom these writings have been submitted, have unanimously declared that they contain doctrines which are at variance with the principles professed by the Catholic Church. Finally, we have placed the affair in the hands of the cardinals of the holy Roman inquisition, that they might again enquire into it, with the strictest attention. These cardinals, after having maturely deliberated upon the question in an extraordinary sitting held in our presence, have given it as their decisive judgment, that the writings of Hermes are contrary to the Catholic faith."

What shall we say now of a high functionary, whose duty it is to act as mediator between the archbishop, who is guardian of all the schools of theology established in his diocese, and the minister of public worship; of a public functionary, who fears not to tax with falsehood, the explicit and most solemn declaration of the sovereign pontiff, touching the Hermesian doctrines? What shall we say of the ministry, who could have recourse to a pamphlet containing such revolting assertions, for the principal theses,—nay, even for the expressions, which were to be used in drawing up the act of accusation against Mgr. de Droste? A single fact of this nature must shew to our readers, that from its first interference with the affairs of Cologne, the Prussian government has violated all the laws of justice, and all the rules of social usage. The brief of the 26th of September being a dogmatical brief, and having been received as such by all the bishops of Catholicity, it became, from the moment of its promulgation at Rome, binding upon all who came to the knowledge of it, no matter by what means. Vainly do men in power pretend to object thereto, their legislative enactments, by virtue of which, no bull, brief, rescript, &c. can be received, published, printed, or otherwise put into execution, without the authorization of government; for the Prussian Landrecht which contains this decree, has no legal value in the Rhenish provinces, where it has never been promulgated as a law of the country. And to have recourse to the first title, Art. i. of the organic law of the 18th Germinal, year x, from which the Prussian code has borrowed the articles 117 and 118, would be to recognize a legislation, formally opposed to the religious liberty which was secured to the Catholic subjects of Prussia. Indeed if men in

power could make their legislative enactments applicable to matters of doctrine, it would follow that doctrine itself would become a thing dependant upon the good pleasure of the sovereign, and that no Catholic subject could venture to profess any tenet, except what had received the authorization of the head of the state. Now such an hypothesis as this, would be repugnant to reason and justice; it is incompatible with the gospel, and cannot therefore be binding upon a faithful believer, a pastor, or a bishop, who fears God more than man. It is even contrary to the opinions of those casuists who have striven most strongly to acknowledge and extend the jurisdiction of the state over the Church. In support of the Catholic principle, we will cite the words of an author, who should of all others be least objected to on the present occasion, by our opponents, since he is the author of that absurd system by which the spiritual authority would degenerate into the vassal of the civil power. The following are the expressions of Van Espen, respecting the promulgation of ecclesiastical laws:—

“Nequaquam dependet a publicatione vel executione decreti seu bullæ dogmaticæ, ut quis dogmati assensum fidei præbere teneatur, eo quod præveniendi omnem publicationem et executionem teneatur quis fide divinâ credere dogma, quod ipsi sufficienter constat ex divinâ revelatione traditum. Quapropter placitum regium nequaquam spectat ipsius fidei assensum præstandum dogmati, de quo fidelibus sufficienter constat esse revelatum.”—*De promulgatione legum Ecclesiasticarum*. Part v. cap. ii, in opp. edit. Lovan. tom. iv. p. 166.

The Prussian ambassador at the court of Rome could not fail to be aware of the dogmatical condemnation of a doctrine, whose author and most zealous partizans were Prussian subjects; nor could he fail to announce it officially to his government, while the newspapers were making it known to the whole of Europe. There was then a sufficient promulgation of the judgment of the holy see. The truth was a mystery to no one, and least of all to the Hermesians. The archbishop of Cologne was of course informed of it, and one of the first duties imposed upon him by his pastoral office, was to enforce a strict observance of the decree of the supreme head of the Church. The inviolability of doctrine and the salvation of souls were at stake, and all tergiversation and delay would not only have been an act of weakness, but of guilty cowardice. How then did the disciples of Hermes meet the sentence of reprobation which had been pronounced against their system? Far from submitting to it, with the humble docility which all the faithful owe to the decisions of the Church,—above all

when these decisions concern the very essence of doctrine, and when the universal assent of the bishops has given it a character of indisputable legality, whatever opinions may be entertained of the personal infallibility of the head of the Church: far from quitting a path which could now lead only to an abyss, the Hermesians proved by their actions, how completely the Protestant principle which formed the basis of their system, had also penetrated their hearts, and identified itself with their whole being. The Church condemns their teaching, and they, proud of a method in which reason is put forward as the only source of religious truth, now oppose this same reason to divine authority, which can neither vary nor go astray. They continued therefore, after, as before the pope's decision, to spread their doctrines by word and writing.

Masters of several important pulpits, supported by government, exercising great influence in several of the chapters of cathedrals, where they had succeeded in establishing many of their adepts, the partisans of this new school believed themselves strong enough to oppose a most distinct and obstinate resistance to the common father of the faithful. But as this mode of acting could not fail to raise up scruples in some timorous souls, especially in the minds of some future ministers of the sanctuary, the Hermesians endeavoured to justify their culpable obstinacy, by the specious pretext that the bull of Gregory XVI had not been officially communicated to them, and consequently could not be binding upon their consciences. They also pretended that the judgment of the holy see was based on error, for that the writings of Hermes had not been understood, and that doctrines were attributed to him which were neither his nor theirs. Such a charge as this is in itself a serious offence against the vicar of Jesus Christ, for it in fact imputes to him lightness, precipitation, and ignorance; but such an accusation will not weigh for a moment in the minds of those, who know the wise circumspection with which the court of Rome proceeds to her decisions. However, the insult which these men would not have dared to allow themselves against a civil tribunal of an inferior class, they feared not to offer to the highest and most venerable authority,—that to which our divine Saviour has promised his assistance until time shall have an end. Priests and doctors, charged with instructing Catholic youth in the doctrine, morals, and discipline of the Church, called to continue the succession of ministers of the divine word, dispensers of the mysteries of the new covenant,—these feared not to place themselves in open,

flagrant, coldly calculated opposition to the successor of Peter, to him in whom resides the plenitude of the Christian priesthood; not only did they endeavour to justify their criminal conduct by sophisms and lies, but they did not even blush to use against the head of the Church the most culpable and offensive expressions. They severely attacked all who did not agree with them, and who obeyed the dictates of their conscience, if they chose to shew themselves submissive and docile sons of the Church. At Bonn, the Hermesians were the predominant party, and had possession of the seminaries, the high theological instruction, and all university dignities. Amongst the professors of théology, there were but two to represent and defend sound doctrine,—the reverend doctors Klee and Walter; both of these gentlemen, weary of the innumerable contradictions which they continually met with from their intolerant and fanatical adversaries, were obliged in the end to quit the field where they had combated gloriously, but where their actions were too much restricted, to allow them to fulfil the mission with which they were entrusted. Such was the state of things, when Mgr. de Droste took possession of his archiepiscopal see. In the extract we have already given from his book upon the religious liberty of Catholics, we have seen in the new metropolitan, a prelate frankly devoted to the interests of Catholicism; and it might have been foreseen, that so enlightened and intrepid a defender of the divine prerogatives of the Church, would not continue an inactive spectator of a struggle carried on by some of his own subordinates, against their common superior. Mgr. Clement Auguste knew the sentence of condemnation which had been pronounced against the Hermesian doctrines; eight months had elapsed since its promulgation. Government had therefore had time to take cognizance of the bull, and to assure itself that it contained only dogmatical decisions, which could not be subjected to the examination, or require the sanction of the temporal power. So early as the 29th October 1835, the capitulary vicar-general of Cologne, M. Husgen, had published a circular to the clergy of the diocese, in which he recommended to them submission to the decision of the holy see. Even the government declared that it had no intention of fettering the exercise of spiritual authority, and recommended the Hermesians to avoid whatever could bear the appearance of opposition to the brief of the 26th September 1835. Considering all these circumstances, we are at a loss to understand how Mr. Rehfuës could venture, in his pamphlet,

to maintain that the archbishop of Cologne had only taken so decided a part against the Hermesian doctrines, through personal antipathy to Hermes, and that he sought rather to gratify his own revenge, than to defend the purity of Catholic instruction. Such imputations as these, serve only to display the bad faith of his opponents and their powerful protectors. The first use which Mgr. de Droste made of his episcopal prerogatives, the first act by which he clearly proved his determination not to allow any further infractions in his diocese, of the brief which condemned Hermes and his disciples, was his refusing to approve a number of the *Journal of Philosophy and Catholic Theology*, of which the manuscript was submitted by the editors for his approval, according to the existing laws. This periodical work was mainly intended to defend and propagate the system which the Church condemned, and was edited by the most eminent Hermesians, of whom several were professors at Bonn. In refusing to sanction a publication, of which the avowed object was to violate the infallible decisions of the Church, the archbishop did no more than follow the direct line of his duty, both as a Catholic and a bishop. He prevented, so far as he was able, the spread of a doctrine which had been declared erroneous and incompatible with Catholic principles. Instead of acknowledging the justice of his conduct, instead of being persuaded by it to return from the paths of error, which hitherto they had pursued, the principal editors appealed from the archbishop to the first president of the province, who by a decree of the 13th September 1836, allowed the number of the *Journal of Philosophy and Theology* to be printed, alleging that only catechisms and prayer-books were to be subjected to ecclesiastical censure. This was the first conflict between the authority of the head of the diocese and the Hermesian school; all that followed this, arose out of it. The minister in his *Publicandum* is silent as to this circumstance, probably because it was impossible to deny or alter the facts, and that he did not wish to shew how eagerly from the very first, the civil authority had supported the disobedient priests, against the double authority of their diocesan bishop, and of the supreme head of the Church. It is impossible after this, not to feel deep indignation, when we find the cabinet of Berlin accusing the archbishop of Cologne of revolutionary intrigues; having been itself the first to favour a revolt against spiritual authority, which is of all others the most legitimate. If we consult the books which serve as the basis of all instruc-

tion in canon law, in the divers theological schools which are scattered over the Prussian territory,—if we attend to the decisions of all the Catholic jurisconsults, who, as such, have been entrusted by the civil power with the instruction of youth in this branch of ecclesiastical knowledge—we shall find that the charge of watching over the maintenance and propagation of sound doctrine, belongs wholly to the bishop, and to him alone, under the superintendence of the head of the Church. This right is inherent in the episcopacy; it forms one of its essential and inalienable prerogatives; and its exercise is a duty, which no bishop can dispense with, without doing violence to his conscience. And moreover, from the moment when the editors of the journal we are speaking of, had submitted the manuscript of their publication for the approbation of the archbishop, they themselves acknowledged in the most explicit manner, that he had the authority to pronounce whether or not their opinions were in conformity with the principles of Catholic instruction. And if after a sentence of disapprobation from this judge, whose authority rests upon the word of God, the Hermesians sought to have recourse to a still higher authority, that authority ought to be no other than that of the pope.

Such is the ordinary course of Catholic affairs, such are the means by which that religious unity which is the work of God, is maintained and consolidated. Precisely in the manner that the cognizance of all civil and political causes belongs to the secular judge of the civil tribunal, so upon the same grounds and with far juster title, all questions of religious doctrine belong to the judicial authority of the bishops and the holy see. Not to recognize this double jurisdiction, is to renounce the Catholic faith and to give up her communion. As members of the Church,—as professors of a faculty of Catholic theology—as priests—the editors of the *Journal of Philosophy and Theology* flagrantly betrayed their vows, when they appealed from the sentence of their lawful ecclesiastical superior to that of a lay judge; and they carried outrage and scandal to the highest point, when they submitted to an heretical functionary the cognizance and decision of a matter purely spiritual and dogmatical.

The Prussian law respecting the censorship of the press is so distinct and decided, that the reflecting mind is struck with painful surprise, on seeing the first president exempt the editors of the *Journal of Philosophy and Theology* from the jurisdiction of their metropolitan, upon the pretext that only

catechisms and prayer-books require the approbation of the ordinary. According to paragraphs two, three, and four, of the edict of censorship, the supreme direction of the censorship of works of theology, belongs to the minister of ecclesiastical affairs; its immediate surveillance is confided to the first president of each province, who must propose to the minister the most able censors. But if, on the one hand, this law gives to the civil power the censorship of books belonging to religion, it on the other hand opposes bounds to the power of these censors; for it declares positively, that the only object the censors must have in view, "is to prevent whatever may be in opposition to the general principles of religion, without entering into the opinions and doctrine which are proper to each religious communion." With respect to such peculiar doctrines, paragraph five is expressed in a manner, which can leave no doubt, even to the most violent opponents of the archbishop of Cologne.

"All books of religion," it states, "all books of Catholic religion or prayer, must have received from the bishop or his delegate, his imprimatur, previously to being submitted to the ordinary censor; by which it must appear, that these books contain nothing contrary to the instruction of the Catholic Church."

The measure taken by Mgr. de Dröste, against the publication of Hermesian writings, is thus most fully justified, not only by the dictate of his own conscience, and by the canons of the Catholic Church, but also by the civil law, where the rights of the archbishop are laid down with the utmost clearness and precision. What must we think then, having before us so plain a statement, of the assertion which the ministerial curator of the university of Bonn does not scruple to make in his pamphlet, where he says:—

"The fault of the Hermesian professors in this affair, and in all others of a like nature, has been principally that in questions of right, they have chosen to act according to the laws of the country, and not according to the ideas of the archbishop of Cologne, concerning the degree of subordination due to his episcopal authority, from a professor of theology in a university."

Such a functionary as Mr. Rehfuës must better understand the legislation of his country, and the essence of the hierarchy, than would appear from his pamphlet against the chief pastor of the provinces of the Rhine. It is, moreover, giving a wretched example to intelligent youth, to support in their rebellion pastors who pretend to have a mission for teaching Catholic doctrine, when the guardian of the holy word, when the bishop of the place, together with the supreme head of the

Church, and in agreement with the whole body of the episcopacy, have condemned their doctrine, as contrary to the Catholic faith. The conduct of the Hermesian professors was, therefore, most reprehensible, the decision of the first president an illegal sentence, and the assertion of the curator of the university an offence against reason, justice, and truth. The inextricable embarrassments which the civil power has brought upon itself in this business might easily have been avoided; it was only necessary for that purpose to acknowledge that the archbishop of Cologne was acting in a merely religious sphere, and to avoid embarrassing his episcopal authority by any acts emanating from itself, or still more, suffering it to be insulted by the turbulent insubordination of his inferiors. An additional confirmation of what we have just said, is the declaration made at a later period by the minister himself, in one of his official proclamations—"That government had never intended to make common cause with the Hermesian doctrines." Now, it was precisely and solely to stop the progress of this doctrine, condemned as it had been by a solemn sentence of the Church, that the archbishop of Cologne, refused his sanction to the *Journal of Philosophy and Catholic Theology*; because he found in it only the reproduction and propagation of doctrines which he could not in his conscience consider conformable to Catholic truth. Because a man is a professor of a faculty of Catholic theology, annexed to a Prussian university, it does not follow that as a priest he ceases to be subordinate to the authority of his bishop; for the Church will not consider such a faculty as legal, except in so far as it is well assured that the bishop will not be limited in the rights inherent in his episcopal character, and in his duty of watching over the maintenance of Catholic faith and discipline, and in taking all suitable measures to repress every attempt to endanger them. If, then, government chose to organize a faculty of Catholic theology, it was bound to adhere to the conditions essential to the very nature of such an institution, and to recognize the inalienable right of the bishops to watch narrowly the doctrine taught by masters who were to instruct youth in the sacred science.

But from the moment when the temporal authority made common cause with the Hermesian professors against their lawful ecclesiastical superior, we must not be surprised if the latter persisted in their unhappy plan of not recognizing the brief which condemned the writings of their master, and of continuing after, as well as before it, to profess the same doc-

trines openly; and by this opposition the archbishop was necessarily led to adopt more energetic measures to maintain the integrity of the faith, and the inviolability of the authority committed by the Saviour to the successor of St. Peter and to the bishops. This measure was the circular addressed by Mgr. de Droste to the spiritual directors of the town of Bonn; and which was treated by the ministers of Frederick William as one of their greatest grievances against the new metropolitan, in the several manifestos they published. Considering the nature of the intercourse subsisting between the pupils of the seminary, and the non-resident theological students of Bonn, it was impossible that the brief condemning the Hermesian doctrines should not be a constant subject of discussion and conversation amongst the students, of whom nearly all followed the instructions of Dr. Klee, the only special professor of theology who had kept himself free from the leaven of the new school. From comparing this professor's lectures with those of his opponents, the students were naturally led to compare the different systems, and to consider to which of the two parties they should conscientiously adhere—that which warned them that the condemnation of the Hermesian doctrines being notorious, was obligatory upon every one, as a dogmatical decision given by the head of the Church—or those which held that this condemnation must be considered as not having occurred, because it had not been officially promulgated in the Prussian states. Many of the theologians, uneasy in their consciences, and wishing for a solution of their doubts, consulted their directors, to know whether they could in safety attend the lectures of those professors, who, disregarding the brief, continued to teach and defend the forbidden doctrines. Such of the directors as believed that the Hermesian lectures might not with propriety be attended, were exposed to all sorts of annoyances, and found themselves in direct opposition with the inspector of the seminary; even their penitents were not exempt from the direct or indirect attacks of the ecclesiastics who supported the contrary system; and in consequence it came to the knowledge of the archbishop of Cologne that many consultations had been held as to the proper line of conduct to be pursued. To put an end to the uneasiness of some, and the intrigues of others, Mgr. de Droste addressed the following circular to the rector dean of Bonn, with an order to communicate it to all priests who had received functions to act as spiritual directors:—

“ I have learnt that many of the confessors of Bonn are doubtful what

answer to return when they are consulted, either in the tribunal of penance or out of it, whether it is allowable to read the writings of professor Hermes, and if the students of theology may continue to attend those courses of lectures in which the doctrines contained in those writings are still taught. I therefore charge your reverence to make known in my name to all the confessors of the town of Bonn, in whatever manner you shall judge expedient, that

"1st. It is not allowed for any one to read the writings of professor Hermes, neither those which have been published since his death, nor those which have appeared for the purpose of justifying the former, nor any manuscripts drawn up in conformity with the principles of these works.

"2nd. No student of theology may be present at lectures of which the instruction is the same as that of the writings we have mentioned.

"3d. As to the measures taken by the Holy See against the writings of Hermes, I request you to address the following observations to those who have any doubts upon this subject, or who, like the Hermesians, quitting the direct road, seek to cover their disobedience by the pretext that the brief in question, not having been formally promulgated, is not binding upon the conscience :

"I. The publication of a brief can have no other object than to bring to the knowledge of the faithful the decision of the Sovereign Pontiff, unless the author of the brief shall require its previous publication as an indispensable condition to its having a binding character, as was the case with respect to the canon published by the Council of Trent, concerning clandestine marriages.

"II. The Pontifical brief is sufficiently well known to the Hermesians, as is clearly proved by their writings since its publication, unless it should be attempted to establish a distinction between a knowledge acquired for the purpose of insulting the head of the Church, and a knowledge acquired with the intention of humble submission to him. If the alleged pretext were worth anything, it would then rest with the temporal power to fetter that centre of unity which was instituted by our Divine Saviour. Such a state of things would, no doubt, not be displeasing to the Hermesians, who, like all other sectarians, can only maintain themselves by the help of the civil power, which, as it can never be a proper judge in affairs of this kind, fails not immediately to make itself a party concerned, so soon as it begins to make common cause with those who have recourse to its assistance."

"CLEMENT AUGUSTE,

"Cologne, 12th Jan. 1837."

"Archbishop of Cologne.

This circular left no further room for reasonable doubts, and there remained no middle part between a sincere and full submission to the Church, and a violent separation from the centre of Catholic unity. The archbishop had traced a line of conduct, without which there was no means of participating in the communion of the faithful. The reasons alleged by

the prelate have formed the constant doctrine of the Church, and the principle without which the Catholic religion must cease to exist; and only blind prejudice or bad faith can see in this language anything but the anxiety of a clear-minded and zealous prelate to keep his flock united in the way of salvation.

The dean of the clergy of Bonn executed the commission he had received from his bishop, by going successively to each of the ecclesiastics who exercised the sacred jurisdiction, either as curates or confessors; and communicating to them the archiepiscopal circular, he required of each to put his signature to the bottom of the paper, as an acknowledgment that it had been made known to him.

In the course of this duty, the dean called upon M. Achterfelt, the inspector of the seminary, and a declared Hermesian, and requested him to sign his name, as the greater part of the priests of the town had already done, as an attestation that it had been shewn to him. The inspector hesitated, and under the pretext that he wished to consult his colleagues, he asked the dean to leave the archbishop's circular with him. The dean being wholly free from suspicion, made no difficulty in acceding to M. Achterfelt's request. This gentleman lost no time in calling together his Hermesian colleagues, and considering with them how best to elude the orders of their lawful superior. With this view they sent Mgr. de Droste's circular to the royal commissioner at the university of Bonn, who in his turn did all in his power to represent this exercise of episcopal authority as a criminal act, a violation of the laws of the kingdom, and a culpable abuse of the tribunal of penance. It is thus that the minister of ecclesiastical affairs speaks of it in his proclamations, and it forms the second of the charges he brings against the archbishop, as having rendered necessary his expulsion from the see of Cologne. How shall we characterize the conduct of the inspector and his colleagues? What judgment can we form of a school, whose members, even in the most difficult circumstances, and in questions most intimately connected with the welfare of souls, take a pleasure in showing their contempt for hierarchical authority? How shall we believe their protestations of zeal for the defence of the Church, when every step they have taken has been an attack upon that Church, her essence, her dogmas, her morals, and her discipline? Whatever disposition we may feel to judge leniently of the disciples of Hermes, it is impossible not to see, that both in the present instance, and that which we have before cited, these men.

were guilty of grievous treachery against the Catholic communion, by submitting an act of purely spiritual jurisdiction to an heretical civil government. And we doubt not that this judgment, severe as it may appear, will be that of all men of upright minds, even if they do not belong to the Catholic faith. For, whosoever is acquainted with the spirit of the Church, must see that the Hermesians had in justice but one alternative—either to give back into the hands of the archbishop functions which they had received, and could only have received, from him; or to conform to the conditions upon which alone the chief pastor thought proper to continue them in the exercise of their sacred ministry. There was here no encroachment upon, no transgression of, the civil laws. The archbishop, in fulfilling a duty strictly enjoined upon him by his conscience, was also acting within the exact limits of his rights. To be further convinced of this, let us attend to the enactments of the Prussian law. The civil power is always ready to enforce the duty of submission to established authority. Why should it set aside its own rules, when they would justify conduct perfectly legal, but not in accordance with its religious pretensions and encroachments? Let us turn to the §§ 50, 66, and 73, of the fundamental law (*Allgemeines Landrecht*, Theil ii. Sit. 2), and we shall find that—"§ 50. Every member of a religious society is bound to submit to the discipline therein established. § 66. The rights and the particular duties of a Catholic priest, with respect to the exercise of his ecclesiastical ministry, are determined by the rules of the canon law. § 73. In their official manifestations, and in their public teaching, they must put forth nothing which can scandalize the community, NOTHING WHICH IS CONTRARY TO THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF THEIR CHURCH." Now, let us consult all the laws of the Church, all the canons, all the decisions pronounced, either by ecclesiastical tribunals, or by canonical jurisconsults, and we dare pledge ourselves that there will be found nothing in this transaction to throw any blame on the archbishop—nothing which can in any way justify the Hermesian directors—nothing in the slightest degree resembling an infraction of the civil law, in the conduct of Mgr. de Droste. Nevertheless, this lawful exercise of episcopal power has been stigmatized to the public as an attempt against the liberty of conscience, as a violation of the laws of the country, and as a seditious action, intended to favour the movements of two revolutionary parties. The ministers of King Frederick William, and also the royal commissioner at

the university of Bonn, have made it the text of a long and violent diatribe. It cannot, therefore, be superfluous to add some reflections to what we have already said; and we will for this purpose comment upon the very words of the archbishop's adversaries. "The confessional," says M. Rehfuës, in his pamphlet (*Die Wahrheit in der Hermesschen Sache, &c.*), "the confessional is a place where the doubts and scruples of penitents are resolved." We fully agree with this maxim, and we are obliged to the author for it. The discussions which arose between the adversaries and the adherents of the Hermesian system, gave rise in many minds to doubts as to whether, knowing the brief by which the new doctrine had been condemned by the Church, they could continue to read works written in the spirit of this doctrine, or to assist at the lessons of those who were its declared partizans. As these doubts must have gained strength from the differences of opinion amongst the directors of Bonn, it remained for the chief pastor to solve all doubts, and set at rest all scruples, by a categorical declaration, which would tranquillize all consciences by tracing out for them an invariable rule, conformable to the principles of Catholicism. This is what Mgr. de Droste did by means of the circular addressed to the dean and clergy of Bonn. The prelate sought then, in reality, to make the confessional the means of quieting timid souls, of silencing discussions, in which personally he took no part, and of putting an end to an unhappy division, begun and carried on by priests, forgetful of their first and holiest duty — the maintenance of the true faith in all its integrity. If, then, there is blame, it rests not with the archbishop of Cologne, but with the followers of the Hermesian school, and of the authorities who took it under their shield, in defiance of the condemnation pronounced against them by the head of the Church. But it will be said, perhaps, that the archiepiscopal circular was a sort of publication of the apostolic brief. Such an hypothesis is destitute of all foundation. Far from promulgating the brief, it is upon the brief itself that Mgr. de Droste based his declaration to the directors of Bonn. It was impossible to pretend ignorance of an act of pontifical authority, which all the world knew, and which the cabinet of Berlin had itself undertaken to support; thus, while the temporal power promised to enforce the exterior execution of the brief, the metropolitan using his episcopal prerogative, and fulfilling the duties of his situation, undertook to enforce it upon the interior and spiritual sense of his people, which

could be reached by no other jurisdiction. The archbishop cannot, then, be blamed, except by extreme party feeling. He confined himself within the limits of the episcopal power, guaranteed to him by the Prussian laws.

Where, then, is the crime which the ministerial proclamation, and the pamphlet of the curator of the university, have denounced to the whole of Europe? The crime of the archbishop is, that

"In his circular, he expressly declares that the briefs concerning matters of doctrine do not in any degree require the authorization of government, but that their publication at Rome suffices to give them every where an official and obligatory character; now, this maxim is in manifest contradiction with the laws of the monarchy, with public rights, and with the custom universally followed in the Germanic confederation."

These are the expressions of the manifesto of the minister of ecclesiastical affairs. Our readers may judge for themselves how many inaccuracies it contains, which M. d'Altenstein has not feared to advance with the utmost confidence. We have cited, word for word, Mgr. de Droste's circular, and we think that no one will find the above theory expressly laid down in it. What the prelate does say is the simple and plain truth—that in the case where a Catholic, knowing with certainty a decision given in matters of faith by the sovereign pontiff, should excuse himself from submitting to it, because it had not yet been published, and authorised by the secular authority—it would follow that the secular power might constrain at its good pleasure the prerogatives of the centre of Catholic unity, instituted by the Saviour. Now, there can be no medium between the two systems; either the civil government must declare itself invested with the right of putting what constraint they please upon the actions of the Holy See, or it must leave to the spiritual power its inherent prerogatives, and renounce an imaginary right, which in practice becomes a revolting tyranny. Where is the Catholic who can entertain upon this subject other views than those of Mgr. de Droste? and what Protestant who knows the doctrine of our religion and the constitution of our hierarchy, who will not consider the conduct of the archbishop of Cologne at once logical and frank? It is with pain that we here mention a fact which throws great doubt upon the uprightness and good faith of the Prussian government. When in so serious an affair, and one so important to the interests of humanity, the first power of the state brings a formal accusation against a Catholic bishop, it is bound,

more especially than in other cases, to avoid whatever might appear to be an exaggeration or falsification of its grievances. The minister for ecclesiastical affairs terminates the second clause of the accusation he brings against Mgr. de Droste by the following words :—

“ We must add, in the present instance, that not only was there no official notification, as we have already stated, but that no Catholic bishop of the monarchy, not even Mgr. the Archbishop of Cologne, addressed themselves to the government to solicit the publication of the brief concerning the condemnation of the Hermesian doctrines.”

In answer to this assertion of M. d'Altenstein, Mgr. Maximilian de Droste Vischering, Bishop of Münster, hastened to insert, in No. 349 of the *Universal Gazette*, of Augsburg, the following protest :—

“ For the maintenance of truth, I declare publicly by these presents, that in a letter addressed to his Excellency M. d'Altenstein, the minister of ecclesiastical affairs, dated the 20th September, 1837, I openly expressed my wish that by an official publication the force of law might be given to the brief published by the Sovereign Pontiff against the doctrine and against the writings of Professor Hermes. I was careful to add, that as both parties had a common wish for the success of the teaching of the Church, by these means a return to a perfect unity might be brought about more easily, and security might be given to those who are charged to watch over the maintenance of holy doctrine.—Münster, the 7th December, 1837.—Caspar Maximilian, Bishop of Münster, Baron de Droste Vischering.”

It was impossible to give a more formal contradiction to the assertion of the minister of Frederick William. Unhappily, we shall have many other opportunities of seeing that, to gain its ends, the government had recourse, without scruple, to revolting untruths. The archbishop of Cologne had many and grievous reasons to be convinced that the professors of the school of Dr. Hermes acknowledged neither the authority of the head of the Church, nor that of their diocesan bishop; and that as they took no other notice of the dogmatical decisions of the Sovereign Pontiff than to modify them according to the doctrines of their master, so also in matters of spiritual jurisdiction they paid no attention to the pastoral instructions he thought proper to address to them; while at the same time they sought to maintain themselves in opposition to hierarchical authority by taking shelter under the civil power. It is evident that such men as these could exercise no beneficial influence upon the youth confided to their charge. Instead of forming upright ministers, devoted to the Church, they conveyed to these fresh and excitable minds, notions of a culpable inde-

pendence, thereby preparing abundant elements for future heresy and schism. A bishop such as Mgr. Clement Auguste would not, and could not, confine himself to fruitless lamentations; his duty was to seek by all lawful and canonical means to neutralize the disorganizing influence of the Hermesian school, and to preserve untouched the sacred deposit of the faith. Accordingly, when at the end of the month of January, 1837, a programme of the public instructions for the ensuing summer was submitted to the archbishop, the prelate refused his approbation to all the courses of lectures announced by the declared partizans of the Hermesians—that is to say, he refused to acknowledge their conformity to the teaching of the Church. This new measure failed not to draw upon the prelate the anger of the Prussian government, who reproached Mgr. de Droste with it, as being an act of partiality and a violation of the laws of the kingdom. In order properly to appreciate these imputations of the minister, we will cite the words of the laws which M. d'Altenstein alleges to have been violated. The minister grounds his accusation upon paragraph four of the statute concerning the faculty of Catholic theology at Bonn. This paragraph contains two very distinct propositions—the one legislative, by which the king regulates the relations in which the faculty of theology is placed with regard to the Catholic Church, and the archbishop of Cologne, as first pastor of the diocese; the other states the administrative measures taken by the minister of ecclesiastical affairs, for carrying into effect the king's law.

The following is paragraph four of the statutes published by the minister, and dated the 18th of October, 1834:—

“By an order of the cabinet, dated the 13th of April, 1829, his Majesty the King has deigned to decree that the Archbishop of Cologne shall take, with respect to the faculty of Catholic theology annexed to the university of Bonn, in all that concerns the essentials of instruction, the same position in which the Prince Bishop of Breslaw is placed with respect to the faculty of Catholic theology of the university of that town, in conformity with the ordinances of the 26th August, 1776, and of the 26th July, 1800, of which there are extracts hereto annexed. The special arrangements for the execution of this law have been left by his Majesty to his minister.”

If there is one thing more essential than another to a bishop, it is, that he should be able to watch with perfect liberty over the maintenance of the Catholic faith, in every school within the limits of his diocese. This is a divine right inherent in the episcopacy. A faculty of theology cannot then pretend to be a Catholic faculty, unless it continues under the jurisdic-

tion of the ordinary, to whom it belongs to repress all errors against the faith, that is to say, to refuse his approbation to all courses of instruction, suspected of inculcating erroneous doctrines, and not to admit into sacred orders those theologians who, in spite of such prohibitions, had attended the forbidden lectures. This has been established by the canon law in the most decided manner, and forms, in consequence, the object of the law of the 13th April 1829, as it ought to form that of the organic statute of the 13th October 1834. But that there may be no mistake as to the sense of the words, the legislator refers us for them to two anterior laws, that of the 26th August 1776, and that of the 26th July 1800. The first is expressed as follows in the seventh paragraph.

“The deans and professors of the faculty of theology shall not only ask the opinion and the orders of the bishop in all that concerns the method to be followed in the exposition of the theological sciences, the choice of authors, the distribution of hours, and all else concerning *merè Theologica*, but they must also submit to his examination, and to his approbation, an annual programme of the instructions given by this faculty.”

In the second of the ordinances we have cited, we read at section 19 as follows :—

“As we do not intend by the present regulation, in anything to interfere with the rights of the bishop in his capacity of ordinary, these rights are reserved to him, as much in what concerns the ecclesiastical professors of the above-named institution, as in all that concerns the other inferior schools, the nomination of masters and inspection.”

It is then manifest, from the precise terms of the royal ordinance of the 18th October, 1834, that the archbishop of Cologne exercises over the faculty of Catholic theology at Bonn, the same prerogatives, which the bishop of Breslau enjoys, with respect to the faculty of theology, in this latter town. The government cannot and wishes not in anything to interfere with the lawful rights of the ordinary, and it is to his judgment that belong all purely theological questions. It is to him that should be submitted the programme of instructions, which are of no value without his approbation. But in spite of these clear and well-defined edicts, M. d'Altenstein has not hesitated to accuse the archbishop of Cologne of breaking the law. It is true that in the ministerial statutes we find the following clause, which is a complete violation of the law upon the subject.

“Programmes of the instructions for each term, shall be submitted to the archbishop ; and the faculty is required to receive respectfully the

observations which the metropolitan shall think it his duty to make in matters purely theological, and to conform to them as much as possible."

Who however is so blind as not to see that the ministerial clause is a mere mockery, and in direct opposition to the clearly defined intention of the legislator? In the laws of 1776, of 1800, and of 1829, the aim is to preserve the rights of the bishop scrupulously untouched; the faculty of theology is kept subordinate to his pastoral authority; to him it belongs to watch over doctrine; to him it belongs to approve or disapprove the programme of the courses of lectures, which are obligatory upon all the young aspirants to the priesthood. The clause inserted by the minister in the organic statute, would not, on the contrary, leave to the bishop the shadow of those prerogatives, which it was the object of the legislator to maintain in all their integrity. As it is the intention of the legislator alone, which should serve us as a criterion, and a rule whereby to judge the conduct of the venerable archbishop of Cologne, we must conclude that the prelate has strictly confined himself within the limits of his double duty, as Catholic bishop, and as subject of the king of Prussia. On the contrary, the ministerial statute is a violation of the law, since instead of devising proper means for executing the orders of the sovereign, it sets them aside altogether. Now it is an established principle of jurisprudence, that no agent of authority, charged to watch over the execution of a law, can, however high may be his position, take upon himself the right to modify in any manner the legal tenor of an edict. For the agent of power not being himself the legislator, cannot be allowed to interfere with, or modify the intentions of the legislator. The three edicts above cited, maintain the essential prerogatives of the bishop, as the natural superintendant of theological schools; it follows then that even from the civil power these prerogatives must be entitled to respect, and must be maintained, without its being in the power of any minister by subsequent and arbitrary regulations, to restrain or annul the episcopal action. Mgr. de Droste did then confine himself within the bounds of what was strictly legal when he satisfied his conscience, as first pastor of the diocese and guardian of the sacred deposit of Catholic faith. But instead of simply stating the facts, the minister, M. d'Altenstein, proceeded to bring an accusation, devoid of all foundation: he affirmed that the archbishop of Cologne prohibited the courses of the university, without observing any of the forms prescribed by the laws and

regulations. An assertion so inaccurate, to use no stronger term, is fully refuted by the quotations we have made from the different laws respecting the relations existing between the archbishop and the faculty of theology. There is a great difference between an act prohibiting attendance upon certain courses of public instructions, and the simple declaration of the prelate that he cannot give them his approbation; that is to say, that he cannot officially affirm that these instructions are in conformity with Catholic doctrine. This form, which was observed by Mgr. de Droste, is the one which was literally pointed out by the royal ordinance of the 26th August, 1776, and re-stated by the decree of 1829.

The minister paid no attention to the archbishop's disapprobation; on the contrary, he ordered the programme to be printed, such as it had been drawn up by the Hermesian professors. Thus the temporal power made common cause with the propagators of a doctrine condemned by the Church; supported the opposers of their lawful superior, and lent its aid to heresy and schism. Nevertheless this same minister has declared "*that it never came into his mind to support the Hermesian doctrine;*" this same minister has represented the measures taken by Mgr. de Droste,—

"as having brought about the dissolution of all discipline, disrespect for the masters, contempt for the regulations of authority, the desertion of the seminary, the interruption of university instruction for a great number of young men destined to the service of the altar."

But where can authority maintain itself, when the civil power is the first to sap the foundations of the most legitimate authority in the world! religious authority? How could these professors claim the respect, the obedience, the love of their pupils, of their subordinates, when they, men entrusted with the deposit of sacred knowledge, openly revolt against the instructions of their Church, against the bishops whom the holy spirit has established guardians of the Christian faith, and against the sovereign pontiff himself, to whom the Saviour gave the charge to watch his flock, over the whole terrestrial globe? But it is not the measures of the archbishop of Cologne that were in fault; it is not the prelate whom we must accuse of these disorders. He required submission, but he required it in the name of the Church, in the name of the lawful successor of the prince of the apostles. A doctrine had been found dangerous, inconsistent with the unanimous teaching of Catholicity, and, as such, had been solemnly reprovved and condemned. Mgr. Clement Auguste had been the first to obey the common

father of the faithful; it was to his judgment that the professors of Bonn were required to submit, if they would not destroy religious unity, if they would not separate themselves from the one holy communion, out of which there is no salvation. In vain did government seek, some time afterwards, to remedy a state of things which was now become insupportable. The conference held on the 21st April, 1837, and that of the following day, were but half measures, which always increase the evil they are intended to alleviate. Since in these two conferences, the curator of the university declared to the professors of the faculty of theology, that it was the will of the minister that they should thenceforth abstain in their lectures from teaching the doctrines of Hermes, the government ought at least to have given notice of this step to the archbishop. The prelate could have no wish but to secure the purity and integrity of instruction, and a proper submission to the orders of the holy see; and having done so, would have eagerly availed himself of whatever could tend to the re-establishment of order and peace. But government did not trouble itself to secure this good end, to come to an understanding with the head of the diocese, to prevent fatal dissensions, and to tranquillize consciences. We are aware that the enemies of Mgr. de Droste, aver that this prelate refused to admit the Hermesian professors into his presence, either to hear their justification, or to come to an understanding with them upon doctrinal matters. But the archbishop never did refuse to admit into his presence any ecclesiastic of the diocese. On the contrary, he ever received with kindness all his co-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord. The Hermesians did not seek to inform themselves; they wished to discuss a point already judged by the supreme head of the Church; and Mgr. Clement Auguste required a simple and sincere obedience to the brief of Gregory XVI. Nothing throws stronger light upon the odious tactics of the disciples of Hermes, than their conduct after their return from Rome. They did not blush to accuse the holy see of ignorance and triviality in its condemnation of their master's system. They claimed to be in the right against all who opposed them; they protested against all authority which refused to admit the inventions of their own reason. But the Catholic Church reposes on the immutable word of God; for her there can be no new doctrines invented; she believes simply what the Most High has revealed to her. The doctrine she teaches, is that which was transmitted by the apostles, and which, in spite of all the efforts of hell, has been preserved unaltered during eighteen centuries. If, however,

according to the allegation of the minister for ecclesiastical affairs, the Hermesian professors were really desirous of ascertaining what there was reprehensible in their mode of instruction, the fourth step taken by the archbishop furnished them with an easy and simple method of doing so. The sovereign pontiff, after a long and minute enquiry, had condemned the doctrine of professor Hermes, as being incompatible with Catholic instruction,—

“ Ut pote qui audacter a regio quem universa traditio et SS. Patres in exponendis et vindecandis fidei veritatibus stravere tramite defleccens, quin et superbe contemnens et damnans, tenebrosam ad errorem omnigenum viam moliatur in Dubio positivo tanquam basi omnis theologicæ inquisitionis, et in principio quod statuit, rationem principem normam ac unicum medium esse, quo homo assequi possit supernaturalium veritatum cognitionem;—doctrinas et propositiones in Scepticismum et Indifferentismum inducentes; in Catholicas scholas injurias; fidei divinæ eversivas.”

These are the expressions by which the brief of Gregory XVI condemned the new doctrine, and it is easy to see that the holy see was thoroughly acquainted with the form and the foundation of the system which it had visited with such solemn condemnation. The metropolitan of Cologne was bound to warn his flock against the new errors which had arisen in their own country, and of which the principal adherents dwelt amongst them. The more strenuously his opponents sought to mislead public opinion, the more was he bound to prevent the tares from springing up amongst the corn. For this purpose, Mgr. de Droste drew up eighteen theses, in which he gave a statement of the Catholic doctrine as opposed to the Hermesian system. All those who sought admittance into holy orders, were bound to subscribe these eighteen articles. And the same obligation was imposed upon all ecclesiastics exercising the functions of the sacred ministry in the diocese of Cologne. This was an act of submission to the judgment of the holy see, and, as is obvious, the most natural and most lawful expedient for putting a stop to error. The Hermesian professors, instigated by a fatal spirit of pride and infatuation, refused their adherence and their signature to the dogmatical declaration required by their bishop; and by this refusal their lawful powers, as confessors and ministers of the divine word, ceased throughout the whole extent of the diocese. In the rescript which he addressed to the metropolitan chapter of Cologne, the minister for ecclesiastical affairs did not fail to make this formulary of faith the subject of his third charge against Mgr. Clement Auguste.

"The same spirit and the same tendency," he says, "are to be found, in the third place, in the promulgation of the eighteen theses, proposed for the signature of all priests, desirous of administering the sacrament of penance, and for that of all other ecclesiastics in the archdiocese of Cologne, as the condition of their admission to the sacred functions. The establishment of a condition so unusual, is manifestly a new rule, and, as such, is subject to the previous authorization of the sovereign. By the conditional value attached to the signature, it becomes an infringement of individual rights, and, as such, deserves the most serious consideration. Moreover the 18th article of these theses, by excluding in matters of discipline, all sort of appeal to the state, against the abuse of the archiepiscopal authority, constitutes an attack upon the prerogatives of the crown, as they have existed for ages, in all the states of Germany, and in almost all the Christian states of Europe. But this important, weighty, and illegal step, Mgr. the archbishop has thought proper to take, without any communication whatever with government."

According to M. d'Altenstein, the promulgation of the eighteen dogmatical theses contains a triple culpability: 1st. as a new rule, which should in the first instance have received the royal sanction.

2nd. As a serious violation of the rights of individuals.

3rd. The eighteenth article, in particular, contains a direct attack upon the rights of the crown, as they have been acknowledged in Germany, and in almost all the Christian states of Europe.

In support of the first charge, the minister of ecclesiastical affairs, rests upon paragraph 117, (part ii. title ii.) of the Prussian Landrecht; which paragraph is the standing argument of all journalists and government functionaries at Berlin. Unhappily they always forget two things; in the first place, that the Landrecht has never been promulgated in the Rhenish provinces, and consequently, in them, it has not and cannot have the force of law.

In the second place, even supposing that this legal code of the eastern provinces, had been received and adopted in those of the west, it still could not in the matter of which we are treating, furnish any valid argument against the archbishop of Cologne. The publication of the eighteen theses is to be considered in a purely spiritual and dogmatical point of view, which cannot be referred to the civil power; it concerns the interior of the Church, since the bishop alone can determine the conditions upon which he will confer holy orders, and permit the exercise of the sacerdotal ministry. In such a question as this, a bishop cannot be required to obtain the previous

consent of the civil power; for this power cannot intermeddle in the internal affairs of the Church; she has received her mission from heaven, and is independant of the state.

We have already observed, that the government (especially if it be heretical or schismatical) cannot lay claim to the right of previous approbation, spoken of by M. d'Altenstein. Such a right must of necessity include the power of refusing its consent to an act of spiritual authority, to the promulgation of Catholic doctrines, or to the union between the faithful members of the Church. But such an ascendancy of the state over the Church, would imply an absolute negation of the existence of the Church itself; it would be a complete destruction of all liberty of conscience, and an open violation of the organic laws, upon which governments and states themselves repose. The peace of Westphalia forms the basis of modern public rights in Germany; and this treaty, as well as all subsequent international acts, guarantees the existence and the free exercise of the Catholic worship. It therefore belongs to no sovereign to fetter the Church in the exercise of right, which has been solemnly recognized and sworn to; it would be suicidal in any government to lay hands upon this sacred palladium; the government has no prerogative as respects publications made by ecclesiastical authority, except that of taking care that they contain nothing heterogeneous,—and certainly, in the case before us, it was not difficult to acquire this certainty, the eighteen theses having been printed and made public. Paragraph 117, which is a concentration of all that is odious and absurd, in the suspicions entertained against the Church, cannot nevertheless be supposed to contain a different meaning from that which we have stated, since any other interpretation would be an infringement of the fundamental law of the Prussian monarchy. Besides the examination required by government of all candidates, the Catholic Church requires a more special examination of all priests, which shall be especially reserved for ecclesiastical authority, and renewed at stated periods. This is known to the canon law, by the name of the *synodal examination*; by which each bishop ascertains that the ecclesiastics submitted to his jurisdiction, are faithfully attached to the doctrine and morals of the Church. The bishop is responsible for those to whom he confides the exercise of the holy ministry; he cannot allow them functions, longer than they continue steadfast in true doctrine, and in the ways of uprightness; he must therefore have some means of convincing himself that his subordinates are faithful

dispensers of the divine word and holy mysteries. These means are allowed by the civil power, since it recognizes the synodal examiners, appointed by the ecclesiastical superiors. Consequently in making the signature of these eighteen articles a condition for admission into the ministry, the archbishop only made use of a well known prerogative, which had never before been disputed. The second head of the ministerial charge falls to the ground in the same way : no one has ever called in question the exact conformity of the seventeen first theses, with the doctrine and morality of the Catholic Church. No substitution of anything new was attempted, no alteration of the orthodox faith, as it is held and taught wherever there are members of the true communion. The archbishop cannot then have encroached upon the individual rights of any subjects of the king of Prussia, by laying down a series of Catholic articles, in opposition to a system condemned by the sovereign pontiff, and requiring a simple and sincere adhesion to this formulary of faith, before conferring either orders, or an ecclesiastical benefice, or sacerdotal jurisdiction. Holy orders are a sacrament, a grace which the Church gives to such as she judges worthy of receiving it, and capable of fulfilling the high duties imposed on a priest of the new covenant. But grace is a gratuitous gift, to which no one can pretend a right. If then the Church refuses to any individual this sacrament, he has no right to complain of injustice ; nor can any human law compel forcibly, the ordination or the employment in holy ministry of a man who has been declared incapable of it, by his ecclesiastical superiors. The priest is the dispenser of the mysteries of faith, the man of God, the man of the Church. From God then must come his vocation, and the Church must approve it. The Church alone can determine the necessary conditions for admission into orders, or to the exercise of the sacerdotal jurisdiction. It is free to all to admit the authority of the Church ; to submit themselves to the faith she teaches, or the duties she prescribes ; it must also be free to the spouse of Christ, to admit those to whom she confides her dearest interests, her most precious treasure, the souls that have been bought by the blood of the lamb. How ! while in the temporal government, the sovereign may choose at his pleasure his counsellors, the depositories of his power, and the guardians of the law,—the Church, that superhuman, divine and eternal power, shall not enjoy the same liberty ? Surely such an absurd and iniquitous hypothesis cannot be seriously maintained ; and we have a right to conclude, that

in fixing the necessary conditions for the lawful exercise of the Catholic priesthood, Mgr. de Droste did not, and could not, have encroached upon the rights of any one.

Let us enquire if the third charge is better founded than the two we have just considered : it is alleged that the eighteenth article contains a direct infringement upon the rights of the crown. That our readers may be able to form a competent judgment, we will begin by transcribing the inculpatéd article. It is in the following terms :—

“ I promise and vow to my archbishop respect and obedience in all that concerns faith and discipline, without any mental reservation whatever. I declare that I cannot, and dare not, in the order of the Catholic hierarchy, appeal from the judgment of my archbishop to any other person than to the Pope, the head of the whole Church. I acknowledge that to the Sovereign Pontiff at Rome belongs the primacy in order and jurisdiction over all the Church ; that he is the true successor of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, true vicar of Jesus Christ, head of the whole Church, centre of unity, pastor of pastors, father and doctor of all the faithful disciples of Christ ; that to him, in the person of St. Peter, was given full power to feed the sheep and the lambs, to rule and to govern the universal Church. To this faith I will remain attached with all the powers of my soul ; I will profess it by my words and by my acts, and I especially promise and acknowledge that I ought to obey and will obey the decrees of the Sovereign Pontiff, in all that concerns faith and discipline.”

Nearly the whole of this thesis is found, and nearly in the same terms, in the Council of Florence of the year 1439. So far, then, from establishing a new theory, it does but repeat what has long existed as ecclesiastical discipline. Perhaps, when one considers the second phrase, that which respects the appeal to the Holy See—if, we say, one considers it without reference to the context—it might seem slightly to encroach upon the rights of the crown. The extension given by modern writers to the protection afforded by the temporal sovereign to the Church, and which in the middle ages formed one of the highest prerogatives, as well as duties, of the state, had, little by little, degenerated into a servitude of the Church. There grew up an appeal to the temporal against the spiritual authority, which interfered with ecclesiastical rights. But, if there may exist a tribunal out of the Church, to which those who consider her sentences unjust may have recourse, there ought equally to be, out of the state, a similar tribunal, to which subjects might appeal who conceive themselves oppressed by the civil power. For as the state is not submitted to the Church in what concerns

temporal affairs—so neither, for much more powerful reasons, can the Church recognize any jurisdiction superior to her own in what concerns faith and discipline. They are two powers mutually independent, mutually co-existing with each other, destined to assist each other mutually in the respective missions assigned them by the Most High. But, if the civil power assumes to itself a faculty irreconcilable with its nature, its origin, and its object, it becomes the oppressor of the Church. What was in the first instance named an appeal, is, in fact, only a means afforded to the rebellious children of the Church to insult the spiritual power; as the experience of all times and places has but too well shown. Until, then, the canonists of the court shall cite to us some passages of Scripture, proving that God has given to the kings and princes of the earth the right to govern his Church, we can see nothing but an absurd anomaly in their affecting to take cognizance of the abuse of spiritual authority. We can, however, well understand that a government, (above all if it be heretical), should be jealous of the possession of a right which would place the Catholic Church upon a level with dissenting congregations. Protestantism, when it shook off the divine supremacy of Rome, bent its head beneath the yoke of temporal power; it conferred on the sovereign the fulness of episcopal authority. This supremacy, springing from the necessity felt by the innovators of securing the support of the great, is an involuntary homage rendered to the principle of authority, so unworthily set aside and ill-treated by the chiefs of the Reformation. But the Church requires it not; her centre of unity is Rome. There resides the power of the hierarchy in all its strength and its purity. Rome forms the last link of the chain of spiritual power upon earth. She is the medium between God and man. The Sovereign Pontiff is the vicar of Jesus Christ, who said, "All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth. Going, therefore, teach ye all nations. Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." It is upon the word of Christ, immutable, because proceeding from truth itself, that the supremacy of the Church is based. In acknowledging no other power as equal or superior to the pontifical power of the Pope, in what concerns the essence of the Church, the venerable archbishop of Cologne has not, then, rendered himself worthy of any blame. His conduct has been a loyal and energetic exposition of that Catholic doctrine which on various occasions

king Frederick William of Prussia swore to maintain in all its integrity.

We have now, with all possible care, explained the first part of the important drama, of which Cologne has been the theatre, and from the stage of which one of the contending parties has disappeared. How far this circumstance may influence the important events under consideration remains to be seen. In the meanwhile we have shewn that his fidelity to his duties, as guardian of Catholic belief, against the encroachments of Hermesianism, is the first title of the prelate to the admiration of the whole world, as it is the cause of the implacable hatred which the enemies of the Church have sworn against him. His courageous opposition to those iniquitous and intolerant laws respecting mixed marriages, by which heresy sought to weaken the Catholic Church in Prussia, is the second title by which Mgr. Clement Auguste claims the love and gratitude of every heart that feels for the prosperity and triumph of the true faith. This will be the subject of a future article, in which we will give an enumeration of the principal publications which have appeared respecting the events at Cologne, whether for or against the glorious defender of the immunities of the Church.

ART. VI.—*Jean Paul Friederich Richter. Ein Biographischer Commentar zu dessen Werken. Von R. O. Spazier, Neffen des Dichters. Berlin, 1838. Fünf Bändchen. [J. Paul F. Richter. A Biographical Commentary on his Works. By R. O. Spazier, nephew of the Author. Berlin, 1838. 5 vols.]*

THOSE who have charmed and elevated mankind by their works, and glorified their country by their genius, and done honour to their race by their virtues, are men of whom the world is always desirous of having the fullest information. Not in vain-glorious eagerness for the knowledge that “puffeth up”—not with the desire of shining in coteries, or prattling at festive tables, does this originate. That purposes so selfish may be partial causes, operating in the minds of some, we do not deny; but there is something deeper and nobler than these, however unknown to such sordid seekers. In them, and in all other men, there is an impossibility of resting within the confines of their own individuality; there is a revelation within them of a great catholic and all-embracing grasp. The spirit of man feels that even on earth it has a wide and a mighty

sphere. It takes the wings of the morning, and flies unto the uttermost parts of the earth; its sympathy is confined to no age; no class, however obscure and oppressed, is beneath its regard. A deep instinct, a God-given intuition of universal brotherhood, lives and moves in man; and how his fellows have lived and acted, suffered and struggled, wrought and triumphed, he yearns to know, and rejoices to be satisfied of.

The inherence of this profound feeling in man is the source of that curiosity and delight, which in all times have been connected with the perusal of biographical works. In the darkness and sensuality of Pagan times it was manifested, as witness the writings of Xenophon, Plutarch, Suetonius, Tacitus, and others. In Christian ages, the Church, necessarily as such, in pledge and in proof of its very Catholicity, has recognized this instinct, and, in a manner, even provided for it, as the many lives and legends of saints and martyrs, Christian heroes, and bright ornaments of humanity, corroborate. Nor is it either similarity of faith, identity of country, profession, or age, that attracts us, or that influences our choice in this branch of inquiry. Whether Catholic or Protestant, who does not feel an enduring interest in the lives of St. Austin, Sir Thomas More, or Howard? Whether wielding the sword or the pen, who is indifferent to those of Alfred or Charlemagne, Cromwell or Milton? Who amongst the old or young of the present day would not be moved by the life and actions of St. Teresa, Fenelon, Loyola, or Bede?

This universal sympathy with the destinies, actions, and minds of others; the facility, since the invention of printing, of diffusing such knowledge; and the intellectual advancement of mankind, have led to the very great multiplication of biographical writings. The peaceful relations of the nations of the earth—which may man, in Christian duty, seek to maintain, and God, in his merciful providence, preserve for us—have now increased, and are daily increasing, the channels of intercourse for society. From all quarters of the globe are stores of knowledge poured in upon us. Every wind that blows bears out an inquirer or wafts home a record. Men are now feeling the blessings of the cessation of war, and the intellectual and moral sympathies which are now binding, as in a golden chain, all highly-civilized countries, will render every day the return of bloodshed and strife more difficult, and ultimately, we trust, impossible.

The receipt of the volumes at the head of our article, enables us to present our readers with the biography of one of

the most distinguished authors of Germany, either as regards the number, the versatility, the excellence, or the originality of his productions—JEAN PAUL FRIEDERICH RICHTER, called by his countrymen (and most appropriately), “Jean Paul der Einzige,” or *the unique*. Previously to this publication, we had no proper or complete biography of this celebrated man. The author, Richard Otto Spazier, was his nephew, lived in intimate communication with him, and has availed himself of many valuable documents and materials not accessible to others. He has incorporated with the life of the poet—for such may Richter justly be pronounced—many interesting particulars relating to his most admired productions; the circumstances and hints that suggested many of their features; facts that have been moulded into, or had influence in moulding, the incidents, scenes, characteristics, personages, and events, which increase the charm their pages possess. The earlier part of the life here delineated, is given in the very words of an auto-biographical fragment left by Richter himself. It seems to have been his intention, and one to which we strongly regret he did not adhere, of furnishing himself the statement of his history; a work which, from the rare and extraordinary combination of talents in the man, would have been of surpassing attraction, and spell-binding interest. This fragment is entitled, “Wahrheit aus meinem Leben” (“Truth from my Life.”) With his accustomed humour, and certainly with the greatest propriety as regards the object, he had constituted himself “Professor of his own history,” which he purposed to deliver in a series of “lectures.” This propriety is indisputable; for, although the world will know a great deal of its neighbour’s affairs, and, like an impudent and mendacious world as it is, will invent when knowledge fails, by which means many a biography comes forth, not always at one with truth,—all judicious men will admit that the actor himself, whatever character he may have had to perform, is best able to describe the thoughts, acts, and feelings, all the vicissitudes, merry or melancholy, that diversified the *bal paré* of his life.

From the materials above-mentioned, as also the public and private letters of Jean Paul, the biographer has made us profoundly acquainted with the mind and works of his great relative. Such a performance merits our hearty thanks, and which all its readers, who cannot fail to peruse it with pleasure and profit, will cheerfully confirm. It is not only a valuable contribution for our estimation of the great subject, but presents also information of high interest on the conduct and opinions

of many of his celebrated contemporaries—forming a sort of anthropological exemplar book, richer and superior in instruction to many learned compendiums produced as professedly didactic works. This particularly applies to the two first volumes, in which the history of Richter's early life is contained. Here, in addition to the fragmentary autobiography, a multitude of scattered traits and characteristics, little known, are collected into one focus, and formed into a beautiful whole. By the throwing in of small, but very remarkable touches, the representation acquires an individuality and freshness of life, which not only shows with minuteness the character of Jean Paul, but in which the reader may discover much that is true and distinctive of his own youth—analogous in circumstances, though standing obscure in the past, and perhaps hitherto forgotten.

The explication and dissection of the great works of Richter contain many important, and, for the full comprehension of these writings, many necessary remarks. He had, among many other peculiarities, this—that he drew his characters, incidents, and descriptions, from the living world of his own experience, and which, for a man of his active powers of fancy and imagination, made it unnecessary to borrow from others. From this source he derived the original and psychologically rich, creative power, for which he is so much admired; and this makes it so advantageous to be made acquainted, as we are in this work, with his friends, particularly those with whom he was on the most intimate footing, and whose portraits are exhibited in his works.

With respect to the execution of the work itself, we may say that the author has these important qualifications; a fervent and noble admiration of the great subject whose portrait it professes to give; a just and keen appreciation of the vast and various powers that were united to make up so rare a man—and a profound and discriminating acquaintance with all his variegated creations. We must object, however, to the long-winded disquisitions on the several productions of Richter's genius with which we are presented, and of which the third volume almost entirely consists. In a professedly biographical work, this is too great an aberration from the historical to the critical. To this objection it may be added, that the style too frequently runs into an enervated amplification, is too diffuse and flowery, and is plenteously besprinkled with long compound words, of the most arbitrary construction, which do not enhance the grace or perspicuity of the periods. The

lengthiness objected to, we may inform such of our readers as are ignorant thereof, is a habit, we may say a defect, of the German pen, which is the nearest type, *in rerum naturâ*, of the *perpetuum mobile*. Set it once in motion, and it will outlast in activity the term of a chancery suit, or a cycle of Russian winters. It is a blessing that death, generally before the termination of the liberal allowance of three-score years and ten, carries the assiduous scribes off the stage, or, in theology, and every other *ology*, there would remain nothing to exercise any other pen, saving the nothingness of the nothing itself, to declaim upon. We must add, that the work is disfigured with several errors of the press, and the expression of sundry opinions unfavourable to many of Jean Paul's distinguished contemporaries, in which the ardent admiration of his great relative sometimes, we think, misleads the author.

In despite of these objections, however, the work is one of great merit and lasting value, as the most interesting and most comprehensive publication relating to so celebrated a man, and is indispensable to every one who would possess the fullest particulars of his life, genius, and immortal remains.

Whatever may be the popular estimation in his own country of the writings of Jean Paul—and it is one of no cold or narrow character—the critical world seems there divided about it. But the proper period for a calm and philosophical decision on his merits, seems not yet to have arrived there. The interested and excited views taken by the learned men of his time, the spirit of partizanship that reigned during his life, are still existent. In the volumes before us will be found abundant proofs of this state of things. Many judgments by men of no mean importance in the world of letters, who were opposed to him—particularly Nicolai, Merkel, the Schlegels, and, later, L. Tieck—as well as of his friends Herder, Wieland, Görres, and others, might be cited. But these would be of no avail to us; the jury would be found to be so at variance, that it must be dismissed, and appeal for verdict made to another tribunal.

Away from the contagious and obscuring power of such strife in this country, after a thorough investigation and calm consideration of his works, we may pronounce him to have been a man of high, original, and most fertile genius, constituting an epoch in his native literature—not free, like Shakespeare, in the artistic elaboration of his works, from some faults, at times prominent (shall we say it?) to offensiveness; but whose writings will make, on every qualified reader, a

most profound and exalting impression; and which, while fancy, wit, humour, vigorous intellect, a large and loving heart, a capacious soul, with power, like a mirror, of reflecting equally the vast and the minute—the humblest flower of the field,—the sun that warms systems, and the stars that adorn them,—while these are prized as they should be, will never be forgotten by mankind.

The man himself was made up of grand and noble materials, and displayed, in a somewhat trying and diversified life, elements of goodness and power that will ever be estimable. What these were, and how they urged him to action in his struggles through this sphere, we shall now, within what space we have, endeavour to show.

Jean Paul Friederich Richter (we write the mere name with sentiments of love and reverence) was born the 21st of May, 1763, at Wonsiedel, on the eastern side of Bavaria, in the heart of the mountain range, known as the Fichtelgebirge, adjoining Bohemia. His grandfather, Johann Richter, of whom we know little more than that he was eminently pious and poor, was rector of the school at Neustadt am Culm. At the church of Neustadt they still point out a bench behind the organ, where every Sunday he knelt to pray. His father, Johann Christian Richter, was assistant-schoolmaster and organist, and subsequently clergyman, of Wonsiedel. His mother was daughter of Johann Paul Kuhn, clothier of Hof, a small town about twenty English miles further north. His father had great musical talent, was admired as the composer of some excellent church music, and prized as a cheerful and witty social companion. By his touching and animated sermons, he won the affections of his neighbours, and, finally, of his bride, who brought him a respectable property.

When Jean Paul was two years old, he removed with his father, who had been presented with it as a better living, to the village of Jodiz, near Hof, and remained there till his 13th year. We must pass over his early youthful years, to others of a larger and more universal significance, because our space is restricted; and notwithstanding that the portraiture of them, as given by Spazier, is peculiarly fascinating, being chiefly borrowed from the autobiographical fragment above mentioned, and rich in Richter's characteristic expressions and attractions. Among the delightful sketches there given, is the description of the great family-room, in winter, where, near the stove, were the murmuring pigeons, and against the windows the cages with finches; that of the maidservant in the evening, seated at her

distaff, with a blazing resinous pine-splint instead of a candle, "dishing up for herself self-forced ananas of terrific popular tales;" of his sitting in the summer after supper, in the open air, in the court-yard of the parsonage house encircled with walls; of the children in their night clothes, hopping about, and playing in the sweet eventide, like the screeching swallows above them; of the lively yearly fair at Hof; the gifts of his relations at the Trinity festivals; of his stretching his little hands through the bars of the yard gate, to the blue-eyed Augustine, when at night she drove home the cows from the meadows, for his strict father would not allow the limits of the court to be passed; of all the animation and happiness of the recurring household *fêtes*. All these, and many other delightful domestic occurrences, are recorded in a style replete with humour, naiveté and childlike loveliness; and we see, in the tender boy, the germs of those powers that were hereafter displayed in the man, and made him so singular, so distinguished, and so engaging a being.

In his thirteenth year, he again removed with his father to Schwarzenbach on the Saale, the living of which was superior to that of Jodiz, although at both it was most insufficient. His education, which the father had negligently superintended at the latter place, was here quite discontinued, and the boy was left entirely to himself; as from accumulated debts, (which from their poverty both at Wonsiedel and Jodiz, is not surprising), the poor parent lost all heart, and withdrew himself much from his family. To the blue-eyed Augustine, the love of the ten-years-old boy, a Catherine succeeded at Schwarzenbach. The mysterious, but unconscious impulses of his young and innocent heart, led to many gentle love scenes, and he has recorded one kiss, stolen in all haste, the recollection of which moved him in older days.

"One little kiss and no more! But in the dark, and behind the closed eyelids, the fireworks of life are enkindled for a moment, and then are over. However I have not forgotten it, the never to be forgotten! It was the first true kiss, and I believe the last. I had to content myself for the future with a telegraphic expression of my love."

We read with considerable interest the account of his first communion, and the description of his enjoyments at the public school, to which he was now sent, though he did not here find the advantages he had anticipated, or that which satisfied his inward craving for knowledge and advancement. But what he highly prized was now acces-

sible,—a rich treasure of works in various classes of literature. His reading previously had been confined to sundry miserable romances, of the first half of the eighteenth century, which he had secretly abstracted from his father's stores, who stood as a Cerberus, at what, however, Jean Paul considered the very gates of heaven. The entire seclusion of his youth from all the outward living world, had driven him to the dead world of books: from these he heaped up a vast accumulation of knowledge of the most diversified character.

At this period began his system, continued to the end of his life, of making extremely copious extracts of all he read. In his 15th year he had already nearly 800 quarto sheets of such materials, and they grew with his years to an almost incredible amount. At the commencement, they were made chiefly from philosophical and theological works. In the first two volumes of his bulky collection, among others, are some thus headed: "On the harmony between Natural and the Christian religion." "On the shortness of youthful life." "What eloquence is." "On the operations of the devil." "All reason is eternal." "On Ideas." "On the Spinozistic Deity." "How the soul thinks." "What beauty is." "On innate Ideas," &c. It is also to be observed, notwithstanding his having been early destined for the Church, that his religious opinions had then a strong bias to the side of heterodoxy. This state of doubt and opposition is not unprecedented in young minds. With the acquisition of historical and scientific facts, and the impressions of the thousand-fold communications of the senses, the reflective faculty acquires a disproportionate vigour, and often over-lays the principle of faith. The intellectual power relegates the moral. The youth brings the dead logical forms of the understanding, which can deal only with the outward and the worldly, to the estimation and proof of spiritual and eternal truths, and fails, necessarily, in their demonstration. Nor is this doubting always reprehensible, though to be regretted, because it infers truth *to be*, although it questions the truthfulness of that which is then presented. Where there is a loving heart, and an undeadened conscience, the enquirer, by divine grace and assistance, will be led out of this state of doubt, into one of rejoicing faith and reverence for the established and consecrate. Our juvenile doubter, Jean Paul, outlived this period of cold unbelief, and gave subsequent proofs that the great Christian doctrines had won his cordial and confiding assent.

In the year 1779, his sixteenth year, he went to the gym-

nasium of the Bavarian town of Hof, and here he made considerable progress, although the provision for a thorough intellectual and moral education was very indifferent. History, for example, was a mere dead register of names and events, having no attraction or grace, and geography, a dry catalogue of places; which produced in Jean Paul an utter distaste for these studies, the neglect of which he felt some time after. Although at first little regarded by his school-fellows, as he yet carried much of a rustic air about with him, he soon won a sort of spiritual rule over them by his greater information, and his cheerful communicative disposition. He cultivated their society, and discoursed with them at every opportunity, in fact he was a talker on every occasion, conversing freely, quite unconcerned whether before the best auditory. He says himself, "It is all the same to me, before what company I pour out my thoughts and opinions, or what may be lost or misunderstood of my observations; I seek only to give utterance to my own inner being."

His father died in this year, leaving behind, his widow, five sons, and considerable debts; and the result of this event for the young scholar, was a ten years' struggle with the bitterest poverty. The parents of the mother died soon after, leaving no property.

The desire of becoming an author manifested itself in him as early as the year 1780, to which we have now arrived, when, in his seventeenth year, he wrote two essays, entitled, "How our conception of God arises," and "On the harmony between true and erroneous propositions." There are also of the same date, several unfinished papers on subjects of Natural History, by the study of which he was probably drawn off and secured from the contagion of the sentimental influenza, which never attacked him, so prevalent at that time in Germany, generated by the perusal of *The Sorrows of Werter*, *Siegwart*, and other similar productions."

"Under the influence of a lofty and engrossing idea," he said some time afterwards, "be it passionate or purely scientific, we find ourselves, like the diver in his bell, sheltered from the waves of the immense ocean that surrounds us." And elsewhere, "He who finds within himself peace and copiousness of ideas, will not seek enjoyment out of himself; every movement, even the corporeal, would be sufficient to overthrow his cup full of nectar."

From this period, his labours as an author, for forty-five years, may be said never to have been discontinued. Meanwhile his voluminous extract books had so increased, that at

Easter 1781, he had already twelve quarto volumes of them, and, to command a ready survey of their contents, he had been compelled to prepare an extensive alphabetical index of their pages. Among those with whose writings he became acquainted at this time, was Theodore Gottlieb Hippel, (born 1741, died 1796), a jurist at Königsberg, and intimate friend of the great Kant; whose humorous works, *Ueber die Ehe*, *Ueber die burgerliche Verbesserung der Weibe*, &c. perhaps take the first rank in this class of writings. It is obvious that Jean Paul made him his model, and that his views and modes of representation were, in very many points, modified by his great predecessor.

In 1781 he went to the university of Leipzig, where he felt himself as in a wilderness, abandoned by all human society, and had to struggle against the boa constrictor folds of his ever increasing poverty. Of all the professors at this place, Plattner and Morus most won his esteem. The first had, in his aphoristic, sententious manner, much similarity to Richter. Among the many works which in this city of books came into his hands, were those of Rousseau, which particularly charmed him, and to whom he felt himself related in a sort of spiritual brotherhood.

With the end of the year 1781, as the deep poverty of his family still increased, the care of providing for his scanty wants fell exclusively on himself. He sought to assist himself by tutorship, but in this he failed, and partly from necessity, partly from inclination, he determined to commence authorship.

"As I do not know how to provide myself otherwise," he writes to a friend, "I will write books. I will teach the public, to be enabled to study for myself at the university. I will put the cart before the horse, that it may be the means of getting me out of this wretched miry hollow lane."

Of the advantages of authorship, he afterwards wittily said:

"A man who becomes an author, seldom hangs himself; for this reason the eldest sons of English peers should make the press groan with their works. For if a man wakes early, he has then an object before him, and consequently a reason for getting up."

A whole year however passed, before the work of twelve sheets was completed. This was the second part of his *Greenland Lawsuits*.

This first-born of our great author was a satirical work, in which the wit is conspicuous, and to the birth of which, the writings of Seneca, whose sentiments and style at that time

much attracted him, with Pope's *Dunciad*, and Erasmus, had contributed. He, however, did not yet feel himself on his right path.

"With my future books," he writes, "I will earn more money and less censure. My work is too juvenile to become old. Moreover, though the file brings out, it begets no beauties, and not only the poet but his poem must be born and not made. Criticism diminishes the number of the faults, but also that of the beauties. And finally, if the book is a bad satire upon others, insomuch is it the best upon myself."

Previous to this, he had written another small work, which, like his predecessor Erasmus, he had entitled *The Praise of Folly*. These efforts his confidential friends approved of highly, and one of them, professor Seidlitz, engaged to procure a publisher for them. Now was his heaven opened, and there was no end of his jubilate. He was considerably in debt, and by the produce of the copyright hoped to free himself from its trammels, and to have some small sum left. So sanguine was he, that he immediately set off for Hof, to his mother, unfolded to her his visions of golden mountains, and without visiting any of his old friends in the neighbourhood, hastened back to Leipzig, to touch his beautiful ducats. But the course of authorship, like that of love, "never did run smooth." Fortune had destined otherwise. Seidlitz had not succeeded in finding a publisher, and the manuscript was returned to him without the ducats!

This was a bitter trial, in the career of our poor but noble-minded Jean Paul, in whom, however, the All-wise had laid heroic elements for combat and triumph. "Great men," he has said, "have formed themselves in the forums of freedom, in schools of trials and crosses, in academies of scientific peace, not in schools of war. Socrates learnt not from his campaigns to oppose the thirty tyrants, and to drain with tranquillity his hemlock cup." He was at first gloomy and irritated, and upon the point of abjuring all authorship for ever. But in a few days a total alteration took place. A spirit of the loftiest determination and fortitude was awakened in him. The previously faint-hearted lonely student, assumed a firm look, he felt himself to be a man that would no more look out for foreign aid, inasmuch as he was determined no longer to need it, and resolved at all cost to be his own deliverer. The change in the inner man shewed itself in his exterior. He had shirts made *à la Hamlet*, with open collar and breast, let his flowing hair hang uncut on his shoulders, and the style of his apparel, carried to the eccentric, signified him to be one that would hence-

forth live according to his own fashion. "I knew it," he writes subsequently to Spazier, "I felt an invincible presentiment then, in Leipsig, that I should carry my point, to live an independent author, without any official appointment."

In this conviction, he wrote the first part of his *Greenland Lawsuit*, which cost him much pains and many sleepless nights; a work consisting of several satirical essays, "On Authorship from necessity," "On the Weaknesses of Theologians," "On the Pride of Ancestry," "On Women," &c. abounding in wit and humour, with some dash of misanthropy, and with an overflowing richness of antitheses and images, in which the intoxicated author seems to revel. He made the round of all the Leipsig booksellers with his manuscript; no one would accept it. He sent it to Voss of Berlin, the publisher of Hippel's works, who agreed to give him fifteen louis-d'ors for it, and requested him immediately to forward the continuation. He now paid his debts, and hired a small garden house, in which he might uninterruptedly finish the second volume. This advantageous change in his domestic economy, had a beneficial effect on his mind, and this second part exhibits a more tempered and genial character.

Another plague now visited, and, for a long time persecuted him, which he calls his "apparel-martyrdom." By his exposed throat, and eccentric costume, he had incurred the hostility of the Philistines, which went so far, that they would not live in the same street with him, that they might not behold him from their windows. This occurred in Leipsig. In meaner Hof the warfare was still more bitter. His unclothed neck excited horror, and the want of a tail was considered an unpardonable offence. The capricious edict of fashion had already begun to banish the use of these appendages in Leipsig, but in retired Hof they still flourished in full bloom. They there preserved their station ten years longer, firm in the respect and the necks of their wearers, until, like many other senseless things, they were expelled by the Brutus and Titus coiffures of the revolutionary soldiers. His friends interceded with him, but the more they urged him the more determined he remained. Some years after, he conformed to the world's usages in his dress, but he maintained, even then, that the youth, who in a similar case would not have done as he did, gave no promise of an energetic and independent manhood.

His second volume of *Greenland Lawsuits* appeared in 1782, for which he received one hundred and twenty-six dollars. It was not so well received by the public, and Voss declined to publish any more of his writings at present. He sent to

most of the distinguished men at Leipsig, a copy of his work, with an accompanying letter. He received no reply. He still however retained his self-dependence and hope in the future. He commenced again in good spirits, and wrote other essays similar to those published. There appeared in 1784, in a Leipsig periodical, a notice of his book, wherein the writer says, "the constant effort to be witty, so impels the author, that we do not doubt the perusal of it will at the beginning excite so much disgust in every rational reader, as to compel him to lay down the book." This attack he disregarded, and wrote on hopefully and earnestly. In a subsequent work he humorously says,—

"Critics discharge their bile, by preference, against writers of genius, who endure their attacks most patiently; even as people deposit their dirt and rubbish more frequently before public edifices, such as an hotel-de-ville, a theatre, a church, rather than against private houses."

It was probably with such reflections as these, which we find elsewhere, that he strengthened himself.

"Despair is a suicide of the heart, and as in Silesia they bury those who have destroyed themselves with their faces downwards, man the prey of despair, lets his face fall to the earth, with which he is not yet mingled, instead of lifting it to heaven which he has lost, heaven which is and will always be open to him. Raise thyself, terrestrial worm, lift thy looks, feeble atom, to something higher and more serene, than thy place of sojourn; tranquillity, and not pleasure, is thy duty; let it be constantly thy aim. In a soul full of sorrow and bitterness, an oppressive and gloomy air stifles every intellectual flower and all moral development. Let our hearts open themselves to a tender melancholy, and not to black chagrin and abasement, like the flower that unfolds itself to the dew, but shuts itself against the rain."

The cold acceptance of his book by Weisse, Meissner, Lichtenberg, and other literati; the rejection of his manuscript by all the booksellers to whom he sent it, with humble but pressing solicitations; added to the ever-pressing burthen of his pecuniary circumstances, at last somewhat impaired his firmness, and he had to struggle stoutly with fits of hypochondria that repeatedly attacked him. Against these attacks he endeavoured to strengthen himself by the composition of another work, which he never published, and which he denominated his *Andachtsbuchlein* (Little Book of Devotion). "What is poverty," he says, "and what is he that repines under it? The pain is but as that of piercing a maiden's ears when you suspend jewels in the wound." In vol. ii. p. 113, Spazier gives us extracts from this work, which we are obliged to omit, with much regret.

At last, in November 1784, he was compelled to leave Leipsig privately, as he saw no other way of avoiding the demands of his landlord and other claimants. This was a painful determination for him; the injustice of which he was conscious of, but which, from his extreme need, he was compelled to adopt. He went to Hof, to his mother's, where he resided till 1789, in the strictest retirement. He lived here with her and several of his brothers in one room. They felt the most extreme degree of want; the merest necessities of life could not always be obtained. The prisoner's allowance of bread and water, as he himself says, was not theirs, as the first was often not procurable. In later years, at a more richly provided table, he often selected the common lettuce, which he ate with dry bread, as a memorial of the bread of affliction that he had eaten in the hours of their poverty, when bread and salad was the principal family meal. He relates to us, that when occasionally a guilder came into the impoverished household exchequer, the jubilee was a frantic one, and the inmates were ready to smash all the windows, in the extravagance of their joy. In one of his letters to his friend Oertel, he requests the loan of a guilder, and promises to visit him, "when he has a pair of boots, which in those days a man could no more think of doing without, when he went abroad, than he could dispense with his feet."

He laboured unceasingly at his extracts and new essays, which were chiefly satirical, and which he again offered to the booksellers, but in vain. Herder had not condescended to answer three pressing letters which Richter had sent, with his manuscript, although subsequently the most cordial friendship united them. From Wieland also, two letters met with the same fate. His acquaintances and connexions in Hof, were mostly opposed to him, as he had not yet relinquished his offensive costume, and by his repeated keen witticisms, he had excited the animosity of others. These circumstances, and his poverty, which betrayed itself in his exterior, shut him out from the select society of official personages, who represented the great world in Hof.

In 1787 he accepted the place of tutor in a family of a nobleman in the vicinity. The time had now arrived when he was to see some of his late writings, which he had fruitlessly offered to so many booksellers, published. Some discussion took place as to the form, and some as to the title, under which the work should appear. At last that of *Selections from the papers of the Devil*, was determined upon, but it was two years before it was finally printed by Beckmann of Gera.

At this time, he framed his *Mitwörterbuch*, or collection of synonymous terms, (of which he made great use in all his later works,) where he might find the most striking expressions he required. In this, for example, for the phrase *besser werden*, (to improve,) he had also *genesen, zuheilen, heil werden, grünen, reifen, erstarken, anziehen, flügge werden, vorrücken*, &c. In like manner, for the word *verschlimmerung*, (deterioration) he had one hundred and eighty-four, and for *sterben* (to die) two hundred different terms.

At the end of 1789, he returned again to his mother's at Hof, on the relinquishment of his tutorship. He abandoned now his singular garb, maintained himself in social assemblages like other men, and was cheerfully received in the best societies of the place. His accomplished performance on the harpsichord, his fascinating manners, and his complete mastery over the female heart, made him a universal favourite with the gentler sex. But in the following year, his pecuniary circumstances compelled him to withdraw from these circles, now become by him so prized, and to resume his office of teacher in his old residence of Schwarzenbach. The school which he superintended here, was a source of happiness and credit to him. How he fulfilled his duty, the whole system of education, and what brilliant consequences were the result, may be seen in vol. iii. p. 15. This office it was that awakened the long entertained, but obscure notion, of writing a pedagogic romance. He intended elevating the outward reality of his school to the ideal, and making it the subject of a new work. Here he wrote his *Schoolmaster Wuz*, with several of his smaller pieces. The first was the type of the whole series of romances so soon to be poured forth from his pen. The greatest part of the incidents of this work, are taken from Richter's own youth, as may be said also of many of his later romances. His social relations in Schwarzenbach were of a most agreeable nature; he also visited weekly his friends, male and female, at Hof. In the former town he formed a cordial intimacy with one fair inhabitant that, at one time promised to pass into a closer relationship. From a letter extant to her, it is evident that the incidents of the preface to the second edition of the *Fixlein*, are only an enlargement of its substance. She was, it appears, of humble station, but worthy of a better lot. Without any extensive intellectual culture, it appears to have been her fortune, like that of so many others in small provincial towns, to be destined to wear out her life in all the slavery and hardship of the heaviest household drudgery.

Revolting at this destination, Jean Paul breaks out in the following terms.

"Thy spring also has had few flowers and many clouds, and thou art, as all thy sisterhood, like the soft berries, that by the rude hand of man are, at the same time, plucked off and crushed. Thy heart has never had anything warmer or better than the crimson stream within it; and thy head no loftier visions than those of the pillow on which it reposed. Thy sweet petals expand themselves only to scentless chalice leaves, to become mere honey vessels for man, who requires in you neither head nor heart, but only rude working fingers, running feet, sweat-drops, and wearied arms. For you the whole wide heavens are shrivelled together for a mere weaving hut, or bacon or wood-loft; the sun himself becomes a mere suspended room-warmer, and the moon a cobbler's night-lamp; your gentle souls become buried in the vaulted fortress-cell of marriage, till death mows down the full-blown plant, with all its withered buds."

About this time, the *Invisible Lodge*, an unfinished romance, was written by Richter, and sent, in 1792, to Moritz, of Berlin, who pronounced it to be a work of great excellence, "beyond even Goethe," and promised to find him a publisher among the Berlin booksellers. He offered him one hundred ducats for the book, and sent thirty immediately, with the request, that Jean Paul, cost what it would, should visit him, that he might become personally acquainted with the author of so beautiful and original a production.

This was the important turning point in his fortunes; for it not only terminated his necessitous condition, but introduced him to the society of men of station and distinguished talent; an advantage he had so much desired, and which it was so desirable to possess, if his future sketches of human character should travel out of the narrow circle of his rustic environment. It was of further importance, in giving him confidence in his own powers, and unfolded the direction which they must take, to put forth their manifestations in the most striking and appropriate manner. Satires, for which he hitherto believed himself most qualified, were now relieved by works of gentle and manly sentiment, presentations of an active and healthful imagination, and enlarged worldly experience. He was now enabled to take his station on the ground Nature had designed for him. From this period burst forth from him those full rich streams of love, humour, wit, fancy, and all noble and human sympathies, that had hitherto been closed by the hard frost of circumstances, and showed themselves in the *Hesperus*, *Fixlein*, and *Siebenkäs*. His heart, so long oppressed and crushed down, but which poverty had not

hardened, nor disappointment cankered, nor despair paralyzed, rose strong and triumphant, became conscious of its own fullness, and opened itself to the whole surrounding world. Joy came back to him again, led by Hope; a new life was given to him, and the old, desolate, and forbidden one left behind him for ever.

How much at this time the whole inner man was changed, how his earlier sentiments, frequently approaching to misanthropy, had assumed a milder and more human tone, may be gathered from many passages of the journal, which during his whole life he most industriously kept. He commemorates therein the delight he felt one day, at this period, that he had been enabled to assist a poor mountaineer, and a travelling handicraftsman, with money, as well as good advice. "How often," says he, "will they take these dollars out of their pockets, and consider which of their long privations they shall relieve with them. With what pleasure will they recollect the present day, and the unexpected dollar, and will be mindful once more than common to them, of the gracious giver of all good gifts." We wish Herr Spazier had favoured us with more of these passages, so characteristic of the man. At this time too, the pedestrian exercises, to which he had been always attached, were systematically adopted. His *Fixlein* was almost entirely composed in his excursions on foot between Hof and Baireuth. "Life," he says, "if one always sits cowering at home, cuts too deep furrows in the hollow lane of daily procedure; man should at times get abroad; and not we only, but the earth itself would not preserve its powers, but for regular daily motion."

He returned in the spring of 1794 to Hof, after four years teaching at Schwarzenbach, where he remained with his mother till 1796. Here he gave instruction to several children in the town, working at intervals at his *Fixlein*, *Biographical Recreations*, and *Siebenkäs*. Now occurred his separation from a fair inhabitant of Hof, whom he had selected for his bride; touching which, many painful letters were found among his papers. The lady took the initiative in this, and a more fortunate man led her home as his wife. She later took her place among the authoresses of Germany as a writer of romances. In 1795, he became acquainted with another female friend in the neighbourhood of Baireuth. This was the Polish princess Lunowsky, and she forms the first link in that great chain of women of rank which, from this epoch, is wound about the life of Jean Paul. Of her he speaks in high terms of admiration and regard. Later, a change must have come over the spirit of the dream with respect to this connexion,

at first so fascinatingly attractive, as he subsequently writes to a friend—"The advantages of our association with a princess are, that one acquires thereby the opportunity and the courage of making a closer acquaintance with the ladies of her suite."

He felt the oppressiveness of his present position in Hof, from its discordancy with his yet limited means. Perhaps, under this influence it was, that, although his later writings had displayed a finer and more loving mood, his satirical humour would still frequently break forth. His friends often objected to this. "You know," was his reply, "what Addison relates of a man who, like Jupiter, had been nursed by a goat, and on that account felt himself constrained in his manhood, when alone in his chambers, to give a leap like a kid, as a sort of sacrifice to his mixed nature. Like him, I have also inherited a goat's foot instead of the gout, and I cannot help, for the life of me, from cutting a caper now and then myself." He took more earnest advice with himself upon the matter, however; designedly gave play to this goat's foot in his *Siebenkäs*; and then took farewell of it for ever. With the commencement of his romance of *Titan* began the second and nobler epoch of his poetic life.

In March 1796, he received a letter from a lady of Weimar, signed "Natalie," wherein she informed him that she, Wieland, Herder, Knebel, and some other distinguished persons resident there, were quite enchanted with his last works. "Wieland," it was said, "calls you our Yorick and Rabelais." In May he learnt that the sister of this Natalie was at Baireuth. He hastened to pay his respects to her, and was most flatteringly received. "I could," he writes to his friend Otto, "be carried about here as a wonder of the world, if I had the time for it. They have all read my works, and I have produced a different effect to that in Hof. With her, particularly, everything is better and fairer than anywhere else; and even as with her two nightingales, when she sings my heart is so affected, that it seems ready, like theirs, to burst from my bosom." Quite enraptured with delight, he returned to Hof, and found there a second letter from Natalie, inviting him to Weimar. In June, therefore, he set out on foot, with an attendant to carry his luggage; and on the journey, in the excitement of his feelings, saw the whole heavens, as it were, opened to his gaze.

At last he arrived at Weimar, "that city of God," as he calls it, "to which, from my youth upwards I had directed my eyes

as to a Keblah." Here his reception by the foremost men of his native land, and the most distinguished women, was of a highly enthusiastic kind, and surpassed his most ardent expectations. On reaching the walls, a dusty and humble pedestrian, the gate-keeper told him that the Grand Duke had given orders at all the gates, that he should be immediately informed of his arrival. From one extreme of the social relations of life to the other, he passed as by a bound. An unpretending stranger, entering the town in the simplest manner, from his retired and homely country roof, seated in a neighbourhood of cold dulness and rustic *gaucherie*, where he was "unhonoured and unsung," one moment—the next, a wonder and an idol in the courtly halls and saloons of a most intellectual city, and welcomed by clouds of incense and anthems of gratulation from men of honour, genius, and renown. Verily for our poor Jean Paul, this was an hour of trial, as well as of triumph (and are not all triumphs the severest trials?) But after the first reeling shock of surprise, he recovered his native simplicity, dignity, and truthfulness, and bore himself with the calm and unostentatious self-possession, which is native to great souls. He remained at Weimar three weeks. It is impossible to depict the joyous effect of his reception; to have a faint conception of it, we must read the letters in vol. iv. p. 18, addressed to his friend Otto, where he describes it most vividly and fully.

Still more enraptured, if possible, are his feelings when he speaks of his goddess Natalie, whom he met with here. She was a Charlotte von Kalb, who lived a sorry married life with a president of that name, a very respectable but ill-suited mate for her. Jean Paul had scarcely seen her, when he fell deeply in love; and with the lady, who was of an equally excitable and impetuous nature, the result was the same. He "recognised in her," he writes to Otto, "at the first glance, the Titaness," that is, the high, energetic womanly creature, that he had so long sought for his forthcoming romance—the *Titan*; "This divine woman has two great charms—magnificent eyes, such as I never saw, and a great soul, such as I hitherto deemed an impossible thing." His friend Otto, in his reply, says—"Thy Kalb, from the schedule thou hast given me, stands completely before me. She is, as you describe her, quite Woldemar-ish; but heaven have mercy upon her husband, if he is no Woldemar." We wonder what the Titanic creature, with the magnificent eyes and the great soul, would have said, had she known the nature of this correspondence, in which she, with her whole heart full of poesy and stormy love, with

all else that she was, had said and done, had been *scheduled* by our Jean Paul, and transmitted by a Bavarian foot-postman to a prosy provincial at Hof.

We regret that we have not space for the observations made by Richter on his Weimar friends, particularly Goethe and Schiller. Among other things, we find that, despite appearances, the most unbroken harmony did not subsist amongst the learned gentlemen there, especially after the commencement of the *Horen*, in 1795, by Schiller, assisted by Goethe, Humboldt, Fichte, &c., while the *Deutsche Mercur* was conducted by Wieland, on different philosophical and critical principles. This division, however discordant a tone might have disturbed the private relations of Weimar, did not publicly exhibit itself till the publication of the *Xenien*. Goethe appears to have been befriended by the duke, and Wieland by the duchess-mother. Herder, trammelled by his official position, was not a free man, and could, as little as Goethe, tolerate the frivolity of Wieland; and we cannot conceal from ourselves, after a close attention to the correspondence of Schiller and Goethe, that both of these distinguished men felt for the other something approaching to dislike. Alas! that such things should have been! but the earthly differences of these men have, with their earthly career, had their termination:

“ Blessings be with them, and eternal praise,
Who gave us nobler loves and nobler cares,
The poets who on earth have made us heirs
Of truth and pure delight in heavenly lays.”

WORDSWORTH.

With regard to Jean Paul, the division was in this remarkable—that Herder and Wieland took side with him, while Schiller and Goethe were against him; the former openly, the latter with caution, keeping a way of retreat open. The effect of this division, the bickerings and party operations, with sundry reflections thereon by Spazier, most unfavourable to Richter's opponents, and certainly not in all instances well-founded, are given at great length in the work. Richter, in letters to Knebel, let fall some unguarded observations on Goethe, which speedily became known. Soon after, two *Xenien* against Jean Paul, by Goethe, appeared. War was now declared, and the whole fury of the Goethe *clique* was poured forth against Richter, which long injured his interests and his influence with the public.

After his brief but gratifying sojourn in Weimar, he returned to Hof, and worked industriously at his *Titan*. He

sent a portion of this work to Natalie, entreating her opinion, and anticipating her full approbation of his treatment of one of the foremost characters in it. At first he received no answer, but when he the second time pressed for her reply, he learnt that her idea of it and his own were totally at variance; and he found that, with all his fancy, he could not mount so high as her purely *womanly* sublimated conception of it. Of her we have no further tidings for a long time, a somewhat severe conflict in 1799 excepted. In her place advances another female phenomenon, with open arms, not less lofty-minded in her way. This was the celebrated Madame de Krudener. She arrived at Hof, in August 1796, to visit him, "and stood in the full bloom of youth before him,* like a beaming comet." Richter himself says, "She enkindled in me an intoxicating joy, such as no other woman has produced, and in fact she is like none." And what says the enchantress herself, who twenty years afterwards somewhat fascinated the Emperor Alexander? "Not to be forgotten is he by me," she writes, "doubtless still more from what I saw and felt, than from what I read and admired in his works." At her departure she invited him to Leipsig, "in order to open her heart entirely to him there; to show him the virtues and defects of that heart full of love, quite unreservedly." But he did not encounter her again until some years later in Berlin.

Soon after this beaming comet had passed by him, he received fifty dollars by post from an unknown admirer, with thanks for the enjoyment which his writings had given to the donor, who afterwards proved to be the aged poet Gleim. The offer of the situation of tutor to the children of the Princess Hohenlohe was made to him on advantageous conditions; but he declined this appointment, determined to abide by his author vocation; as he had yet so much to give forth, "that if death were not to come before his eightieth year, it must yet be so much embittered by such an abbreviation of his hours of composition."

The incomplete *Titan* he now, as was the case with many other of his romances, laid by for awhile, to be resumed hereafter, and wrote his *Jubelseniör*, his beautiful *Kampaner Thal*, and the *Palengeniesien*. With the composition of these and some minor papers, he filled up great part of the interval from 1796 to 1799.

In the summer of 1797 he was about to apply himself to the

* She was then thirty years of age.

continuâtion of his *Titan*, when another "beaming comet" appeared, which diverted him from his course. This was Emilie von Berlepsch, a young, beautiful, and accomplished widow, who came from Switzerland to visit him. By this ardent creature the heart of our Jean Paul, so susceptible, as we know, was immediately fascinated, as he found in this new apparition all the charms of her predecessors united. He accompanied her in an excursion of pleasure to Franzenbad, in Bohemia. Hence he was summoned, however, by the intelligence of his mother's death, and he returned to bury her. From this duty he hastened back to the beautiful widow, "to pour out his inconsolable grief into the heart of a lofty womanly being." Thence he went, in October 1797, to Leipsig, whither the sweet Emilie was to follow him, as in the neighbourhood of that town she possessed a country-seat.

Very different was his reception now to that of his first sojourn there. Every one thronged around him, and sought his society; particularly the booksellers, who, formerly deaf as adders to his wise charming, had now become his great admirers! But the treatment which would have made the poor and solitary youthful struggler happy, too frequently at present annoyed him. The many inconvenient visits wearied him, the condescension of the rich traders was too obvious, and he began to yearn again for his peaceful Hof. His uneasiness here was also increased by the arrival of the widow, who was anxious, in the strength of her love for him, that he should marry her. He had already, in an unguarded moment, given something like a pledge. She had (for they manage their love affairs singularly in Germany) some time before, recommended to him as wife, a young friend of hers, a lovely, rich, and highly-endowed lady of Zurich, for whom no consort had hitherto been found pure and good enough!

"She proposed to combine her and the Zurichers' property, and she, the widow, was to reside with us. I pointed out to her the inconsistency of such an arrangement. She understood me, but her soul was linked to mine. During several of our conversations on this matter, she was seized with fearful convulsions and faintings; this touched me powerfully, and I promised to marry her. She desires now to do whatever I wish; she will purchase an estate wherever I may point out, on the Neckar, on the Rhine, or in Switzerland. More dear to me than she is, none can become. In so far as greatness, purity of soul, and worldly riches are concerned, my lot would be happy enough, but——"

Here the letter to Otto breaks off, and we nowhere find the

supplement. We find afterwards that the marriage did take place; and thus terminates what his biographer calls the fourth specimen of his "magic art with women."

For many years we learn that he had maintained a broken friendly intercourse with Charlottes, Helens, Sofies, Paulines, and all his other youthful female friends, and exchanged letters with them, which a stranger would have considered as the most ardent love-epistles. We regret that the biographer has not been equally communicative with respect to these Charlottes, &c., and the "magic art" touching the origin of which connexions, we apprehend, preceded the affair with the Titaness. Shortly after appears another character named Hermione, who seems, however, to be but a telescope, one, and, shrouded in impenetrable vapour, passes by. "The scenes with her may be classed with the most winning," exhibit to us the extraordinary advantage the author had derived from his profound acquaintance with the female heart, as does also his association with other interesting women at Nurnberg and Erlangen.

We must here protest against any conclusions being drawn from these statements derogatory to Jean Paul, or to the subjects of his ardent but transitory regards. We believe that no imputation can be made that is degrading to them or dishonourable to him. The customs of Germany are different from ours; social restraints are there less rigid and suspicious, and there is a greater singleness and unreservedness of character. To the lofty and creative spirit of a man of genius, also, a fair and noble-hearted woman would be a different thing than to the sensual worldling. The beauty of her being, and its melody, far sweeter than the sound of any instrument, would penetrate to his soul; she would not be a charm merely for the senses; and with his love would be interwoven a deep feeling of devotion that would hallow every communication. The form would be an object of affection only for the essence that dwelt therein. The shrine would be worshipped, and homage and incense offered up; but the saintly and the lovely which it enclosed,

"The light that never was on land or sea,"

the immaterial, the intangible, would be the substance of the devotee's fervent admiration.

In 1798, he visited Weimar again, chiefly to enjoy the society and cement his friendship with Herder. He was well received by the whole literary circle there, particularly, contrary to his expectation, by Goethe; and he at one time felt

disposed to take up his residence there permanently. He was somewhat annoyed by the baseness of several miserable writers and booksellers bringing out books written in his name, in the vain endeavour of imitating his style and manner. Open attacks upon him were also not wanting; and Bouterwek, to his own disgrace, had given his name to a foolish character in a novel he then published. F. Schlegel, in the *Athenæum*, and the editors of two or three other literary periodicals, also assailed him. Nevertheless, his stay in Weimar formed a happy and brilliant epoch in his life. He lived on the most intimate terms with Herder and his family, with whom he spent the evening of every day. Herder ranked the rich, overflowing poetic spirit of Jean Paul far above the lifeless productions of the time, which only in form could claim this appellation, and which he denominated "fountains without water." "Richter," he said, "in opposition to these, stood on a lofty elevation; and I cheerfully sacrifice all artificial metrical forms, for his virtue, his breathing world, his feeling heart, and his ever-creative genius; for he it is who brings back fresh life, truth, and reality, for our decrepid and perverted poetry." Once he said to his wife—"Before I conclude the *Adrastea*, I will raise therein a memorial to Richter, which he will rejoice at, and will show to Germany what we possess in him." This may be seen in the *Adrastea*, and in the *Litteratur und Kunst*.

In the beginning of 1799, he was about to enter into matrimonial connexion with his old friend the Titaness. We do not exactly make out how they had been brought again into such intimate relation. The termination of the affair, to state it briefly, was similar to that of the beautiful widow. We have much interesting matter at this part of the work, relating to the sayings and doings at Weimar; of the disadvantageous results of Jean Paul's adherence to Herder, who had many enemies in and about the place; his free and sportive observations on literature and the literati there; his opinion on the first representation of *Wallenstein's Camp* and the *Piccolomini*; of Herder's unlucky *Metakritik on Kant*, which exasperated Goethe and Schiller, who ascribed the greater part of it to Richter, but who had in fact only contributed several of the notes. A fierce and discreditable hostility now broke forth again; Richter was not the man, with his keen temperament and impetuous feelings, to take all this quietly; nor did he. The particulars of these matters our limits prevent us giving, and it is well, perhaps, that it is so.

In the spring of 1799, he went to the neighbouring co Hilburghausen. His reception by the duke was most friendly who conferred on him at his departure the diploma of Honorary-Privy-Councillor. Here he fell in love with a lady of the court, Caroline von F——. Although her relatives were opposed to union, the affair advanced so far between the lovers, that the marriage was determined on; but this also, like some previous ones, went off. At this time he wrote for a literary annual edited by Gentz, his essay on Charlotte Corday, in which he defended her from the attack of Girtanner, who declared her to have been more execrable than Marat. Richter, on the contrary, vindicated the act of Corday, if not on just principle, at least on a strain of fervid and dignified eloquence. "Not as citizen slaying a fellow-citizen, did Corday raise her arm and strike down Marat; but, as a heroine in a civil war extirpates the enemy of the state: consequently, not as an individual pursuing selfish purposes, cuts off another; but as a sound member of the commonwealth removes a renegade cancerous limb." After this appeared his polemic work, the *Clavis Fichtiana*, abounding in original views, and deep quiet humour, against the new philosophic system then advanced by Fichte.

In the summer of 1800, Richter left Weimar, chiefly on account of the disagreeable circumstances consequent upon the rupture with the before-named lady, Caroline von F——. He went to Berlin, where, as he states, he was received like a god, with universal enthusiasm, particularly by the learned and their wives and daughters. In one of the parties there, he unexpectedly met with his future wife. He had received an invitation to a little fête, given in a garden, and had arrived late, when only one place was vacant, at the lower end of the table. He seated himself there by the side of a lady, the "magician" of whose beauty, wit, and intelligence, soon took captive the tender heart of our Jean Paul, and she, in return, was equally fascinated by him. This was a Caroline von Meyer, daughter of a highly respectable jurist there, who ranked among the most accomplished and interesting females of Berlin. All the customary crosses and trials of patience, the glimpses of paradise, and the as sudden anguishing farewells, that from of old, as by prescription, have surrounded love's course, and of which our Richter knew something, were now to have an end. Two noble hearts, not now to be severed by the iron hand of remorseless destiny, but intertwined by love and earnest truth, were to be united in the golden bonds of peace, happiness, and domestic joy. The usual preliminaries were soon ar-

ranged, and the marriage took place in May 1801. Soon after he left that city, where he had in vain solicited the appointment of prebend of the king, and went to reside with his bride, at Meiningen. Here he continued his *Titan*, of which two volumes had been previously published at Berlin; and here, leaving the bustle of courts and great cities, he recommenced his former peaceful life, which, in the society of his excellent wife, in all respects worthy of him, he enjoyed until the end of his days.

In Meiningen he soon won the most intimate friendship of the duke, whom he visited daily, and who came in return in the most kindly manner, and frequently took his meals at their humble residence. We are again compelled to omit many beautiful sketches and extracts, relating to this interesting period, among others, the petition of his dog to the duke, and the account of the birth of his first child.

From this date commences the second and last part of his life, when, withdrawn in a manner from the outward world, to the smaller one of his quiet domestic circle, he sought peace and contentment, and found them as husband, father, and companion; like a man, who tired of the storms and struggles of life, withdraws to his tranquil country home, sheltered in its still nook, to turn to right uses the experience of his earlier days. The serenity that surrounded him, manifests itself in those works that belong to this portion of his career; they were peaceful reflections of his own life. A similar change exhibited itself also in his own person. Hitherto thin and pale, with restless eye, quick words, often unsettled, hurrying from place to place, and staying but a short time in any, his figure now grew stouter, his face filled up and became embrowned, and his whole aspect was that of a man of steady, contented, and unanxious mind, vigorous in body, with free and firm foot, standing on his own proper ground.

The first product of this happy time, was his romance the *Flegeljahre*. That Richter had in this work, in the characters of the two brothers, Walt and Vult, depicted the two phases of his own nature, had been often asserted, but is here firmly established by evidence. Many most interesting particulars are given by Spazier touching this fact, and many incidents of Jean Paul's other works, which enlighten that which is otherwise obscure, give a significance not otherwise attainable, and show how much of the personal and domestic life of the man appears in his writings, which the uninformed reader had enjoyed only as fascinating fictions.

In 1802 he quitted Meiningen, to take up his abode in Coburg, although the duke pressed him most earnestly to remain, offering him a free residence, the supply of any books he might wish to read, as well as many other conveniences of life. We do not learn what induced this change. His only son in Coburg, where his only son and second child was born, died short, as in August 1804 he had settled himself in Baireuth. Here he passed the remainder of his days, honoured and respected by all men.

In 1805 and 1806, appeared his *Levana*, a work on education, containing the soundest, noblest, and most profound views on that subject. This, with the *Titan*, the *Hesperus*, and *Flegeljahre*, may be reckoned among his masterpieces. In the last, Cotta paid him seven louis-d'ors per printed sheet. For the *Titan*, he received from Matsdorff only four louis-d'ors and for the *Levana*, four and half per sheet. The *Levana* met with universal satisfaction. Goethe wrote to Knebel—

“An extract from Jean Paul's *Levana*, in the *Morgenblatt*, I very much delighted me. Here appear his boldest virtues, without the smallest degeneration; grand and just views, clear arrangement of the propositions, richness of imagery and allusions, flowing naturally, unstrained and appropriate, and all this in the most intelligent element. I know not how to say enough in favour of these pages, and wait for the work in the greatest expectation.”

We cannot refrain from presenting, not an analysis of the work, which would require a separate article, but a fragment or two. We cannot shew the elevation, the grandeur, and the fine proportions of the structure, but we will chip off a piece of the material, to give our readers a faint notion of the rich marble of which it is built.*

“If we could bring to light and particularize the plan of study and lecture-catalogue for moral culture, of ordinary fathers, they would be found perhaps to run in this fashion. In the first, lessons of pure morality must be read to the child, by myself or his tutor; in the second, less pure or matter connected with our selfish interests; in the third, ‘do you see your father do so?’ in the fourth, ‘you are but a little yet, and this is only fitting for grown-up persons;’ the fifth, ‘the chief thing is, that you advance yourself and become something

* There is an amusing and characteristic anecdote relating to this work. A Mr. Reinhold, on the occasion of compiling a “Lexicon to the *Levana*,” professing to clear up any obscurities therein, wrote to Richter for his explanation of some particular passage. Jean Paul's reply was, “My dear Lexicographer, when I wrote the sentences you enquire about, it was well known to God and myself what I intended to convey. To God, I have no doubt, it is yet equally well-known, but as for myself, I must confess it has escaped me. Unless your penetration can dissipate the darkness, it must, I fear, remain as it is.”

in the world ; the sixth, not the temporal, but the eternal, ensures the dignity of man ; in the seventh, 'therefore endure patiently all injustice, and love others ; in the eighth, 'bear yourself however bravely, when another assails you ;' in the ninth, 'be not so passionate, my dear boy ;' in the tenth, 'a boy should not sit so still ;' in the eleventh, 'you should imitate your parents more ;' in the twelfth, 'and educate yourself.' * * *

"What is religion ? Faith in God ! Not only is it a sense of the supreme and the holy, and the belief in the invisible, but it is a presentiment thereof, without which, no kingdom of the incomprehensible, of the supramundane, in fact, no *second* kingdom, could be cogitable at all. Root God from the human heart, and all that is above and beyond the world, would be but a magnified repetition of it, the supramundane would be but a higher enumeration of the mechanical, and consequently, would remain the earthly still." * * *

"Wherever religion is, there man and animals, and all things are loved. Every living thing is a moving temple of the infinite. Every thing earthly is transfigured and glorified, by the thought of its relation to Him ; but one worldly thing ever remains in darkness, that is Sin, a true annihilation of the soul, an everlasting Tantalus, Satan." * * *

"Our age has only the appetitive faculty, as in brutes, the insane, the sickly ; not that power of will that in the early Christian churches displayed itself so nobly. Art must now fortify the young spirit, and will, as formerly did the state. The virgin and youth must learn, that there is something higher on the sea than its waves, namely, the Christ who appeases them !" * *

"There is no faith without miracles, and faith itself is a miracle of the deepest root. To every thing great that befalls, you are compelled to ascribe an origin mysterious, unforeseen, inexplicable, like genius, love, power, and everything noble upon earth. Only the weak and the limited proceeds by degrees, by steps and painful advancement ;—the ladder of heaven has no steps. * * *

"You are compelled to admit of two miracles, the birth of the finite, and the birth of life in the centre of dead matter. But the admission of one thing inexplicable warrants the belief of every other, and one miracle is sufficient to annihilate all your, so called, philosophy. You may justly, therefore, refer the child to revelation, and to the hidden mysteries of God in nature, for all that you are unable to explain to him. The best religious doctrine is the life of Christ, and then the sufferings and death of his followers, even of those whose history is not related in the Scriptures. * *

"Let the holy in yourselves, turn (without the employment of syllogisms and inferences) to the holy in the child. Faith, as it were, the pre-moral, the patent of nobility, of humanity brought from heaven, opens the young heart to the older and greater heart. To injure this faith, is to resemble Calvin, who expelled music from his churches ; for faith is the reverberation of the celestial music of the spheres.

"In the hour of death, remember, everything in the parting soul

fades and dies away, poetry, reflection, effort, each earthly joy : the night flower of faith alone blooms, and flourishes, and strengthens, with its fragrance, in the last closing darkness."

On occasion of the war in 1806 and following years, he stepped forth in the *Frieden Predigt*, (Discourse of Peace,) and his *Dämmerungen für Deutschland*, (Twilight for Germany), as a political writer, with a courage approaching to temerity. With an eloquence and power worthy of his object, he strove to rouse the spirit of his countrymen, at the same time, that, with the keenest humour, he ridiculed many long-standing prejudices. The following are extracts from his writings of this period.

"True courage arises not from numbers of people, good or bad, from recruits, animals lavish of warlike spirit and defiance of wounds, but from the spirit exhibited in peace, in domestic halls, on the throne, during prolonged misfortune. But this fortress of a primitive Christian spirit, is only established by religion, wisdom, and a true manly character." * * *

"The successes of the French in their wars, must be attributed, first, to the vivacity of the national character, next, to the preference they give to physical power : the combination of these qualities, gives them that impetuosity that leads to victory. Among the Germans, on the contrary, no one is deemed capable of commanding some hundred regiments, and ranging them in battle array, until he can scarcely support himself ; in one word, princes excepted, an army cannot be skilfully directed by any one, who has not been shaved many thousand times ! The French approximate more to the Grecians, who, according to Winklemann, represented Mars as young and beardless. This is doubtless the motive which makes many young German officers, endeavour to anticipate the advance of age, in houses of pleasure, and all sorts of debauchery, so that they, very early, present the aspect of decrepitude ; perhaps this is also the reason that many youths labour to make their beards grow, which they display afterwards to mask their youth and cover their visage, as with the laurel that concealed the bald forehead of Cæsar."

He now received from the Prince-primate von Dalberg, a pension of 1000 gulden, an assistance he had long hoped for from other German princes. This for the first two years was paid out of the prelate's private purse, until the general pension fund could provide for it. In 1813, with the termination of the grand duchy of Frankfort, his pension ceased. He made many applications to those parties who might be effectual in procuring its renewal, and whose favourable offices he expected, but in vain, until in 1815 the king of Bavaria took upon himself its continuation. From this date he made yearly excursions of pleasure every spring, to such places in Ger-

many, as from their natural beauties or the residence of distinguished individuals, had attractions for him. He received a doctor's diploma, from the university of Heidelberg, a circumstance that afforded him high gratification. This intellectual elevation he communicated to the world, in his peculiar *naïve* manner, in a "supplementary leaf" to his *Lecana*, and henceforth subscribed all his prefaces and letters to his private friends with this title. The diploma was couched in highly flattering terms: in it he is styled, "*poeta immortalis, lumen et ornamentum seculi, princeps ingenii et doctrinæ, et vir qualem candidiorem terra nondum tulit, &c.*" In one of his excursions, he became acquainted with Sophia Paulus, known to the world afterwards by her writings, and her short unhappy marriage with A. W. Schlegel. This brilliant woman charmed him much, and the rapture with which he spoke of her to his wife, excited for a time her jealousy, which was however but short-lived. In 1819, he visited Stuttgart, and in 1820 Munich, where his son was a student at the Gymnasium, under Thiersch, the philologist. The intervals of these journeys were chiefly occupied in superintending the new editions of his works, which were frequently called for.

Amidst these avocations, his heart was bright and cheerful as the azure heavens over his head, when unhappily a dark cloud swept across his sky, and broke fearfully upon him. His son Maximilian, whom he believed fully and prosperously engaged in his studies, particularly of philology, but who had injured his health by too ardent application and nightly reading, as well as an excessive asceticism, unexpectedly fell ill, and three days after his father's arrival, died in his arms.

The loss of this only and beloved son, shook his health extremely, both bodily and mental. As an abstraction from the anguish of his grievous loss, he took refuge in renewed occupation, and commenced a work, which unfortunately, instead of withdrawing him from the painful subject of his sorrow, but drew him the more closely to it. This was his *Selina*; in which, in the form of a romance, he endeavoured to prove the immortality of the soul, an attempt which he had undertaken in earlier works, but not it appears to his entire satisfaction. The agony of his affliction he endeavoured to conceal from his dearest friends, and we have therefore only accidental evidence of it; as when he was accounting to his medical attendant for the probable cause of the severe affection of his eyes, he mentioned his continued solitary weeping for the loss of his boy.

"I continue," said he, "to write humorously, although, during the whole time, my eyes are filled with tears." To Heinrich Voss, with whom he had become acquainted lately, and to whom he was very much attached, he writes, that whenever he met with the word philologist in his reading, he "felt a crushing blow at his heart." His wife complained to their friends, that a worm seemed gnawing deep into his soul, that he shunned all society and recreation, and appeared to stand alone among men. In the next year, 1822, he believed himself to be a little stronger, and, by the advice of his friends, went to Dresden, to visit his wife's relations.

"I require assistance," he wrote to them, "not to be enabled to forget, that is impossible, but to endure the bitter recollection. Time has changed much in me. He seems to consider man as a block of marble, from which he may knock off, piece after piece, even to a beloved son."

Although he was not received here with that tumultuous enthusiasm, with which he had been greeted in other cities, his welcome was more cordial, particularly by his relatives. Nevertheless a decreasing interest in all surrounding objects which previously so fascinated him, was observable;—treasures of art, the scenery of external nature, and beautiful and interesting women.

"He often forgot to take some lovely proffered hand, or let it drop again in distraction of mind; or suffered persons, who were to be introduced to him, to stand for some time behind his chair, without moving or noticing them, as all unconscious. And yet at times he would break forth again as an unclouded sun. How delightfully did he manifest his nature to every one in company! Even to the unlearned and poor in spirit, he reached forth a helping hand. How did his hosts honour him. A wild animal of a husband became, from the date of his visit, tame; another, a wretched niggard, had his house altered, in order to have a chamber provided expressly for him, with conveniences suitable to his taste and habits."

Thus writes an accomplished woman of him at this period.

In Dresden he discovered that his left eye was every day becoming weaker, which gave him considerable uneasiness. In November 1822, he received the overwhelming intelligence of the death of his much-loved Heinrich Voss. In one of his letters, he says, "Alas! he and my Max. lie in one tomb in my soul. On earth I expect no more one who can be so dear to me. Oh thou irreparable Heinrich!"

In the autumn of 1823, Spazier visited him at Baireuth; and he has given us a lovely and engaging description of the

domestic life of Jean Paul, communicated by his daughter Emma. This is full of those little characteristic traits, which cannot be adequately conveyed, but by an entire transcription. This we have no room for; but we will try to convey some notion of this delightful picture.

"When we were quite young," she says, "our family inhabited two floors of a house, and my father occupied one of the attics as his study. We children clambered up stairs in the morning, and clattered at the door, until my father opened it, and he then took down from an old shelf, a drum, already with some holes in it, and a pipe, with which we tuned up pretty strongly, while he continued his work. Then we were also allowed to play with the little squirrel, which he kept there, and which, in the evening, he took with him in his pocket to the Harmonic. He had a little mouse, and all sorts of animals, which he attended to himself, and in autumn he collected winter-nourishment for his *laub-frosche*, (a frog indicating the changes of the weather), and his spiders. My father was kind to all, to animals as well as men. He never went out without opening the cage for his canary bird, as if in compensation for his absence. A dog that he had only had for a few days, and was about to change for another, he fed and littered the preceding evening with particular care. He had divers expedients for providing all sorts of minor enjoyments. It was always a gratification for him to prepare his ink, which he did therefore much oftener than was necessary. Everything that he found belonging to any one in his chamber, packing-strings, pieces of glass, stoppers, &c. he put into a separate bag. 'I am curious,' he often said, then, 'to know to what purpose I can convert this.' He burnt no letters, the most trifling bill or paper was preserved. He had thick books written full of our simple modes of childish speech. Every joke and piece of fun against him was allowed to us. We often entreatingly said 'Father, dance a bit,' and then he gambolled about and cut several capers. At meals he was very talkative; he listened also to whatever was related to him with the greatest sympathy, had the art always of improving it, so that the narrator was enlightened by his own communication. In the evening, when in the midst of some story, we were perched upon his sofa, in the dark room, he would suddenly say, 'did you not hear anything?' 'No,' said we. 'But I did,' was the reply. He then rose, opened the window, and seemed to take in a piece of marchpane. 'This the Christ-child has just now brought for you, I heard him knock.'"

To the foregoing account, by his cousin, Spazier adds some additional traits of Richter's character, which we cannot entirely omit.

"Employment of time, and order in all things, were to him the very soul of life. The dinner-hour, the food for the day, which he himself ordered in the morning, the condition of the pens with which he wrote, these were to him circumstances of importance. He ascer-

tained every hour of the day, the position of the moon, the de-
 temperature, the fall and rise of the barometer. Violations of the
 blished household spirit of order and carefulness annoyed him.
 part of the simple food that he had ordered was spoilt or forgo
 disturbed him extremely, and he would withdraw into his s
 chamber for days. The most extraordinary circumstance wa
 things of trivial importance had place in his mind by the side
 greatest. Amidst the excitement of composition, when he wa
 mitting his glorious conceptions to paper, he would sketch on
 of his flitting canary-birds, with red ink, and point out its diffi
 from another, or catch a fly, buzzing about him, for his pro
 weather frog. At his family holidays all the servants must p
 pate. On the 1st of April he would summon all his people in
 and then, as customary on that day, with great glee surprise
 and no one must spoil this sport for him. I see now his r
 countenance, when on this occasion, he looked at the be-thou'
 vant maid, asking her for the absent knife that had lost its blade
 had no handle! When he was eating fruit, and the dog near
 looked wishfully, he held the plate to its nose, to suppress its long
 not otherwise to be appeased, by convincing it, that the food was
 suitable to its palate. He would reprove his daughter, if, in pas
 some shop, she stood and looked in attentively, because she only
 cited a vain hope in the shopkeeper that she intended to make s
 purchase. His childlike goodness of nature was particularly displa
 on occasion of the thousand applications for assistance or advice
 when his judgment was solicited by other and younger authors
 their labours, which was the case every week, either by visit or let
 Not one of these, however singular, did he let pass unsatisfied or
 answered."

In the meantime the malady of the eyes increased, and
 soon began to suffer much in the right one. All means we
 tried, but the disorder was not local; it arose from the increas
 disorganization of the whole body, to the production of which
 had himself been accessory by his medical diletantism. By r
 peated bleedings he had completely enfeebled his system. I
 this state he continued until the summer of 1825. In Octob
 dropsy exhibited itself, and his feet began to swell.

A full account of the last sad moments of this noble-minde
 man is not given by Spazier in this work, as he had previousl
 furnished that to the public in another book, entitled, *Jean
 Paul Richter, in his Last Days and Death*. Without any
 apprehension of the danger of his situation, one bodily organ
 after another refused its service, except the sense of smell,
 which he gratified until his decease with the odour of flowers,
 held before him. In his last hours his mental powers remained
 with him, only interrupted by sleep, and occasional lethargy,

till, on the 14th November, 1825, after much pain, he sunk into the sleep of death. His funeral was attended by all the distinguished families in Baireuth, and accompanied with a solemnity and sympathy worthy of the departed.

The curtain has now fallen, the drama of Jean Paul's life has been acted out by him, the lamps are extinguished, the theatre which once knew it knows it no more, and the machinery, the mere material organization, in which and with which it was represented to man's admiring eyes, is cast by, to moulder away among other "properties" in the still and lonely nook of a Baireuth grave; the performance has ceased, but we bear away its beauty in our hearts, and none of its engaging and soul-touching scenes will ever be forgotten. The noble lessons it has taught us will survive in all worthy breasts. The fortitude, the love, the charity, the friendship, the patience—the support for the weak, the law to the strong, the encouragement for those who despair—all its precepts of wisdom, its manly virtue, its divine consolation, its sweet and sad music—will be treasured in our heart of hearts, as a living memorial and a lasting example; for, with some of the frailty of all that is human, it was of a grand, noble, and elevating character. Well does it deserve from us a fervent *plaudite*; and to the spirit of the man who was its living principle, in all reverence and brotherly love, let us bid a solemn, but, in Christian hope we trust, not an eternal, FAREWELL !

ART. VII.—1. *The New Zealanders. Library of Entertaining Knowledge.* London.

2. *The British Colonization of New Zealand, being an account of the Principles, Objects, and Plans of the New Zealand Association, together with particulars concerning the Extent, Soil, and Climate, Natural Productions, and Native Inhabitants of New Zealand, with Charts and Illustrations.* London: 1837.
3. *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to enquire into the present state of New Zealand, and the Expediency of regulating the Settlement of British subjects therein.* 1838.
4. *Information relative to New Zealand, compiled for the use of Colonists.* By John Ward, Esq. Secretary to the New Zealand Company, third edition, corrected and enlarged. 1840.

5. *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders.* By Polack, Esq. 2 vols. 1840.
6. *A Chart of New Zealand, from original survey.* McDonnell, R. N. Engraved and Published by Wyld. *A Chart of Port Nicholson, New Zealand.* veved by E. M. Chaffers, R.N. 1839. Published 1st 1840.
7. *The New Zealand Journal, Nos. I. to XIV.* (*a Lo Newspaper, exclusively devoted to New Zealand.* lished once a fortnight,) 366, Strand.
8. *Supplementary Information relative to New Zealand comprising Despatches and Journals of the Compe Officers of the first Expedition, and the first Report of Directors.* 1840.

THE desire for information assuredly "doth make meat it feeds on." It seems only necessary to create interest in the public mind upon any subject, and all who are able to impart thereto a ray of light, at once step forward to do so. Before the year 1837, the published accounts of New Zealand were extremely scanty. No sooner, however, did friends of systematic colonization direct their attention towards those interesting islands, as an eligible field for their labor, than every one who had visited, or merely caught a glimpse of New Zealand, forthwith submitted his experience to the public, in the shape of book or pamphlet, map or chart. These productions, some of which are of great merit, made us tolerably well acquainted with the country. We have placed a carefully selected list of the best of them at the head of this article; and as some of them,—the first, second, and fourth, for instance,—are well executed compilations from previous sources, they will be found to contain all our existing knowledge of the New Zealand group, and of its inhabitants and productions.

In the *Dublin Review* for February 1838, we inserted an article on the principles of colonization, and on New Zealand as a field for their exercise. Our main object there, was to explain and enforce those principles, first developed by Mr E. G. Wakefield, which have since been put into successful operation in South Australia. We also adduced some evidence, to show, that as a field for further application of the principles in question, New Zealand stands unrivalled. The object of the present article is to illustrate still further the latter part of the subject, and to give a brief history of the proceedings for the colonization of New Zealand, up to the present time.

Referring, then, to our former article for a full exposition of the new principles of colonization, it now only remains to remind the reader, that they embody all the means necessary for establishing *society complete in all its parts*, and not merely for placing people in a new settlement. The system which these principles constitute, is the very reverse of that ruinous systemless practice, which seems to assume that to convey people to a new and fertile country, and there to leave them to their own unaided efforts, is the one thing needful. It seems formerly to have been thought (if thought were ever bestowed upon the matter,) that the wilderness could be subdued by mere masses without capital. The consequence was, that misery and long suffering have been inseparable from attempts at colonization. Virginia, after twenty years, and an immigration of twenty thousand people, had a population of only two thousand. The all but failure of the Swan-river settlement can only be attributed to the complete ignorance of the principles of colonization which its plan betrayed. There is reason to believe that as a field for colonization, Western Australia is superior to South Australia. The soil of the former is rather better than the latter, the supply of water is less precarious, and the climate is at least as salubrious; and yet, by the mere force of a sound system, South Australia, in less than four years,* has become a flourishing community of fifteen thousand people; whilst Western Australia, in thrice that time, has not one-third of the population, and is further, by a greater proportion, from the attainment of the grand object of colonization,—the establishment of a *society complete in all its parts*.

The design of the present article is to lay before the reader a brief history of the proceedings of the last year for the colonization of New Zealand, together with some further evidence of the eligibility of the country as the seat of a British community.

When we last wrote, the New Zealand Association was in full operation, endeavouring to urge upon government the necessity of colonizing New Zealand. The association consisted of two classes of persons; the heads of families who had determined to establish themselves in the proposed colony, and public men who, on public grounds alone, were willing to undertake the responsible task of carrying the measure into operation.

* The Buffalo, with the first governor of South Australia on board, sailed from Portsmouth on the 23rd July 1836; and our intelligence thence reaches January 1840.

The united object of both classes, was to induce the government and the legislature to apply to New Zealand the regular system of colonization explained in our former chapter, and which has proved so eminently successful in South Australia; and to make provision for the guarding the natives from the evils to which they have been exposed by their course with a lawless European population. Their object, in a word, was to substitute regular for irregular colonization. It had ceased to be a question whether New Zealand should be colonized; colonization had become inevitable; and the design of the association was to introduce the *best* instead of the *worst* kind of colonization; to provide that it be achieved by worthy instead of unworthy instruments.

Up to a very recent period, the only colonizers of New Zealand were the very outcasts of a population of outcasts. Escaped convicts from the penal colonies; runaway sailors from whaling ships; needy adventurers, whose improvident habits, and evil courses, have made them men of no count among these, with a small admixture of worthy and energetic natives such as will find their way to all eligible fields,—but who in New Zealand, have hitherto formed too inconsiderable a minority, to curb the evil passions and neutralize the evil influence of the majority,—these form the bulk of the European population of New Zealand.

Dr. Lang, who wrote a brief account of New Zealand in 1839, in four letters to the Earl of Durham,* thus describes the mass of the European population.

“Of the character of the European population, now permanently settled in New Zealand, it is scarcely necessary to inform your lordship. With a few honourable exceptions, it consists of the veriest refuse of civilized society,—of runaway sailors, of runaway convicts, of convicts who have served out their term of bondage in one or other of the two penal colonies, of fraudulent debtors who have escaped from their creditors in Sydney or Hobart Town, and of needy adventurers from the two colonies, almost equally unprincipled. In conjunction with the whalers that occasionally visit the coast, the influence of these individuals on the natives is demoralizing in the extreme. Their usual articles of barter are either muskets and gunpowder, or tobacco and rum. Most of them live in open concubinage or adultery with native women, and the scenes of outrageous licentiousness and debauchery that are ever and anon occurring on their premises, are often sufficiently revolting to excite the reprobation and disgust of the natives themselves.”—*Lang*, pp. 7, 8.

* Published by Smith and Elder, Cornhill.

Several amusing anecdotes illustrative of the character of the European population, are told by Dr. Lang. The following instance of fraud against cupidity is worth recording:—

“Of the character and practices of a considerable portion of the European population in New Zealand, the following may perhaps serve as a specimen. There is an individual at present at the Bay of Islands, who is known among the Europeans of that vicinity by the respectable *soubriquet* of the ‘rat-catcher.’ He had been a dealer in slop-clothing, and a notorious gambler in New South Wales; but having been obliged, when his affairs became desperate in Sydney, to leave that colony altogether, he embarked for the usual refuge of the destitute, New Zealand, and commenced his old practices as a general dealer and gambler at the Bay of Islands. On one occasion, when he had gambled away all his property at the bay, but a single box of spermaceti candles, he took a boat at Kororadika, and embarking with the box rowed over to Paihia, one of the stations of the Church Missionary Society on the opposite shore, where he offered the candles to the missionaries at sixpence a pound, telling them he could procure them sixty pounds worth at the same price, from a vessel which had just arrived in the port, provided he could only advance the ready money for them. The missionaries, of course, advanced the money, which the ‘rat-catcher,’ of course, pocketed and applied to his own purposes; thereby teaching the missionaries not to deal in future with disreputable persons, and especially not to attempt to purchase articles of property from such persons at one fourth of their market price.”

Such was the population which the philanthropic body of men who composed the New Zealand Association, sought to neutralize by means of systematic colonization. With this view they entered into close communication with the government on the subject, and at first there seemed to be some degree of willingness to promote the association’s plan; but at length a strange objection was raised, namely, that the association was not a company trading for profit. A charter was offered on condition of their becoming a trading company; but with the condition the association was not in a situation to comply, having expressly excluded profit from their object. Having thus failed in their negotiations with government, they deemed themselves virtually dissolved, but some few of the members set to work to form a joint-stock company, so constituted as to obviate the objection of the government; and the result was the present New Zealand Company.

The proceedings of this company, for the past year, constitute a somewhat remarkable history. It was not until the spring had somewhat advanced, that the company commenced

its operations, yet by this time the first colony is firmly established in the capital of a future empire.* The history of British colonization, from first to last, does not furnish a more remarkable instance of vigorous action. Seldom has so much been effected in so short a space of time, and there can be no doubt, now that the colony is fully and fairly started, that a few years will witness the growing up of a nation in British New Zealand.

Before the New Zealand Company made its plan of operations public, it had purchased a vessel of 400 tons, called the *Tory*, which had the reputation of being a very fast sailer. This vessel was completely equipped, and ready for sea, when, on the second of May, the company deemed itself in a situation to come before the public. The prospectus stated the objects of the company to be, the purchase and resale of land, and the promotion of emigration on the South Australian plan, so far as the same could be applied under the circumstances of the case.

The *Tory* sailed for Gravesend on the fifth of May, and from Plymouth on the 12th. The London correspondent of a Plymouth paper, described the ship, her equipment, and the object of the expedition at length. The following extract is all that we need quote.

"The *Tory* carries eight guns, and is equipped in a very superior style. She carries only specie, and such articles of merchandise as are suitable for barter with the natives for land. The expedition is under the orders of Colonel Wakefield, a very distinguished officer; and the ship is commanded by Mr. Chaffers, R.N. a skilful nautical surveyor, who was master of His Majesty's ship *Beagle*, in Captain Fitzroy's surveying expedition in the South Seas. The *Tory* carries a surgeon, another gentleman devoted to medical statistics, a naturalist (Dr. Dieffenbach, of Berlin), a draftsman (Mr. Heaphy), a few young gentlemen as volunteers, and an interpreter, Naiti, a New Zealand chieftain, who has resided in England for two years, and has acquired the English language and habits. It is understood that this expedition is a preliminary one, for the purpose of selecting the site of a town, and acquiring correct and scientific information in regard to the country. The *Tory* is ordered to proceed to the company's territory on the west coast of the northern island, which embraces the harbours of Kaipara and Hoki-anga, and also to Cook's Strait; where it is probable a settlement will also be formed in the neighbourhood either of Cloudy-bay or Port Nicholson."

* The first ship with settlers, reached Port Nicholson on the first February.

The *Tory* was most fortunate in her passage, having had the unusually short run of ninety-five days. Colonel Wakefield's proceedings will be described in a subsequent part of this article.

The instructions given by the New Zealand Company to their chief agent, Colonel Wakefield, are exceedingly minute, and the objects of the company are explicitly stated under three heads—namely : *first*, the purchase of lands for the company ; *second*, the acquisition of general information as to the country ; and *third*, preparations for the formation of settlements under the auspices of the company.

It will be seen from the following extract from the first head of the instructions, that there was a strong leaning on the part of the company towards Cook's Straits, as being on the great highway, as it were, between the eastern and Australian colonies, and Great Britain. This predilection was shared in by many of those who formed the first colony ; indeed, as a great commercial locality, it is probably not surpassed. The colonists, therefore, will be much gratified to learn, on their arrival at the place of rendezvous, that Colonel Wakefield has succeeded in purchasing Port Nicholson, in Cook's Strait, and the whole of the lands on the northern and southern shores of the strait. But we are anticipating events ; let us return to the extract :—

“ You should endeavour to make an extensive purchase on the shores of that harbour, which, all things considered, shall appear to offer the greatest facilities as a general trading depôt and port of export and import for all parts of the islands—as a centre of commerce for collecting and exporting the produce of the islands—and for the reception and distribution of foreign goods. In making this selection, you will not forget that Cook's Strait forms part of the shortest route from the Australian colonies to England, and that the best harbour in that channel must inevitably become the most frequented port of colonized New Zealand. A mere harbour, however, whether there or elsewhere, might be of but little value. There is not in the world, perhaps, a safer or more commodious harbour than Port Hardy, in D'Urville's Island ; but the smallness of the island renders its harbour of less importance than several others on the shores of Cook's Strait. That harbour in Cook's Strait is the most valuable, which combines, with ample security and convenience as a resort for ships, the nearest vicinity to, or the best natural means of communication with, the greatest extent of fertile territory. So far as we are at present informed, Port Nicholson appears superior to any other. As to the relative advantages, however, of the different harbours of Cook's Strait, you will probably be able to obtain useful information from captains

of whaling ships and trading vessels, or from permanent English settlers in Queen Charlotte's Sound, or Cloudy Bay; and with this view, as well as for the purpose of comparison on your own observation, we suggest that you should visit one or both of those harbours before you proceed to Port Nicholson. You are at liberty to engage either at those harbours, or elsewhere, the services of any Englishmen or natives, whom you may wish to accompany you in your visits to other harbours.

"It is far from being intended that your purchases of land, on behalf of the company, should be confined to that harbour which you may consider superior to all the others. While you will endeavour to acquire as much land as possible in that spot or neighbourhood, it is also desirable that you should effect purchases in any part of Cook's Strait, which shall appear highly eligible for commercial settlements, or for agricultural purposes, within easy reach of a good harbour. And, in particular, we must express our anxiety that you should obtain land around one good harbour, at least, on each side of Cook's Strait."—*Ward*, 117-18.

It will be seen hereafter that these instructions and expressed wishes of the company have been most amply fulfilled.

The manner in which the company instructs Colonel Wakefield to deal with the native tribes, is a cheering feature in their plan. Unhappily, the whole history of European colonization is but a continuous record of barbarity and injustice towards the aboriginal races. Civilization having been found difficult, extermination has been openly practised. Even very recently, in Van Dieman's Land, a small body of the aborigines was hemmed in and shot down in cold blood by a few Europeans; and when the government took some steps to bring the monsters who perpetrated the act to justice, the press raised an outcry against punishing men for shooting "monkeys;" and an intimation was held out, that if this course were persevered in, it would be necessary to find some more secure method of getting rid of the "vermin;" and the mode recommended was to dose wheaten bread, or cakes, of which the natives are very fond, with arsenic! Indeed, in a letter from a member of the English bar, dated "Melbourne, Port Philip, December 3," and published in the eighth number of the *New Zealand Journal*, the practise is treated as quite common. "Some of the white people here treat the natives most shamefully; for the slightest offence they kill them, and drop their bodies into some creek; and some have been known to leave about *dampers*—a species of bread, baked in the bush, in which arsenic has been previously put, for the very purpose of destroying the blacks." But the views

and intentions of the New Zealand Company are diametrically opposed to these "ancient precedents," as the following extracts will show :—

"In one respect, you will not fail to establish a very important difference between the purchases of the company and those which have hitherto been made by every other class of buyers. * * * *

"It may be doubted, whether the native owners have ever been entirely aware of the consequences that would result from such cessions as have already been made to a great extent of the whole of the lands of a tribe. Justice demands, not merely that these consequences should be as far as possible explained to them, but that the superior intelligence of the buyers should also be exerted to guard them against the evils, which, after all, they may not be capable of anticipating. The danger to which they are exposed, and which they cannot well foresee, is that of finding themselves entirely without landed property, and therefore without consideration, in the midst of a society where, through immigration and settlement, land has become a valuable property. Absolutely they would suffer little or nothing from having parted with land which they do not use, and cannot exchange; but relatively they would suffer a great deal, inasmuch as their social position would be very inferior to that of the race who had settled amongst them, and given value to their now worthless territory. If the advantage of the natives alone were consulted, it would be better, perhaps, that they should remain for ever the savages that they are. This consideration appears never to have occurred to any of those who have hitherto purchased lands from the savages of New Zealand. It was first suggested by the New Zealand Association of 1837; and it has great weight with the present company. In accordance with a plan which the association of 1837 was desirous that a legislative enactment should extend to every purchase of land from the natives, as well past as future, you will take care to mention in every *booka-booka*, or contract for land, that a portion of the territory ceded, equal to one-tenth of the whole, will be reserved by the company, and held in trust by them for the future benefit of the chief families of the tribe.

"A perfect example of this mode of proceeding will occur soon after your departure from England. We intend to sell in England, to persons about to settle in New Zealand, and others, a certain number of orders for equal quantities of land (say 100 acres each). * * And one-tenth of these land-orders will be reserved by the company for the chief families of the tribe by whom the land was originally sold; in the same way precisely as if the lots had been purchased on behalf of the natives. The priority of choice for the native-allotments being determined by choice, as in the case of actual purchasers; the selections will be made by an officer of the company, expressly charged with that duty, and made publicly responsible for its performance. Wherever a settlement is formed, therefore, the chief native families of the tribe will have every motive for embracing a civilized

mode of life. Instead of a barren possession, with which they parted, they will have property in land, intermixed with the property of civilized and industrious settlers, and made really valuable by circumstance; and they will thus possess the means, and an *esse* means, of preserving, in the midst of a civilized community, the same degree of relative consideration and superiority as they now enjoy their own tribe."—*Ward*, 119-20.

This is an admirably contrived provision for promoting civilization of the New Zealanders. Taken in conjunction with the character of the natives, there is fair reason to hold that New Zealand will form a bright exception to the exterminating influences of colonies generally. The New Zealanders do not require an enormous breadth of land, for they are, always have been, cultivators—not hunters, like the American Indians. America abounds with animals of the deer tribe, and with numerous furred animals, of which Europeans have taught them the value. New Zealand has no aboriginal animals. This made them cultivators of necessity, and, *pro tanto*, advanced them one step in civilization. It has rendered them prone to labour, and they adopt with extreme readiness the improvements of civilization. Their eagerness to learn is quite remarkable. They understand, and are frequently parties to, a contract to labour for wages; and one of their reasons for rejoicing in the arrival of the *Tory*, and the prospect of a settlement, was, that there would be an abundance of employment for them. The works at the head of this article all treat more or less of the natives and their habits; and in innumerable instances will be found of the skill which they attain as seamen, ship-carpenters, cultivators, and indeed in the use of tools and implements generally: so that there can be no doubt that the reserved lands will, when surrounded by civilization, be much more efficient in affording the natives an ample subsistence, than the whole of the lands would have been without European arts and employment. With hunters, such as the Americans are to this day, no circumstance could give value to a small quantity of land, so as to make it provide for the subsistence of the natives; but with a race of cultivators, a breadth of land would be valueless. They cannot use much land; they are therefore well provided for, in proportion as they are taught to use a little land with effect.*

We now come to the second head of the instructions—namely, the acquisition of general information. On this head

* The reserve for the natives out of the lands sold, was worth £10,100 in July last. It would now sell for £35,000.

a very short extract will answer our purposes. As it instructs Colonel Wakefield to communicate *all* he can learn on *every* subject of interest, detail here is unnecessary:—

“It is impossible that you should furnish the company with too much information, or with information of too varied a character. We shall be anxious to know all that you can possibly learn upon every subject of inquiry. The subjects of inquiry comprise every thing about which it is possible to inquire. No matter should be deemed unworthy of examination—no particulars, however minute, will be unacceptable.”—*Ward*, 123.

From the third division, respecting preparations for the formation of settlements under the auspices of the company, the following extract is all that our purpose demands:—

“Supposing you to have selected from any purchases that you may make in Cook’s Strait, or in the neighbourhood of Kaipara, or in the district of the company’s land at Kaipara, that spot which you shall deem the fittest for a first settlement—that spot which shall present the most satisfactory combination of facility of access, security for shipping, fertile soil, water communication with districts abounding in flax and timber, and falls of water for the purpose of mills—and where the native inhabitants shall evince the greatest desire to receive English settlers, and appear most anxious to obtain employment for wages—there you will make all such preparations for the arrival of a body of settlers as the means at your disposal will allow. Amongst these, it occurs to us, that the natives should be employed at liberal wages, in felling the best kinds of timber, taking the logs to the place which you may have marked out for the site of a town, and also in collecting and preparing flax and spars, as a return freight for vessels which may convey settlers to the place. You should also make the natives thoroughly aware of the nature and extent of the intended settlement, so that they may not be surprised at the subsequent arrival of a number of large ships. And at this spot, when you quit it, you will of course leave such persons as you may be able to spare, and shall be willing to remain, for the purpose of assuring the natives of your return, and of pursuing the labours of preparation. On quitting this spot, you will proceed directly to Port Hardy, in D’Urville’s Island, where you will remain until some of the company’s vessels shall arrive from England. By the first and subsequent vessels you will receive further instructions. It is of essential consequence that you should, if possible, reach Port Hardy by the 10th of January next, or, if that should not be possible, that you find means of transmitting to the company’s vessels, that will be directed to touch there by that time, a full account of the spot on which you may have determined as the site of the first settlement.”—*Ward*, 124-5.

In accordance with this plan, a limited portion of the company’s lands, to be comprised within the first settlement, was

offered for sale on the first of June. The first town consisted of eleven hundred acres, besides public squares, streets, boulevards, and gardens; and the selected country lands comprised one hundred and ten thousand acres. These lands were divided into eleven hundred sections, each section to consist of one hundred country acres and one town acre. Deducting the reserved land for the aborigines, the remaining nine hundred and ninety sections were offered for sale at one pound per acre, or one hundred and one pounds per section. On paying down this sum, the purchaser received a land order on the company's local officer, entitling the holder to select his section according to a priority of choice, afterwards determined by lot at the company's offices.

The quantity thus put up in the first instance was taken in a very short time. The total sum realized was £99,990. Of this sum only £24,997. 10s. was reserved to meet the expenses of the company, and the remainder, being 75 per cent. of the whole, or £74,992. 10s. was set apart to defray the cost of conveying emigrants to the colony, and so give value to the lands which they had sold. By the conditions of sale, the purchasers of land-orders were entitled to claim 75 per cent. of their purchase money, either in the shape of passages for themselves and families, or for their servants and labourers; and where no claim was made, the benefit was equally conferred on the land-owner, as the whole of the £74,992. 10s. one way or the other will be entirely expended in emigration. It is the emigration fund which is to establish the "golden mean" between land capital and labour, the very spirit of the system on which the company proceeds.

The readiness with which the lands of the first colony were taken up, no doubt arose from the success of South Australia, founded on the same principles. The system was no longer the untried speculation of a few philosophers. Its soundness was no longer open to argument. All room for controversy had ceased. It had been three years* in operation. The "practical men" admitted the system to be good, and objection was straightway silenced.

When the principles were new and untried, it was found necessary to anticipate the sales of land by authorising the borrowing of a sum of money. The South Australian act moreover forbade the commissioners to commence operations until they had disposed of land to the amount of £35,000.

* The Buffalo sailed for South Australia on the 23d July, 1836.

This they accomplished; and, with the loan they contracted (£30,000), the commissioners commenced operations with an adequate labour fund.

But the second application of the system is on a more ample scale. Instead of a loan of £30,000 the company commenced with a capital of £100,000, and their land fund, instead of being £35,000, was, as we have seen, £75,000.

Very soon after the realization of the land fund, and the determination of the order of choice, which took place on the 29th July, the directors made arrangements for the departure of the emigrants who were to form the first colony. Before taking this step, however, the directors had selected an efficient surveying staff, consisting of a surveyor-general, (Captain Smith of the artillery), three assistant surveyors, and twenty-two men. This corps was accompanied by a land commissioner, instructed to make further purchases, provided with ample means to fulfil the objects of the company in the event of any disaster happening to the *Tory*. This second expedition sailed from Gravesend in the barque *Cuba*, of 270 tons, which was understood to be a fast sailer. She did not reach Entry Island, however, until the 1st of January, after an unusually long run of one hundred and forty-five days; and sailed the next day for Port Nicholson, where a private letter of the 13th January, from a passenger on board, states they were at anchor, anxiously waiting the return of Colonel Wakefield in the *Tory* from Hoki-anga.

The instructions given to Captain Smith were in every respect most judicious. A due regard for the welfare of the colony is a conspicuous feature, and a personal knowledge of the surveyor-general enables us to state our conviction that the wishes of the directors will be minutely fulfilled. The following extracts will be sufficient to show the views of the directors with regard to the future city:—

“Your surveying operations should at first be entirely confined to the site of the town.

“In laying out the plan of the town, you must as closely as possible adhere to the conditions on which the land-orders have been sold, as expressed by the enclosed copy of the terms of purchase—providing, at all events, that every holder of a land-order obtains one full acre of land within the town.

“The Directors wish that, in forming the plan of the town, you should make ample reserves for all public purposes, such as a cemetery, a market-place, wharfage, and probable public buildings, a botanical garden, a park, and extensive boulevards. It is, indeed, desirable that

the whole outside of the town, inland, should be separated from the country sections by a broad belt of land, which you will declare that the company intends to be public property, on condition that no buildings be ever erected upon it.

"The form of the town must necessarily be left to your own judgment and taste. Upon this subject the directors will only remark, that you have to provide for the future rather than the present, and that they wish the public convenience to be consulted, and the beautiful appearance of the future city to be secured, so far as these objects can be accomplished by the original plan—rather than the immediate profit of the company.

"It is of essential consequence that the town lands should be made ready for allotment as soon as possible.

"As soon as the survey and plan of the town are completed, you will proceed to the survey of country sections.

"You will observe by the 'terms of purchase,' that the company undertakes that the eleven hundred country sections shall consist of the most valuable land at the disposal of the directors in the first settlement.

"The directors trust, at all events, that you will adopt that mode of proceeding by which the holders of the preliminary land-orders will most surely obtain the most valuable land in the first settlement, and by which the priority of choice determined by lot will be most strictly observed.

"In case any order or orders should not be presented to you at the time when the opportunity for choosing occurs, it will be your business to choose for the absent holder."

All preliminary arrangements being thus completed, the month of August and part of September were occupied in preparing for the departure of the first colony. The company had chartered five ships, namely, the *Adelaide*, the *Aurora*, the *Oriental*, the *Duke of Roxburgh*, and the *Bengal Merchant*; and on the 14th of September the three first were ready for sea. The *Bengal Merchant* had proceeded to Glasgow to take on board the Scotch emigrants, and the *Duke of Roxburgh* was not ready until a few days after.

On the day just named, the directors proceeded to Gravesend in the *Mercury* steam-vessel, accompanied by a large party of friends interested in the colony, for the final inspection of the ships, and for the purpose of taking leave of the settlers. An entertainment was given on board the *Mercury* to the principal colonists and the directors' friends; and on board of each ship good cheer was provided for the body of the settlers. "The scenes of the days," says one of the published accounts, "were altogether such as cannot fail to be memorable in the future annals of the colony."

The company afterwards found it necessary to charter the *Glenbervie*, to take out a large quantity of goods, the property of settlers, which had been shut out from the other ships; and the *Bolton* was also taken up to convey a large number of passengers (232) who had been disappointed in procuring passages in the earlier ships. The *Coromandel* was despatched on private speculation, and took out some of the company's settlers. The following table, from Mr. Ward's *Information for the use of Emigrants*, exhibits the total emigration to New Zealand in 1839:—

SHIP.	Tonnage.	Cabin Passengers.				Steerage Passengers.				Total of Passengers.	From what port and when sailed
		Adults.		Children under 15		Adults.		Children under 15.			
		Male.	Fem.	Male.	Fem.	Male.	Fem.	Male.	Fem.		
Tory, Preliminary Expedition	382	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	London, May 5.
Cuba, Surveying Staff	273	8	..	..	..	22	..	..	..	30	London, Aug. 1.
Oriental	506	18	3	..	..	62	36	13	22	154	London, September 15.
Aurora	550	14	6	1	..	50	35	26	16	148	London, September 18.
Adelaide	640	20	8	4	4	45	47	28	20	176	London, September 18
Duke of Roxburgh Glenbervie, Store Ship.	417	15	11	8	7	37	41	27	21	167	Plymouth, October 5.
Bengal Merchant	503	22	8	4	5	53	36	21	12	161	London, October 20
Bolton	510	9	9	6	9	56	45	54	44	232	Glasgow, October 31.
Coromandel, Private Ship	662	8	..	..	..	7	9	12	8	44	London, November 19.
	1860	123	45	23	25	334	249	181	143	1123	London, December 11.

On reference to the official table published in *Capper's South Australia*, we find that the first year's emigration to that colony amounted to 950, although the first ship sailed in February. The European population of New Zealand, previous to the commencement of the company's operations, has been variously estimated from 2000 to more than 3000; and as all the Australian colonies—South Australia not excepted—are continually furnishing emigrants to New Zealand, the British population now probably exceeds 4000, a considerable number of whom will doubtless be drawn to the new settle-

ment. What the law called the outcast population will speedily be out-numbered by the sounder population. A considerable number of bad people in all the Australian colonies is the necessary consequence of the proximity of the penal colonies. A large proportion of these have found their way to New Zealand, in spite of the distance, because of the absence of legal authority of any kind. Now, however, that law is established, distance will operate, and New Zealand will be the very last of our Australasian colonies to be favoured with the presence of the industrious persons who have hitherto crowded her shores. South Australia is already suffering from this cause, and the practicability of performing the journey from Sydney on foot, will rather tend to increase the evil. South Australia and Port Philip, from this time forward, have a stronger interest in the moral regeneration of the older Australian colonies than New Zealand.

Under a regular government the improvement of the present population will be by no means a difficult matter. That society has been kept together at all, shows that there must have been a considerable proportion of orderly persons; so that the settlers composing the first colony will find a large number of persons in all parts of the northern island ready to join them in suppressing disorder, and in establishing a well-regulated community.

No colony was ever established under more favourable prospects than the first colony of New Zealand. In the first place the labouring emigrants—the bone and muscle of the colony, so to speak—formed the finest body of people we ever saw congregated together for such a purpose, albeit, our experience in matters of emigration is far from small. As the company gave passages to the labouring class, they were strict in their selection both as to the physical and moral qualifications of the candidates for passages. They were for the most part in the prime of life, in full health, and of approved moral character; and it was impossible to look upon them without a conviction that they were the people to carve fortune out of the desert.

Among the wealthier classes were several men of birth and education—men who, in planting a colony, will not be content with a mere rude abundance, nor with their new home unless it bear the distinct marks of a high state of civilization. They go out impressed with the value of a system of which they themselves are a constituent element; they believe that system

to be efficient to the creating a society complete in all its parts; and believing so, all their energies will be directed to the verification of the principles to which they are attached.

The very form in which their capital was transmitted to the colony was in some degree evidence of this. Many of the settlers took out houses in frames, ready to be put up, like a bedstead, in the course of a day. These "colonial houses" are now made by many builders in London, and when put up are not surpassed in comfort by the most permanent edifices in the metropolis. Mill machinery of all kinds, both for sawing and grinding, has also been taken out. So also have steam-engines. Agricultural implements of the most approved kind, together with mechanics' tools, and goods of every description; so that it is difficult to conceive that the colonists will feel a serious want, without possessing at the same time the means of gratifying it.

But it is in the manner in which the moral and intellectual wants of the people have been attended to, that the *completeness* of the system is most manifest. Even before the departure of the colony, a literary and scientific institution was established, having in connexion with it a public library; the archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Hinds, and several other friends of the colony, being among the donors.

Arrangements for the promotion of education have also been made; and among these the immediate opening of an infant-school deserves especial notice. It is part of the plan of the promoters of this school, to educate the children of the natives, as well as those of the Europeans. We have evidence of a demand for this education in the very first number of the *New Zealand Journal*, which contains the proceedings of a public meeting of the Europeans inhabiting the Bay of Islands, to take into consideration the condition of the children of European fathers and New Zealand mothers, and to devise means to promote their education. This is commencing the work of civilization in a proper manner. It must ever be matter of doubt whether the prejudices and habits of adults can be gotten rid of, or even altered; but, by operating on children, a sure foundation for moral improvement is laid.

In imitation of South Australia, the first number of a newspaper was published here, called the *New Zealand Gazette*; the second number to be published in the colony as soon after the arrival of the ships as possible. For this purpose, presses, types, and all things needful were taken out in the *Adelaide*;

and by the time, perhaps, that this article is in type, the second number will have reached this country.

The religious wants of the settlers have also been duly cared for ; and in so doing the directors have evinced freedom from anything in the shape of prejudice, by offering a free cabin passage to ministers of *every denomination*, provided the grounds of application in each case are satisfactory to the board. The principal condition imposed by the board is, that there should be a congregation—that is, that there should be a number of persons whose opinions the minister applying for a passage represents, sufficiently large to render a spiritual pastor necessary.

The advantages of a bank, of character and credit, were also conferred upon New Zealand at the very birth of the colony. The directors of the New Zealand Company made an arrangement with the Union Bank of Australia, a respectable and most successful banking establishment, by which a colonial currency will at once be brought into circulation, and the monetary changes of the colony be managed with ease and security. This bank issues bills on Sydney at a charge of two per cent. ; but on such of these bills as are made redeemable in New Zealand in the notes of the bank, the holder will be entitled to a return of two per cent. ; so that by this cross transaction a remittance to New Zealand will be effected without cost.

In the foregoing narrative we have endeavoured, in the plainest language, to give the history of the proceedings of the New Zealand Company for the year 1839 ; but there remains still to be told the action of the government, before we go into the events of the present year, which may emphatically be characterized as the “child of the past.”

We have already stated that neither the New Zealand Association of 1837, nor the New Zealand Company of 1839, could win any sympathy—still less the countenance, of the government. This is not at all wonderful. “You have put no patronage in your plan,” said a shrewd observer ; “you cannot succeed. If you desire to propitiate a government, you must place some official situations at its disposal.” The self-supporting principle, however, on which it was proposed to colonize New Zealand, did not permit this. It was proposed to make New Zealand pay all the expenses of transporting labour to the colony, and yet that the colony should *not cost this country one shilling*—that New Zealand should

never appear in the estimates. This is inconsistent with that extensive system of patronage which exists in our older colonies.*

By the energetic operations of the company, however, the government found itself forced into action; and just as the company's ships were preparing to take on board the emigrants who formed the first colony, Captain Hobson, of the navy, was sent out to New Zealand, for the purpose of erecting it into a British colony.

New Zealand had previously been treated as an independent foreign state, and Captain Hobson was instructed to call himself in the first instance "consul!" He was then to obtain a cession of sovereignty from the chiefs, and declare New Zealand—or rather so much thereof as he could obtain the cession of, or as happened to be inhabited by the British—a dependency of New South Wales. Of this portion he was at once to become lieutenant-governor.

Now it is extremely difficult to understand the principle on which a part of the executive government of this country can treat as *alien* a country over which we have certainly constantly exercised sovereign functions. It is a well-understood principle of international law, that discovery and occupation give a right to sovereignty, *as against all civilized powers*, over the savage tribes which may inhabit the country. The conduct of the discovering country towards the native tribes does not in any way affect that right of sovereignty. Of our original sovereignty no one has ever doubted. It has been exercised in many ways. Magistrates have been appointed; criminals have been taken up, have been carried to Sydney, and have there been tried and punished. Yet in 1839 her Majesty was advised to declare that the crown had no jurisdiction over those islands—that any European power was at liberty to settle there—and that if we accredited any representative of the crown to make his appearance in New Zealand, it must be in the character of *consul* only that he could enter into preliminary negotiations with the chiefs, to barter sovereignty for a blanket. Whatever may have been our former sovereignty over New Zealand, it has been determined that we shall take a new lease thereof, dating from some new farce to be enacted by Captain Hobson;—a deter-

* See an article headed the Poor Relation Interest, in No. 7 of the *New Zealand Journal*.

mination fraught with every possible difficulty, and which cannot fail to force ministers into all kinds of inconsistencies. The simplest course was open to them. Sovereignty had been exercised. No doubt had been thrown upon it. All that the government had to do was to send out a governor. If this had been done at any time, not a single voice would have been raised against it, and every difficulty in the way of ministers would have been removed.

The expedient of repudiating the sovereignty of New Zealand, seems to have been hit upon, for the purpose of deterring people from joining in, or in any way seconding, any plan of colonization which might be put forward. But the men who were engaged in the colonization of New Zealand were not to be thus turned from their purpose. They said, "We will colonize the country in spite of all opposition. We do not undervalue the recognition of the government, and we will do our best, either by parliamentary motion or otherwise, to bring about such recognition; but if we fail, we will do our best without it. If we are without the support and protection of government, we shall at least be saved from undue interference; and as we shall cost the mother-country nothing, we shall ever be regarded with kindly feelings." Accordingly, the colonization of New Zealand took place, as we have already described. It was a great movement of a body of the people, acting independently of their rulers.

When it was determined to disclaim the sovereignty of New Zealand, all other consequences were disregarded. Not one of the results likely to spring from such a declaration were taken notice of. New Zealand being a sovereign independent state, what was there to prevent the out-cast Europeans from adopting the customs of the natives to as great an extent as might suit their passions and their tastes? With such a population, murder itself would cease to be a punishable crime, and the outcast European would stop short of cannibalism—not because there was any law to restrain him, but because it was foreign to his habits, and repugnant to his feelings. This is a consequence which could not fail to strike the most superficial reflector as the inevitable consequence of declaring New Zealand an independent country, subject only to the customary regulations—we should be ashamed to call it *law*—of the native tribes.

Another consequence was, that New Zealand, which had all along been respected by foreign powers as a British pos-

cession was at once thrown open to colonization by any European power. France was not slow to take the hint, and our government is now embarrassed, and we are threatened with differences if not with a quarrel with France, by the actual establishment of a French colony on Banks's Peninsula on the eastern coast of the southern island. It is true that the French are not successful colonizers—that this attempt is paltry,—that their means are inadequate—and that the hatred of the New Zealanders towards “the tribe of Marion,”* will either lead to their destruction or force them to amalgamate with the English; but it is the principle involved in the colonization of British territory by the French, which is open to the strongest objection. The French will make useful settlers in New Zealand. The soil and climate are well adapted to the vine, the olive, the mulberry and other productions of southern Europe; of these the English know nothing. The arms of the first colony should therefore be opened to the French—a liberal naturalization law should be among the earliest acts passed for or by New Zealand. As friends and fellow-colonists the French should always be welcome;—but not as rivals; yet how to prevent them establishing themselves as rivals seems difficult, now that ministers declare that we had no sovereignty previous to Captain Hobson's arrival in January last.

Another consequence not contemplated, is a species of dilemma into which the government has been thrown by the determination. Our sovereignty over New Zealand is to take its date from the cession thereof by the chiefs to Captain Hobson, and yet at the same time a commission is appointed to examine titles to land, to confirm such as have been obtained by fair means, and to disallow such as were obtained for a fraudulent or inadequate consideration, or such as are unreasonably large in extent. Now if her Majesty had no sovereignty before the 30th of January, 1840, how can the government exercise any control over the acts of the inhabitants of New Zealand antecedent to that date? Her Majesty's authority, according to the proclamation, no more existed in New Zealand in 1839, than it does in France at this present moment. Could her Majesty issue a commission to take cognizance of the acts of the British inhabitants of Boulogne? Many gentlemen, there,

* After Marion du Fresne, the early French navigator, who was killed and eaten by the natives. The French are now known by no other name than *Te Auekua Marion* (the final *a* being changed to *u*), or the Tribe of Marion. Polack, vol. ii. 121.

know full well that the Queen's writ, happily for them, does not extend to that pleasant retreat; yet this same New Zealand commission is an assumption of sovereignty over a period of time at which it has been deemed not to exist, and is therefore as completely untenable as an attempt to exercise judicial authority over Boulogne or Calais. The dilemma then resolves itself to this. Either we had sovereignty in New Zealand before Captain Hobson's proclamation or we had not. An enquiry into the title to land under the crown is an exercise of sovereignty. Now if we had no sovereignty, the commission can exercise no jurisdiction and it becomes a weak attempt to push jurisdiction where none can be claimed. If, on the other hand, such jurisdiction, be asserted and insisted upon, it amounts to an exercise of sovereignty, and Captain Hobson's proclamation becomes a dead letter. To enumerate the inconsistencies into which government must necessarily be involved by the foolish jealousies of the colonial-office would fill one number, and therefore tire our readers. The newly-erected government of New Zealand can scarcely do any two acts, whether administrative or judicial, the one of which will not neutralize, or to use an American term, nullify the other. If they insist on proclamation No. 1, respecting sovereignty, proclamation No. 2, respecting titles, is absurd and untenable. If they say a word against the occupation of the French, the proclamation of sovereignty is asserted to be a dead letter. If courts of justice be established under proclamation No. 1, those courts cannot look back beyond its date, at a time when that which Captain Hobson's chief-justice, and the advocate-general, will call murder, was a justifiable act—an act sanctioned by the practice of "the independent sovereign New Zealand chiefs." If a delinquent of 1839 be hanged by Captain Hobson in 1840, such an act will nullify his own proclamation, for it would amount to the assertion of a sovereign right which that proclamation denies. A mere tyro in pleading would have no difficulty in drawing a plea in abatement of the indictment, setting forth, that the killing mentioned therein took place while New Zealand was a sovereign and independent state, in which such killing was a perfectly legal act. We might enumerate other difficulties, had we not other and more interesting matter to occupy the remainder of our space. Such are the evils calculated to spring from an ineffectual attempt to stop the colonization of New Zealand.

In the early part of March, the company received intelligence of the safe arrival of the *Tory* at Cook's Strait, after a

rapid and prosperous voyage of ninety-six days. This event had been looked for with great anxiety by all persons in any way interested in New Zealand. Every thing had gone on well in this country, but the friends of those bold and energetic men who had ventured their lives and fortunes in the "first colony," could not conceal from themselves, that there were many contingencies which might have thrown a damp upon the enterprise. A disaster to the first expedition might have been fatal to the hopes of the colonists and of their friends in this country.

The publication of Colonel Wakefield's first dispatch, in a second edition of the *New Zealand Journal*, on the 10th of March, dispelled all gloom; the more especially as the shortness of the voyage enabled Colonel Wakefield to fulfil all the expectations of the Company.

It is true that, in contemplation of the bare possibility of disaster to the *Tory*, every arrangement which prudence could dictate was made to obviate its effect. The officers, who afterwards embarked in the *Cuba*, were empowered to do all the first expedition could do, and were, moreover, furnished with the means of so doing. Nay more, had disaster overtaken both vessels, the means of repairing it in some degree accompanied the first colony. But as it has happened, early delay would have been all but fatal to the successful planting of the colony. The *Cuba* made a long passage; and the *Adelaide*, as we have already stated, was injudiciously carried into the Cape, and a delay of another month would probably have thrown the best of the lands into the hands of the missionaries—an event as injurious to the welfare of the natives* as to that of the colonists. Colonel Wakefield found the missionaries at Port-Nicholson; but when his proposals were heard, and the operation of the reserved lands explained to the chiefs, the missionary proposals were rejected, and they were compelled to return to their station disappointed, and of course imbued with hatred most orthodox against those who had so successfully out-bid them in the land-market.

The *Tory* anchored in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound,

* The Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society have possessed themselves of immense tracts of land, without any provision—without the slightest regard for the temporal welfare of the natives—whilst the company reserve one-tenth of all their lands to be held in trust for the benefit of the chiefs. The lots drawn for the natives were good numbers; and it so happens that their lands, which in August last were worth 11,000*l.* are now worth at least 25,000*l.* The Catholic mission is free from the taint of what has been called *land-sharking*; so we believe are the Wesleyans.

on the 16th of August, and we have now intelligence from New Zealand up to the middle of March. These seven months form an important epoch in the history of New Zealand. A large territory has been acquired for the New Zealand Company, embracing the whole of the southern portion of the northern island, and the northern portion of the southern island, and comprising Cook's Strait—a great maritime highway, with numerous free harbours. Twelve hundred British people have been established on a spot admirably suited to commerce. These proceedings, important as they are in themselves, have been productive of still more important consequences. Law and order have been proclaimed among a population notorious for licentiousness and anarchy, and so great a transfusion of all that is sound in society will immediately take place, that New Zealand must necessarily take a high place among our colonial possessions. Our limited space will not permit us to quote Colonel Wakefield's despatches; we must, therefore, content ourselves by stating that New Zealand possesses all the requisites for a flourishing colony. The whole face of the country differs greatly from the Australian continent—for such is the fact. Australia always gives one the idea of a country in an imperfect state of formation, and so indeed it is. Volcanic disturbance has been wanting. The whole surface of the country wants a great upheaving, in order to adapt it for the habitation of man. The want of broken ground is a great evil. The mountain torrent, and the highly fertilized valley, are there almost unknown, and the vast plains are but thinly timbered. In America, the manner in which a country is timbered, is the criterion by which the soil is judged of, and there is doubtless much truth in the test. Now New Zealand would in this respect abundantly satisfy a Yankey chopper. The country is a succession of richly wooded hills, sometimes rising to mountains, and fertile valleys. The country is intersected in every direction with magnificent rivers, and mountain streams; many of these are navigable, and others may, and will hereafter be rendered so, and all spread their fertilizing influence over the valleys.

The climate is unexceptionable. The droughts which prevail in Australia are unknown. Rain is frequent, though not so much so as in this country; and disease is rare among the people. All the productions of this country, and most of those of Southern Europe, flourish in New Zealand. It is especially a wheat growing country; and, in a Sydney paper now before us, we find New Zealand seed wheat advertised at one guinea

per bushel ! The vine, the olive, the mulberry, flourish almost without the aid of man.

The natives, too, instead of being a drawback, are a decided acquisition. Great mistakes are usually made touching the qualifications of native tribes. The chief evil, and that which tends to the extermination of the aborigines, is want of capacity. It is not ferocity but barbarism that is the great drawback to civilization. All energetic tribes are ferocious. We ourselves have been ferocious beyond all example in history; but we have enormous energy. Ferocity melts away as intelligence increases. That the New Zealanders will civilize easily there cannot be a doubt. In the first place they never were hunters, as there never were animals to hunt; hence they commence at a stage of civilization somewhat removed from utter barbarism. As a consequence of this they have considerable mechanical skill. They adopt with great readiness European improvements, and use tools with a degree of dexterity which excites the surprise of every one. They have built boats, and even schooners, and their skill in seamanship is great. Many of the traders between Sydney and the Bay of Islands are manned by New Zealanders; and some are thoroughly competent to take the command of large ships.

Another circumstance in their favour is their physical superiority. The women are for the most part comely, and many very beautiful. Moreover they are gentle in their manners, and much attached to the men with whom they connect themselves. Several of the Europeans have taken New Zealand wives, and there is every probability of an extensive amalgamation. Of course occasional union will take place between Europeans and the women of all native tribes with whom they have intercourse, but amalgamation properly speaking has never taken place any where but in New Zealand, Tahiti, Hawaii, and other islands of the Pacific. In short the character of the New Zealanders forbids the idea of extermination. They may ultimately be lost by amalgamation with Europeans, but that is a process which is not only brought about without suffering, but is productive of the happiest consequences. We have examined some of the portraits of chiefs sent home by Mr. Heaphy, the draftsman of the company, and, excepting always the tattooing, there is nothing to indicate the savage. Dignity, intelligence, and even mildness of temper, are conspicuous in some of them; and nearly all, but especially the chief Hiko, exhibit precisely that kind of manly beauty which women love to look on.

The proceedings for the colonization of New Zealand have produced great excitement in Sydney, and indeed in all the Australian colonies. Emigration is taking place from all of them; and one ship alone took above one hundred and fifty passengers to the Bay of Islands. The British population of New Zealand at this moment cannot be far short of four thousand, and possibly may nearly reach five thousand.

Capital, too, is flowing thither, to an extent to excite the jealousy and alarm of the old colonists. Besides a branch of the Union Bank of Australia at Wellington, Port Nicholson, a bank has been subscribed for at the Bay of Islands. Three thousand shares were subscribed for in three days at the Bay, and the two thousand shares reserved for Sydney were taken in one day. Barristers in good practice have left Sydney for the new field. Stock-keepers are transporting their whole stock thither. A newspaper, the *New Zealand Gazette*, is to appear in Wellington, Port Nicholson; another is about to be transferred from Sydney to the Bay of Islands; and the *New Zealand Journal*, published in London, represents the interests of the colonists here. The establishment of this last paper in February last, is in itself a remarkable feature in the history of New Zealand colonization, for the existence of a paper of the kind is evidence of a "special public," as it has been called, of no inconsiderable extent. The fourteenth number of this paper, published on the 1st of August, is filled with extracts from the Australian papers, showing the great interest which New Zealand is exciting there. In short, a great current of all the material elements of civilization is setting from Australia generally to New Zealand, which must contribute to the advantage of all, and especially to that of the mother-country.

We regret that a warning from the publisher prevents our making extracts from Colonel Wakefield's important dispatches. The works, however, which we have placed at the head of this article, will enable our readers, who wish for more specific information, to possess themselves of it. To those who desire to continue informed respecting the progress of what must eventually become the Great Britain of the southern hemisphere, the *New Zealand Journal*, published once a fortnight, places the means of so doing within their reach.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Stage, both before and behind the Curtain; from Observations taken on the spot.* By Alfred Bunn, late Lessee of the Theatres Royal, Drury Lane and Covent Garden. In 3 vols. London: 1840.
2. *Glencoe; or, the Fate of the Macdonalds. A Tragedy, in five acts.* By T. N. Talfourd. London: 1840.
3. *The Roman Brother. A Tragedy.* By John A. Heraud, author of *The Judgment before the Flood, The Descent into Hell, The Pleasures of Genius, &c. &c.* London: 1840.

MR. BUNN does undoubtedly open a picture of life behind the stage curtain, for which few of those who occasionally sit before it, will perhaps find themselves wholly prepared. It is not our province to justify, or even to excuse, on his part, many of the disclosures which he has thought fit to make. He has—often upon slight grounds, often upon no pretext which rightly-constituted minds would deem at all admissible—violated every rule of confidential correspondence. In his capacity of lessee and manager of one, and for a while of both, of the national theatres, he has had, of course, frequent communication with actors, dramatic authors, and artists of various classes. Several of these individuals will most probably (and with good reason) complain of the uncereceremonious manner in which he has, in his present work, dealt with their applications to him on matters which they expected he would keep secret from the prying eye of the world. With these affairs, however, we have nothing to do. Our business is to contemplate the spectacle which he has presented to us, and a very curious one it is in many points of view.

The actor is here no longer an actor. The painted eyebrow, the rubied cheek and lip, the figure, fabricated with all the *modiste's* refined skill, are stript of their artificial beauties, and paraded before us in their least attractive undress. Mr. Bunn, holding in his hand his exhibition pole, shows them up without any remorse—nay, too frequently with a vindictive severity which deserves animadversion. We are no great admirers of Mr. Macready—we have never idolized Mr. Charles Kemble. Both these performers have often received from the “dramatic critics” eulogies to which no man of pure taste can, in our opinion, ever subscribe. Whatever the characters in which those performers appear, it is always Macready—always Kemble. In one part alone, to our judgment, has Macready been accustomed to lose his personality—that of *Rob Roy*. Yet it is the very part which he most dislikes, and which he

has more than once stipulated not to play.' Charles Kemble thinks there is not, and never was, a *Hamlet* except that which he was wont to pourtray; and yet it is, perhaps, of all others, the part in which he has made the least impression upon his audience, and which he has played many a night to empty benches. Nevertheless, although we agree with Mr. Bunn for the most part in his estimate of the pretensions which these gentlemen have put forward as the would-be "stars" of their time, still we must think that his efforts to extinguish them altogether are less likely to injure their reputation than his own.

So also, with reference to Sir Edward Bulwer and Mr. Talfourd. The former, it is well known, has given the world to understand that he has "presented" dramatic compositions to the theatres without any desire to receive for them pecuniary remuneration, and solely with a view to save the age which has had the honour to produce him, from the stain of its hitherto having had no Shakspeare. The labourer need never blush to demand his reward, and it was a silly ambition, in a literary man especially, to boast that he repudiated the idea of gain by his exertions for the stage. Mr. Bunn has taken good care that Sir Edward's mask should be removed. He has displayed the vanity of the modern "Shakspeare," as Lady Blessington's coterie have denominated the author of "*Richelieu*," in the most unqualified style. Sir Edward writes a play—sends an agent to ask Mr. Bunn how much he will give for a drama by a first-rate author,—Mr. Bunn not to see the manuscript before-hand—to pay down the money at once, simply on the ground that it is Sir Edward Bulwer's production, that name alone being quite a sufficient guarantee for its success, but with a saving clause, that should by any mischance (though such a thing was almost impossible) the play not succeed in representation, the money was to be returned! Mr. Bunn gave a flat negative. Ye gods! Here is a state secret, a negotiation of the most confidential description carried on with the dramatic autocrat of the day, disclosed in the face of the world without the slightest apology! By right it ought not to have come out for at least a hundred years. But Mr. Bunn is no respecter of proprieties. To his shame it must be said that he would not wed the *Duchesse de la Valiere* by proxy, and that to the *Lady of Lyons*, he infinitely preferred the lions of Van Amburgh.

Our learned friend Mr. Serjeant Talfourd, comes out of Mr. Bunn's ordeal with dramatic honours almost as much faded

as the tinsel turban in which we have seen Maudane more than once enacted. In the preface to his *Ion*,—at least in one of his prefaces to that tragedy, originally printed only for “private circulation,” intended never to be produced on the stage—the serjeant vowed that the said drama was composed by him in the leisure hours of his travels upon circuit, and that whereas it would not remain in his head mixed up with *Nisi prius* cases, he was under the necessity of having resort to the printer in order to get rid of it. Somehow or other *Ion* escaped into Macready’s hands, and, the serjeant *volente volente*, Macready presented it to the play-going portion of our population, who applauded it with so much vigour, that the grave lawyer became amazed at his own success. Since then the muse claims all his vacations as her own. One of the best portraits we have of Garrick is said to be that in which he appears pulled on one side by Tragedy, on the other by Comedy. The genii of Melodrama and of the Common Pleas endeavouring to seduce Mr. Talfourd to their respective dominions, would form a fitting frontispiece for a new edition of *Glencoe*, if we are to believe all that is said of him by Mr. Bunn.

Amidst many truths which the ex-emperor of Covent Garden and Drury Lane should perhaps not have told, he has however mingled not a few which, as affecting the destinies of the stage itself, are of importance to the writer who is disposed to treat that subject in a philosophic point of view. It is a question not yet fully discussed, to what kind of age in the progress of man’s transition from mere barbarism to all the refinement of which his intellect is susceptible in this life, the greatest quantum of histrionic enjoyment may be said to belong. The cart of Thespis had its day, which often “drew,” as Mr. Bunn would say, when Æschylus did not. Even in the time in which we live (we blush to relate it), we have witnessed more genuine bursts of laughter at the street performance of Punch and Judy, than at the representation of some modern comedies, which, to use the language of the playbills, were “to be repeated every evening in consequence of the transcendently triumphant acclamations with which they had been hailed.” It is very certain that plays which rivet the enthusiastic attention of French and German audiences from the first scene to the last, would infallibly send John Bull to sleep before the commencement of the third act; and before the fifth could be begun, would be completely “off-off-offed” to the tomb of all the Capulets.

Even Shakspeare no longer attracts money to the treasury of our theatres. This is a fact which both Mr. Bunn and Mr. Macready have proved, to their cost, to be indisputable. It is true that Macbeth, Othello, Lear and Hamlet, may for a season produce good houses when played by a new performer, who, like Charles Kean for instance, puts on a tone of earnestness, and displays characteristics of superior talent. But the crowds which the novelty of the debutant assembles soon grow thin—the charm passes away, and even a trip to America has lost its effect in freshening up the withered laurels of the most successful modern aspirants to the vacant throne of the drama.

In a psychological sense the mind of England has undoubtedly lost completely its relish for the stage. This result may be accounted for upon various grounds. Some of these are apparent to the most superficial enquiry. Two great sources of excitement predominate—politics and money. The House of Commons, the Stock Exchange and Lloyd's, never fail to command the attention of those classes of men amongst us, who in other countries are the principal supporters of the drama. It is a well ascertained fact, that whenever a session occurs of more than ordinary agitation at Westminster, the theatres of London are literally abandoned, while those of Paris overflow whenever an *émeute*, or even a "revolution" is impending or in progress. This fact may stand in place of a dissertation. What cares an underwriter at Lloyd's, for a mimic storm at Drury Lane, whose fortunes depend on the caprice of real tempests at sea? And the speculator deeply embarked in "Spanish" or the Consols, what cares he for all the Shylocks that ever trod the stage? We would at any time back the execution of a Courvoisier for an assemblage of the proudest nobles and ladies of the land, and gentry and mobility of every degree, against the tortures of Pierre, or the agonies even of the most beautiful Juliet that ever died upon the boards of Covent Garden.

Then our dinner hours, our cold evening air at (we may say) all seasons of the year, our comfortable houses, our domestic habits, our well educated children, books, music, dinner parties, which, though dull, cannot be avoided, our dancing meetings which are essential to the hopes of mothers and unmarried daughters, our numerous families so entirely devoted to what are called "serious" occupations,—these and many other causes, added to the dearth of histrionic genius, and the utter worthlessness of all modern dramatic compositions,—one

or two of those of Mr. Knowles perhaps excepted,—have combined, together with the vastness of our national theatres, in which few can hear what is said upon the stage without ear trumpets, to ruin the adventurers who attempt to force dramatic entertainments down the thorax of John Bull.

“The paths of glory lead but to the grave.”

“Take care of what you are about,” said Mr. Bunn (as he was one fine morning on his way to the city), to a friend of his who was supposed to be engaged in negotiating for a lease of one of the great theatres,—“Take care of what you are about, or you will soon go to the place for which I am now bound.” “What place is that?” “The Bankruptcy Court.”

Perhaps another decisive reason for our general desertion of the houses of dramatic exhibition is, the very general taste that has within the last ten or fifteen years especially grown up amongst us for music of a superior character. Besides the Italian Opera, which has received the support of the most brilliant performers in Europe, the German Opera has found in this country, and we may add, very deservedly, many admirers. There is scarcely a morning or evening of the week on which there are not concerts during the fashionable season in London, and they are in general extremely well attended. During the autumn we hear of musical festivals in succession in most of the principal towns, which our new facilities for loco-motion allow to be sustained by the most celebrated singers. Go to one of these assemblages, and in the evening of the same day enter the local play house, and the miserable shew of empty boxes proves that the national taste for the drama may be said to have completely passed away.

The enormous salaries now given to musical artists of the first-class, shew beyond all doubt the decadence of every other source of attraction to our theatres; and yet it is in the midst of their rivalries in this respect, that dramatic performers, who believe themselves to be indispensable to the stage, have set up pretensions to reward upon a similarly extravagant scale. When the talent of Kean first (1814) made itself conspicuous, he was contented to enter into an agreement for three years, at £8, £9, and £10 per week. The committee of Drury-Lane finding that the nights of his performance brought to their treasury sums seldom much under £500 per night, very handsomely cancelled that contract, and gave him £20 per week. On the termination of his engagement he stipulated for, and received down to the close of his career, no less a sum than £50 per night, and this too during a considerable period when

his genius having fallen into decay, and his character having been blighted by vices too gross for description in these pages, the theatre which he had once adorned by his unrivalled abilities was, to the honour of the public taste and feeling be it said, utterly abandoned. The fatal trial of *Cox v. Kean* completely ruined him in public estimation. He felt this blow deeply at his heart. The following note which he addressed to a very worthy man, his secretary, from his cottage in the Isle of Bute, where the reckless companion of his guilt resided with him, is too remarkable to be passed over. That depraved woman had used Phillips with so much indignity that he was obliged to quit the cottage. From a neighbouring inn, while waiting for a coach, he wrote a letter to the tragedian, detailing what had occurred, to which the miserable slave of crime made this most affecting reply:—

“ Dear Phillips,

“ I am shocked, but not surprised. In error I was born, in error I have lived, in error I shall die. That a gentleman should be insulted under my roof creates a blush I shall carry with me to my grave; and that you are so in every sense of the word, is unquestionable; from education, habits, and manners. It is too true that I have fostered a worm until it has become a viper. But my guilt is on my head. Farewell!

Yours,

ED. KEAN.”

The statistics of salaries given to theatrical performers from time to time are curious:—

“ In the season of 1821-22, Mr. Charles Young had a *weekly* salary of 20*l.* at Covent Garden Theatre, and in the following year he had a *nightly* one of the same amount at Drury Lane; a scale of remuneration according to which he was paid, until his retirement from the stage. In the very height of their popularity, such actors as Munden, Fawcett, Quick, Edwin, Irish Johnstone, &c., had 14*l.* a week; Lewis, as actor and manager, 20*l.* per week, and in January 1812, Matthews, *the Matthews*, the most extraordinary actor that ever lived, says, in a letter to Mrs. Matthews on the subject of a proposed engagement at Covent Garden Theatre. ‘Now to my offer, which I think STUPENDOUS AND MAGNIFICENT,—17*l.* per week.’ John Kemble, for acting and managing, had a weekly salary of 36*l.*; Miss O’Neil’s salary, at the beginning of her brilliant career, was 15*l.* and never exceeded 25*l.* per week; George Cooke (greatly attractive) had 20*l.* per week; Mrs. Jordan’s salary, in the zenith of her popularity, was 31*l.* 10*s.* per week; Mr. Charles Kemble, until he became his own manager, never had more than 20*l.* per week; Dowton had 12*l.*, and never more than 20*l.* per week. Up to 1822, (and during the greater part of her career to that period she was highly attractive), Miss Stevens (the present Dowager-Countess of

Emex) had 20*l.* per week; but in the following season at Drury Lane, she was paid at the rate of 60*l.* per week. In 1822, Mr. Macready had 20*l.* per week; and in 1832, and up to 1837, (barring an interregnum alluded to in a preceding chapter), he had 30*l.* per week, and in 1839 he had the modesty to demand, and to receive 25*l.* per NIGHT. In 1832, Mr. Power had 20*l.* per week; he is now, and for some time past has been, in the receipt of 120*l.* per week. In 1822, Mr. Farren had 16*l.* per week; in 1832, 30*l.* per week, and at present receives 40*l.* per week. In 1822, Mr. Liston had 17*l.* per week; he then sprung up to 50*l.* and 60*l.* per week, and finally had 20*l.* per night. Miss Ellen Tree, when engaged with me to play at both theatres, and eventually only at one, had 15*l.* per week; she went to America, stayed there two seasons, and returned to stipulate for, and to receive, 25*l.* per night."—vol. i. pp. 62-65.

These latter are undoubtedly extravagant salaries. It seems impossible that any theatre, which is not filled to overflow night after night, could pay them, without imposing upon itself the most imminent danger of soon becoming bankrupt. There is no doubt that this large diversion of the funds from the remuneration of managers and authors to the pay of actors, must have had a serious effect upon dramatic writing in this country. Mr. Bunn's details upon this subject have exposed some of the causes of the falling off in these latter years, so conspicuous in our theatrical literature:—

"Within the last fifty years, and until within the last twenty, these gentlemen were enabled to obtain a comfortable living, and by virtue thereof contributed to the amusement of the public, the benefit of the performers and manager, and the general advancement of the drama. The late George Colman received 1,000*l.* for the comedy of *John Bull*, which averaged a receipt of 470*l.* a night for forty-seven nights, and realized a profit of 10,000*l.*; Mr. Morton received 1,000*l.* for *Town and Country*; Mrs. Inchbald received 800*l.* for *Wives as they Were*; Mr. Reynolds received for the *Blind Bargain* and *Out of Place*, in the same season, 1,000*l.*—(N.B. This last named author, from commencing early, has, during his successful career, made by dramatic literature the unprecedented amount of 21,000*l.*); and sums comparatively equal, have been repeatedly realised by others. Inasmuch as the authors are the very keystone of the building, so ought they to be proportionably remunerated; but the case is quite different. There is in this vast metropolis but a certain portion, and that a very small one, of theatrical money—money that finds its way from the pocket of the patron into that of the playhouse; and unless that portion be equitably distributed, in the absence of all assistance from government, the principal theatres must go to ruin.

"It is pretty evident that NOVELTY (the sole support of the stage), unless it makes its appearance in some new performer, which is rarely the case, can only be hoped for in an author; and although it is equally

evident that the said 'novelty' must be purveyed by the said performer, the obligations are so mutual as to put to the blush the present disgraceful disparity of payment between the one and the other. To this shameful disparity may be attributed in a great degree the falling off in our dramatic literature; for, as our original dramatists can, for the most part, obtain a much greater remuneration by composition for periodical publications, than they can upon the scene of their *quondam* glory, so the managers, from the impossibility of paying actor and author on the same scale, are compelled to apply to translators and adapters, and support their own upon the resources of a foreign stage.

"With the exception, perhaps, of that excellent man and eminent dramatist, Knowles, who can never be paid too much for his works, the principal theatres can no longer hold out sufficient inducement to scholars and men of genius to enter their arena, hemmed in, as they would be sure to find themselves, between the dictation of the performers on the one side, and their salaries on the other—the former humiliating to the author's pride, and the latter emptying his pocket."—vol. i. pp. 69-71.

Another great drawback upon the prosperity of our national theatres, is the modern system of giving "orders," which has grown to be one of the most inevitable obstacles in the way of their profitable administration. There are so many to whom, from one cause or another, free admissions must be conceded, that an apparently full house very often produces a wonderfully disproportionate return in money. Performers always stipulate for a certain number. The quantity bestowed upon the press, in return for flattering criticisms, or for a reduced price of advertisements, is also very great. Should a head-strong manager refuse orders to some of the "press" gentry, he must make up his mind to have his best exertions for the amusement of the public assailed week after week, with untiring animosity. Mr. Bunn states that, during one short season alone, from the 17th of May to the 12th of July, 1824, Mr. Robertson, then treasurer to Messrs. C. Kemble, Willett, and Forbes, wrote no fewer than 11,003 orders, chiefly for admission to the boxes, which, calculated at the rate of 7s. each, amounts to the sum of £3,851. 1s. It is stated that these orders were issued principally with the view of supporting Mr. C. Kemble in the course of ambition by which he was at that time actuated, to obtain the highest degree of celebrity for his position in the dramatic world. No doubt this was one cause of the extraordinary number of gratuitous admissions then lavished upon the town. But there are those who can tell of other causes for this prodigality, of a much more questionable character. To attract young men to the theatre, it became necessary to crowd the saloons with women, whose

characters it is not expedient to describe. It is well known that this *policy* (though we will not say that it was known to Mr. Charles Kemble) had its defenders at Covent Garden theatre.

Indeed, in running over the direct causes for the decline of the habit of play-going in this country, we should not fail to enumerate the unblushing display of vice made in the upper boxes and saloons night after night. We know not whether this most infamous source of allurements has been latterly corrected to any material extent; but the period is certainly not remote, when it was impossible for a respectable family to attend any of the theatres in a quiet comfortable manner, without being exposed to intrusions of the most indecent description. Language and conduct of a kind fit only for the most abandoned circles of existence, were to be heard and witnessed, frequently even in what are called the dress-circles. No wonder that, all these causes combining to the destruction of the national theatres, these establishments have now become ruinous to every man who ventures to speculate upon them as a mode of making money.

The following results of order-giving are very ludicrous:—

“ In further evidence of the dangerous tendency of such practice, it very frequently happens that the parties to whom you give orders, particularly if they happen to be performers, congratulate their manager on there being a fine house, at the very time a little reflection would convince them that the appearance such house assumed was created by the free admissions which they and others had received. Give an author a number of orders for the support of his play, and from the vociferation of his friends, by virtue of such orders, he not only dates its complete success, but maintains that it has been productive to the treasury—at least, FROM THE APPEARANCE OF THE HOUSE. Give an actor orders, and if hissed by every other person in the theatre, save those to whom he entrusted them, he will stoutly argue he was applauded throughout the evening. Give them to a tradesman, and, seeing a full house, without reflecting that half of its audience paid the same admission money by which he got in himself, he will call the next day for his “little bill,” because there was so numerous an audience the night before. I once gave admissions to a gentleman for himself and family; and having some legal business to transact for me, he came behind the scenes for a few minutes between the play and farce, to speak to me, and then returned to his party. When his bill of costs was, sometime after, sent in, one of the items ran thus:—‘To attending you in your room at the theatre, 6s. 8d.’ (the night he and his household entered free); but then, as Doctor Johnson said, in reply to an inquiry as to who such a gentleman was, ‘I am afraid he is an ATTORNEY!’

“ It is an impression with many, that a given quantity of orders

brings along with it a given quantity of money. I doubt it; and it is impossible, I should say, that it can ever bring the quantity it keeps away; for out of the 3851*l.* worth of admissions gratuitously distributed, according to the foregoing declaration, at least one half of the amount might have found its way into the treasury of the theatre. Then the trouble entailed upon a theatre by these courtesies is beyond belief. Those who apply for them, seldom do so unless the entertainments to be seen are attractive; and though at the moment such applications are made you happen to be very much occupied on matters calculated to aid the exchequer, if you do not instantly attend to matters that cannot aid it at all, you are set down for an ill-bred upstart, in every respect unfit for your situation. Taken altogether, the ORDER SYSTEM is one of the most thankless, troublesome, and injurious of the many duties devolving on the manager of a theatre."—Vol. i. pp. 84-6.

Among the many expedients which have been attempted with a view to attract the public to the national theatres, was the lowering of the prices of admission, from seven shillings to four shillings for the boxes, and so in proportion for the other parts of the house. The prices of admission to our principal theatres are nearly double those which the play-goers pay in any other country, and it was therefore, not perhaps unreasonably supposed, that if the doors were thrown open upon more economical terms, the taste for theatricals might be revived to the extent which prevailed in the days of Garrick and Cooke, and Siddons. In his evidence before the parliamentary committee upon the state of the drama, Charles Kemble being asked whether, in his opinion, a reduction in the prices of admission would be likely to improve the fortunes of the theatres? his answer was, that in his opinion such an alteration would not have any such effect, that in the long run it would not bring one additional person to the attendants in the boxes. Mr. Charles Kemble was, nevertheless, the first who resolved upon trying this experiment, in contradiction to his strong impressions on the subject, and the result was a total failure.

The fact is, John Bull is not an advocate for cheap amusements. It is a part of his pride to pay liberally for his enjoyments, for there is, as every body is well aware, a strong aristocracy of the purse, which has its own well-marked circles in our society. In all the externals of equipage and dress, they like to vie with the circles of birth and station above them. But they have an absolute horror of being seen in the same seat with their own shopmen, or with the order of mere "pretty well to do people," from which they have themselves only recently emerged. Tell them that instead of seven shil-

lings, they will only have to pay five shillings for a place in the boxes of a theatre, and they will immediately calculate that the amusement thus cheapened is no longer worth going to see.

Mr. Bunn has thought fit to bestow many of the pages of his desultory and often amusing pages on the eccentricities of the late unfortunate Malibran. He has published several of her whimsical letters, addressed to him on various occasions. These productions unhappily shew the "spoiled child" of nature in every respect, and betray the almost inevitable perils to which a female of brilliant talent is exposed upon the stage.

It is, however, no part of our province to assume the chair of the moralist, when dealing with works such as those now before us. We must take the world as we find it, leaving the correction of evil to those who can choose their time and their place for such high duty, and deriving from the fleeting literature of the hour, such amusement as it is capable of yielding. To mark, as we go along, the dangers that await the young and careless, may be of use, even though we glance at them in a very cursory manner. There is perhaps no gift of genius more liable to lead to destruction, than those connected with the vocal powers. The admiration which they are so certain to call forth, the thousand flatteries which they heap upon the young aspirant to fame, the charm which they really possess, and the slender guard which protects the innocence of females constantly exposed to the public eye, undoubtedly render all such endowments exceedingly precarious in their consequences. There has been scarcely any eminent female singer of our time, or we might add, perhaps, of any other, who can be said to have passed uninjured through the ordeal of public admiration.

Amongst Malibran's odd tastes, was a most ungovernable fondness for porter! Mr. Bunn thus discloses her frailty in this respect.

"If to have been the humble medium of introducing to the public an entertainment of so delightful a nature, of bringing before them, in all the splendour of her unrivalled powers, such an extraordinary creature as this artiste, be the proudest and the brightest recollection of far departed years of memory, during a long theatrical career, the knowledge that the *Maid of Artois* was the *first* and unhappily the *last* original character portrayed by the enchantress on this stage, and the last character she performed on any stage, presents a sorrowful

contrast. Every cord of the heart vibrates, by any recurrence to the slightest associations of this charming actress, with the character in which she so fascinated her beholders.

It may be, therefore, an acceptable diversion from the painful details which we shall have to enter upon, to record a humorous incident which led to the thrilling, the more than brilliant, the not-to-be-forgotten execution, by Madame Malibran, of the finale to this opera. I had occasion during this last rehearsal but one, to express myself in strong terms at her leaving the stage for more than an hour and a half, to go and gain £25 at a morning concert. Neither the concerted pieces of music, nor the situations of the drama in which she was involved, could possibly be proceeded with, and the great stake we were then contending for, was likely to be placed in jeopardy by an unworthy grasp at a few pounds, to the prejudice of a theatre paying her nightly five times as much. She knew she had done wrong, and she atoned for it by her genius, while her pride would not have permitted her to do so. She had borne along the two first acts on the first night of performance in such a flood of triumph, that she was bent, by some almost superhuman effort, to continue its glory to the final fall of the curtain. I went into her dressing-room previous to the commencement of the third act, to ask how she felt, and she replied, 'Very tired, but,' (and here her eye of fire suddenly lighted up,) 'you angry devil, if you will contrive to get me a pint of porter in the desert scene, you shall have an encore to your finale.' Had I been dealing with any other performer, I should perhaps have hesitated in complying with a request, that might have been dangerous in its application at the moment; but to check *her* powers was to annihilate them. I therefore arranged, that behind the pile of drifted sand, on which she falls in a state of exhaustion, towards the close of the desert scene, a small aperture should be made in the stage; and it is a fact, that from underneath the stage, through that aperture, a pewter pint of porter was conveyed to the parched lips of this rare child of song, which so revived her, after the terrible exertion the scene led to, that she electrified the audience, and had strength to repeat the charm, with the finale to the *Maid of Artois*. The novelty of the circumstance so tickled her fancy, and the draught itself was so extremely refreshing, that it was arranged, during the subsequent run of the opera, for the negro slave at the head of the governor's procession, to have in the gourd suspended to his neck, the same quantity of the same beverage, to be applied to her lips, on his first beholding the apparently dying *Isoline*.—vol. ii. pp. 67-70.

We can very well understand that the difficulties of a manager in dealing with authors, are often of a very unwelcome character. The number of tragedies, comedies, farces, and all sorts of dramatic entertainments sent to him for inspection in the course of a year, is truly surprising, considering the few

of the whole which eventually turn out to be capable of representation. Only think of one play alone covering a space of six hundred pages, one of the principal incidents in which, is a sort of love scene between Diana and the Man in the Moon ! While upon this subject we cannot refrain from giving a list of various dramatic productions which were passed in review by Morton, the late play-reader to Drury-lane :—

" *Paired off*.—The plan, characters, and dialogue of this piece, are by no means objectionable, but I fear it is not up to the mark, for the breadth necessary for a one-act piece. The part intended for Mrs. Glover is tame, and what she *could* or *would* do nothing with.

" *Nicolas Pedrossa*.—Sad stuff, to be returned.

" *The Adventurers*.—Not worth adventuring, sure to be damned.

" *Saucy Alceste*.—This piece must belong to my worthy friend Thompson. I have unhappily wrecked so many of his pieces, that my spirit is grieved when I am compelled to say, I do not think this up to the mark. Do a good-natured action, by doing an ill-natured one ; take the burthen of refusal on your own sufficient shoulders, for poor as I am, I would give five guineas, if I could honestly say the *Saucy Alceste* would be wasted into Port Drury, by the *aura popularis* of public favour.

" *Perversion*.—Cannot be acted.

" *Theory and Practice*.—The subject of this play is paper-money, but the author's MSS. can never be changed into cash.

" *The Chimney-pieces*.—Is a fair farce, and smartly written ; the only danger in the piece is, the FAR TOO FREQUENT mention of Mrs. Horn. A certain author says, ' push the duke as far as he'll go ; ' Mrs. Horn is pushed too far, and verifies Sheridan's words, ' when these fellows get hold of a good thing, they never know when they've enough of it.' I have pencilled at the end a finishing speech, which, if the author pleases, is at his service. (N.B. This was by Rodwell, and was played with much success.—A.B.)

" *The Way to get Mad*.—May be returned to Mr. Heaven-knows-who, for I can't even make out the author's name, but his address is —.

" *Woman*.—An elegant bit of French comedy, the intrigue clever, the dialogue smart and nimble. In the hands of Gautier, Lafont, and Leontine Fay, it could not fail of being effective—but, (d—n it, there's always a ' but') Sir Harry Hutton would be far too gay for Farren, and Cooper could not be feathery enough for Sir George, nor would the blandishments of *Lady Emily* be ably sustained by Miss Phillips. Its merit (could it be well played,) I think, entitles it to a hearing ; but whether that hearing would reward the theatre, you as a manager must determine.

" *Everybody's Relation*.—I cannot be in love with the piece, whatever I might be with the lady-writer.

"*Whitefeet*.—This piece is quite unfitted for representation.

"*Oratory Tablet*.—This I had read, but the contents had escaped my recollection,—a bad sign. It is another sad instance of the misapplication of powers to an ungrateful subject. In my opinion its acceptance could answer no good purpose to either manager or author.

"*The Iron Shroud*.—Avoid it.

"*Radulph*.—An old acquaintance, but he does not improve upon it.

"*Panthea*.—Read the last page! (I did so, and found that six people stabbed themselves in less than six minutes, and four of them were eunuchs! A. B.)

"*The Ballot*.—Written by O'Keefe in 1809, when nothing was left of his genius but its irregularities and its vulgarities.

"*The Baron*.—Written by his daughter; contains many snatches of talent, but overlaid by mystery and quantity.

"*Edelbert*.—Respectably written, but of what use to Drury-lane would a respectable *Saxon TRAGEDY* be? Certainly none.

"*The Assassin*.—Is unskilful and unavailable.

"*The Day of Mishaps*.—A farce in one act. Should this piece be started, it could only live by its activity. It is a stage-coach, and though without a drag, it would not be overturned, but I could not warrant it a run,—perhaps *I've lost my place* might be a smarter title to it.

"*Imbio or the Requital*.—Nonsense.

"*The Refusal*.—No better.

"*The Nervous Man*.—A farce re-written, introducing a new first act, with a new character for Power. I think it improved by the alteration; if you think with me, I suppose the Dons Farren and Power must be consulted. (Written by Bernard, and acted with much success. A: B.)

"*Prince of Naples*.—Won't do, any one but you.

"*The Two Catherines*.—The perusal took me more time to understand than half-a-dozen better ones; and after all the riddle was not worth finding out. It cannot be used.

"*Pyramus and Thisbe*.—This I have seen or read somewhere; it is whimsical and fairly farcical, but this *dissection* of the stage I have never seen answer.

"*The Post Obit of Fame*.

"DEAR BUNN.—This sad evidence of the wreck of genius, made me melancholy; you may say, when the age is in the wit is out. I deny it, and am proving it, by achieving what no existing author dare attempt, namely, a five act comedy.—T. M.'

"*One Fool makes Many*.—The author, I am sorry to say, is one of 'the many.'

"*The Dead Alive*.—Quite hopeless.

"*Murdoch, Mc Griffin and O'Dogharty in Spain*.—The merit this piece has, consists in an intimate knowledge of the manners, localities,

and habits of the Spaniards—warlike and domestic—but the essentials of passion and dramatic interest are not in sufficient force. I think the author overrates his Irish hero. He has called on me, telling me Power has reduced the piece from five to two acts, ‘at one fell swoop;’ it might not be condemned, but could not be attractive.

“*Matilda de Shabran*.—If an opinion (supported by experience) be true, viz. that no music will succeed, unless bottomed by a good drama, then this piece is hopeless:—next, in reply to the convertability of the music into *Roxalana*, I should say it could not effectively be done, for the sultan is purely comic. The music of this piece must be, from the nature of this piece, heroic, warlike; for there are dangerous battlements, and the other clamorous accompaniments, which could not fit what is positively comedy. As for my piece on the subject, I (as you may guess,) converted the *Comedy* into *Farce*, which removes to a greater distance the character of the two pieces. Mine was all *breadth* and *breeches* for Madame Vestris.

“*Swamp Hall*.—This piece I have either read or seen, as all the circumstances are familiar to me. Won’t do at all.

“*The Baby*.—Hasty and trivial; the inviting thing is the title, which I think a good one; but the business is common-place.

“*Podesta*.—This play could not be advantageously acted. The plot is complicated, to an audience inexplicable; it has all the confusion of an Italian feud, but none of the grandeur of a *Fiesco* or a *Foscari*. There is some poetry, some dramatic power, and some dramatic situations, but not enough to balance the defects.

“*By the King’s Order*.—A bustling affair, but very dangerous. As when there is any hope, however small, I never wish to exclude it, it may be worth while for you to run it over. (N.B. I *did* run it over, and found none.—A.B.)

“*Marriage-à-la-Mode*.—As far as embodying the pictures of Hogarth, the piece is well contrived, but the agency of dialogue is very dull, and unrelieved by the least gleam of gaiety. A recollection of the paintings will convince you, that coarseness and the tragic effects of adultery and murder, are dangerous tools to handle dramatically. As a drama, (independently of pictorial reference) it is very humble.

“*Women as they are*.—Are very bad.”—vol. iii. pp. 157-62.

We have already alluded to Sir Edward Bulwer’s somewhat high-toned pretensions of having one of his dramatic productions not only accepted for representation, but absolutely paid for in advance, before the party who was to make the said advance, could even get a sight of the play, so as to enable him to form the slightest estimate of its value. The demand of Sir Edward can hardly be considered reasonable in any point of view. At the same time we must repeat our opinion, that the publication of the worthy baronet’s letter, is far from being

justifiable. We do not imagine that we can incur any blame in transferring the said amusing epistle to these pages, inasmuch as it is now before the world, and our readers may as well have a laugh at it as any others of the tribe denominated, time out of mind, the "gentle." Should they however feel any qualms of conscience upon the subject, all they have to do is to shake their heads, look particularly scrupulous, and pass as speedily as possible over the next page or two, in order to escape the insinuating temptation.

"In the beginning of March, this said year of 1836, Mr. Macready came into my room, and with a self-satisfied smile said, 'What will you give for a first-rate play, by a first-rate man?'

" 'A first-rate price,' said I, 'and who's your friend.'

" 'I am not at liberty to mention names,' answered he.

" 'Then send me the piece, and you shall have my answer in four-and twenty-hours,' said I.

" 'I do not think the author will do that,' rejoined he.

" 'Pray, have you read it?' inquired Pilgarlick.

" 'I have, and think very highly of it,' answered he.

" 'Well, doctors, you know, may differ, and I should like to know upon what grounds, I, who have all the risk to run, am to be deprived of the same opportunity of judging accorded to you, who are a comparative cipher in the affair,' said I.

" 'Well, well, I understand you are free then to receive the play, and I will therefore see the author, try and get his permission to mention his name, and give you some idea of his terms,' ejaculated Mr. Macready, and out he went.

"The following day brought another interview, at which Mr. Macready conveyed to me the important intelligence that the author was no less a personage than *Edward Lytton Bulwer*; that he required a considerable sum to be paid down on the delivery of the manuscript, and that the communication was to be considered altogether private! I took the liberty of saying, that although Mr. Bulwer might be considered a first-rate novelist, he could not possibly be considered a first-rate dramatist, and that I declined making any such blind bargain. We parted on the understanding that I should write my sentiments on the business part of this interview to Mr. Bulwer, which I instantly did, to which I received the following reply:—

" 'Albany, March 7, 1836.

" 'SIR—Before I reply to the more business-part of your letter, allow me to set both parties right with regard to a seeming misunderstanding. *I made* no communications. I rather imagine I was the person who *received* them. I had an offer from another theatre. Previous to my decision, I felt obliged (according to an old promise) to show the play to Mr. Macready, and, *in some measure to allow him the first choice!* Mr. Macready professed himself so much pleased with the play, that he wrote me word he would speak to you, concealing my

name. He afterwards called on me, and made certain propositions, which I considered fair and liberal, but which I was obliged to modify in some instances—viz., to limit the copyright to the theatre to three years, and to require a certain portion of the money on giving the MS., though perfectly willing, should the play fail of an adequate run, to return it.

“With regard to showing the MS. to you, sir, in your capacity of manager, while I allow it quite natural in you to wish to see the play before you produce it! yet, having in no instance, since my first publication, allowed the purchaser to inspect any work of mine in MS., having always found such reputation as I may possess a sufficient guarantee for its contents; so, on the other hand, it is natural for me not to depart from a rule, hitherto carefully maintained on one side, and cheerfully complied with on the other. Nor can it be from any want of respect for your judgment, or deficiency in courtesy to yourself, that I am compelled to adhere to this maxim! Had I the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, and had you not been the manager of the theatre! I might naturally have wished to benefit from the suggestions of a longer dramatic experience than my own.

“I fear, as it is, that our difference upon this point will constitute an insuperable objection to arrangements between us, unless any middle course could be suggested, which is only likely to arise from a personal interview on the matter. At present I shall take leave to consider the negotiation begun by Mr. Macready at an end; and have the honour to be, sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“E. L. BULWER.

“P.S.—When I consented to the request of Mr. Macready to mention to you my name, I did so on the understanding, which, no doubt, he communicated to you, that it was a strictly private and confidential communication.”

“The one great point of requiring me to buy what the profane call a pig in a poke, not being conceded, the matter, after a letter or two more, dropped.”—vol. ii. pp. 169-73.

In the course of his amusing volumes, Mr. Bunn endeavours to defend himself against the attacks of those critics who have accused him of doing all he could, during his managerial reign, to ruin the public taste for what is called the “legitimate” drama, and to substitute, for enjoyment supposed to be yielded by that class of our national literature, the grosser entertainments derivable from Van Amburgh’s lions, the Bayaderes, and all that apocryphal species of exhibition, described as fitted only for Bartholemew’s fair. Our author, in support of his defence, enumerates many “legitimate” tragedies, comedies, operas, and farces, which were performed on the boards under his superintendence. He further appeals to the splendid style of new scenic decorations with which

Mr. Macready produced, at Covent Garden, most of Shakespeare's compositions; and he concludes, from the comparative failures with which their respective exertions for the renewal of a pure taste in the public mind upon this subject, that it would have been a mere waste of money, and an abandonment of every hope of fortune, upon his part, if he were to persevere in offering to the town enjoyments which they had no disposition to appreciate. We confess that we can discover no good answer to the *argumentum ad crumenam*. If the crowd prefer the lions to the Othellos and the Romeos, it is not Mr. Bunn's fault. To do him justice, we really think that he is possessed of a right taste in theatrical matters, and that he had every desire to put the stage upon a high-toned footing, if he could possibly have done so. But the fates were against him. The drama, we suspect, has dropped its yellow leaf in our land—the tree has withered, never again to feel the return of a real spring.

Such tragedies as those already produced by the prolific pen of Mr. Talfourd, and the applauses with which they have been received, instead of encouraging us to expect better days in this respect, on the contrary, extinguish the little sparks of hope which had lingered in our dramatic horizon. His *Ion*, by far the boldest and most energetic exertion of his muse, was noticed by us, on its first appearance, in considerable detail. We imagine we then demonstrated that piece to be one of those examples of vicious writing, replete to the eye of the just critic with every possible fault in attempts at fine poetic composition; and that it was, of itself, a sort of storehouse of conceits and insipidities, for such a critic to draw upon whenever he might have occasion to warn his pupils against the dangers to which an unformed style is exposed. Nor have we since varied in our judgment upon that play, although it is still produced now and then upon the stage, and is spoken of by Mr. Talfourd's admirers as a "master-piece." The jargon of coteries has always been the bane of our current literature; and when we remember that even Haley and Glover had their "day" of renown, we are not to be astonished at anything.

We presume it will be granted that the *Athenian Captive* was an utter failure, and that although *Glencoe* has been saved for a season by some few effective melo-dramatic situations towards the closing scenes, it is, as a composition, literally despicable.

The story of *Glencoe* is so well known, that we need not

fatigue the reader by reminding him of that degrading page in the annals of England. The two first acts are mere talk, partly for the purpose of making up the requisite number of five acts, partly of telling us that *Mac Ian*, the chief of the clan of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, had gone to Fort William to tender his oath of allegiance, for the sake of preserving his kindred from the sentence of destruction that had gone forth against them—his mistake as to the proper authority—and his hastening to Inverary, in order to be within the time for performing the obligation. The scene opens in the hall of the chief, situated in the lower part of the Glen, where we find his two sons, *John* and *Alaster*, sitting “pensively” at a table, a turf fire burning near them—time, midnight—and a storm raging without. *Alaster* would have preferred standing out against the new sovereign. *John* argues in favour of prudence, and takes occasion to give an outline of the character of *Halbert*, the future hero of the tragedy, their cousin, already deeply in love with *Helen Campbell*, the niece of *Captain Robert Campbell*, who was then on his march to the glen, for the purpose of carrying into execution the rigid orders of the court. This is followed by a long narrative of the death-bed scene of *Halbert’s* father—a rival chieftain of the clan—the said narrative having nothing whatever to do with the main action of the tragedy, except in so far as it introduces the shadowy form of a witch, who foretells the destruction of the whole clan, unless *Halbert* sacrifices the ambition which he derived from his father, to raise himself to be its leader. He does give up his aspirations, accordingly, and subsides into the condition of a gentle lover of *Helen Campbell*—a passion in which, however, he has a rival in the person of his own brother, *Henry*.

Let us pause here for a moment, and contemplate the points of interest which the author proposes to us during the progress of the piece. Foremost in his view is, as he expresses himself in his preface, the exhibition of “the features of the stupendous glen,” especially “the spot where the tower and chapel of *Halbert* are supposed to be placed; that is beneath the mountain summit called the Pap of Glencoe, towards which a huge gully leads, or seems to lead, from the bed of the river, and where, enclosed amidst the black rocks, in the darkness of which that gully is lost, far above the glen, ~~may~~ be the site of such a rude dwelling.” Another great point of interest our tragedian imagines also he has found in “the house of *Mac Ian*, supposed to be, where no doubt it was, in the lower and wider part of the glen, where by the

side of the Cona, the wild myrtle grows in great profusion, about two miles to the south east of Loch Leven." Now how it could have entered into the head of a somewhat practised play-writer, that he ought to place the "chief interest" of his production in the display of any natural *scenery*, however attractive it might be in itself, we are quite at a loss to conjecture. As an auxiliary to the movement of the action, as a fair pretext for the decoration of a drama in performance, —wild passes and gullies, and waterfalls, and projecting masses of mountain, may be serviceable. But to look to these scenic subsidiaries as the principal features of a tragedy, betrays at once the shallow comprehension the author must have of the object which it should be his aim to achieve, viz., the incessant direction of the mind of his audience to a given catastrophe, by means of incidents in a story, which shall lead in due and rapid succession from the first glimpse he gives them of his purpose until the final fall of the curtain. Only think of a tragedy being written in order that the author might prate about a mountain. No wonder that out of it runs the *ridiculus mus*!

It is not merely the mistake that Mr. Talfourd has made in fixing upon his "chief point of interest," of which we complain, but also because his elaborate descriptions of this rocky scenery are in themselves exceedingly tiresome, often in bad taste, and always come flat upon the ear of a spectator who goes to the theatre to see actors engaged in the business and hurry of the stage, not in the office of pointing as it were with wands to pictures, describing natural beauties or sublimities which ought to be left to tell their own tale, and win by their own attraction. For instance, at the first meeting between Halbert and the old chieftain, immediately after the latter had returned from Inverary—where he had taken the oath of allegiance *too late*, when every body in the drama ought to be thinking of the consequences to be apprehended, or hailing the old man on his safe return home from the perils he had encountered on the way, the scene is taken up in an altercation between Halbert and Mac Ian, the real object of the said altercation being to afford the former an opportunity for "lugging in," to use a rough phrase, the following description and simile. Mac Ian charges Halbert with hypocrisy, expressing his suspicion that the latter still retains in his bosom too much of his ancestral pride to yield willing obedience to the now acknowledged ruler of the clan:—

MAC IAN.

"Do you believe that show of meekness cheats
A soldier's eye?—that we esteem your thoughts
Subdued to habits of a herdsman's life,
And all the passion and the pride of youth
In these o'ercome?"

HALBERT.

I strive to conquer them,
And not in vain. You think that strange. If day
Illumed the glen, I'd show you, from your door,
A *shapeless rock*, which, thence observed, presents
No mark to give it preference o'er the mass
Of mountain ruin;—yet from upward gaze
Of the slow traveller, as he drags his steps
Through yon dark pass, it shuts the *mighty gorge*,
Above with all its buttresses; its lake,
Black with huge shadows; and its jagged heights,
Which tempt the arrowy lightning from its track
To sport with kindred terrors. So by grace
Of Heaven, each common object we regard
With steadiness, can veil the dark abodes
Of terrible Remembrance at whose side
Fierce Passions slumber, and supply to Hope
The place of airiest pinnacles it shades.
Thus, sir, it is with me."—*Scene i. p. 13.*

Here then we are told of a shapeless rock which we cannot see; for a very good reason—because the night not having yet passed over, there is as yet no light by which it could be shown. The said shapeless rock is however at no time distinguishable by the traveller below from any other rock; it shuts in a mighty gorge, and a lake, and it has jagged heights which attract the lightnings. Now the said rock, continues Halbert, is like a common object which we regard with steadiness. By the bye we seldom view a *common* object with much steadiness. We are more apt to pass it over with indifference. The said common object can veil the abodes of remembrance; at the side of remembrance passions slumber, and the same common object can moreover do something else, it can supply to *Hope*

"The place of airiest pinnacles it shades.

Thus, sir, it is with me."

Halbert is denying a charge of retaining feelings of vengeance, and yet he confesses that they are only slumbering in his dark bosom. He is accused of a design to overturn the existing chieftaincy, and to substitute for it his own; and in order to repel that accusation, he admits that he does entertain "hope,"

but that it is hope shaded by pinnacles ! The simile is most unfortunate, as an answer to the suspicions of Mac Ian ; it is moreover confused, and utterly unintelligible, unless by mere guess work ; and it is altogether out of place, at a moment when much greater interests were at stake, than the suspected aims of Halbert to the leadership of a clan already doomed to destruction.

Halbert's brother, *Henry*, an officer in the king's service, and accompanying a detachment of the earl of Argyle's regiment, then on its way to Glencoe, is now expected at Halbert's residence, where also are his mother, *Lady Macdonald* and the niece of Captain Campbell, already spoken of as beloved by Halbert, but who herself prefers to him his said brother Henry. This contest between two brothers for the same fair hand, intended by the author to give a sort of episodical relief to his tragedy, is conceived in the most lamentable, most common-place style of stage trickery. It is revolting in the extreme. What can be more shocking under any circumstances than to see two brothers worked up by passion to such a degree of hatred against each other, as absolutely to go out to fight a duel ? And yet here we have a scene of this kind. Moreover, the young lady, already engaged by her warmest affections to Henry, and looking forward with ecstasy to his early arrival, is forced ultimately to forego all her cherished hopes, and to surrender her hand to Halbert, in consequence of some half promise, some transitory look, some slight fanciful blush, by which Halbert persuades her she had at some time or another plighted her faith to him ! We wonder that the scenes which display all this arrant and disgusting nonsense, did not at once seal the fate of this composition. It is further to be noted, that according to the real history of the Glencoe affair, the said Helen Campbell was actually the wife of Alaster, though she is here represented, merely for the sake of eking out the piece, as unmarried, and a coquette, willing to sing,

"How happy could I be with either !"

We strongly suspect that if Mr. Talfourd were asked to point out the scene which he looked upon as the best throughout his present production, he would appeal to the very scene we most object to, viz. the third in the second act. We freely afford him all the advantages he can derive from it.

"SCENE III. *The Banks of Loch Leven. Enter HENRY.*

HENRY.

First at the place !—The morning's chill ;—I wish
The quarrel were with other than the man

I wait for ; but of all useless things
Which form the business of the world, regret
Is the most idle. Yet I wish 'twere past.—
He's here.

Enter HALBERT.

HENRY.

I have but little time to spend,
And the air freezes. Let's to work at once.
Select your ground, sir.

HALBERT.

Do you mock me, Henry,
With this vain show of courage ?

HENRY.

I came hither
Upon your summons, as I thought, to end
A soldier's quarrel with a soldier's sword ;
But if you can restrain the bitter speech
To which I must not listen, I prefer
To take your hand in kindness. As you will.

HALBERT.

Did I not feel that I have words to pierce
Through that cold bravery to the heart within it,
I might relieve you of some frolic blood
Which makes the front of your rebellion proud !

HENRY.

Rebellion !

HALBRET.

Have you not rebelled at once
Against your clan, your country, and the tomb
Of a brave father who embraced in you
The darling of his age ? Behold his sword
You now defy,—your plaything while he talk'd
Of noble daring, till you paused in sport
To hear and weep. Its sight should wound you now
More than its edge could. What would be his grief
Could he behold you in that hated dress,
Link'd to the foes of Scotland ! O, my brother,
Why did you this ?

HENRY.

If you intend to ask
What urged me to take service with Argyle,
I answer you at once.—My eagle spirit,
Which wanted air to soar in ; frank disdain
Of dull existence, which had faintly gleam'd,
Like yonder serpent-river, through dark rocks
Which bury it ; ambition for a lot
Which places life and death upon a cast,
And makes the loser glorious. Not for me

The sullen pride of mouldering battlements,
Or rites of tottering chapel.

HALBERT.

Is it so?

Is ancient sanctity, which sheds its grace
Upon the infant's sportiveness, and cleaves
To the old warrior when he falls, a thing
To mock at? But I wrong you there: I know
Your heart then spoke not. I could cherish pride
In your gay valour, if a generous cause
Had won its aid;—nay, deeming Scotland lost,
If you had sought your fortune at the court
Of England, I had borne it;—but to join
With these domestic traitors—men who know
The rights they sell; who understand the ties
Which, through the wastes of centuries, cement
Our clans, and give the sacred cord one life
Of reverential love; for whom these hills
On the clear mirror of their childhood cast
Great shadows; who have caught their martial rage
From deeds of Wallace and of Bruce, and learn'd
To temper and enrage it with the sense
Of suffering beauty, which from Mary's fate
Gleams through dim years; and who conspire to crush
These memories in men's souls, and call the void
They make there, *freedom*—is a deed to weep for!

HENRY.

I may not hear the comrades whom I love
Thus slander'd.

HALBERT.

You shall hear me while I speak
Of that which nearly touches you, as one
Of a small—branded—poor—illustrious race;
Who boast no fertile pastures; no broad lake
Studded with island woods, which make the soul
Effeminate with richness, like the scenes
In which the baffled Campbells hide their shame,
And scorn'd their distant foes. Our boasts are few,
Yet great:—a stream which thunders from its throne,
As when its roar was mingled with the voice
Of eldest song, from age to age retain'd
In human hearts;—wild myrtles which preserve
Their hoard of perfume for the dying hour
When rudeness crushes them;—rocks which no flowers
Of earth adorn, but, in themselves austere,
Receive the beautiful direct from heaven,
Which forces them to wear it,—shows their tops
Refined with air; compels their darkest steep

Reluctant to reflect the noontide sun
 In sheeted splendour—wreathes around them clouds
 In glorious retinue, which, while they float
 Slowly, or rest beneath the sable heights,
 In their brief fleecy loveliness grow proud
 To wait upon The Lasting.—And the right
 To walk this glen with head erect, you sold
 For bounties which Argyle could offer!

HENRY.

No—

Not for base lucre!—for a soldier's life,
 Whose virtue's careless valour, unperplex'd
 With aught beyond the watchword. If your cause
 Were vital, I would freely draw my sword
 To serve it; but where lives it?

HALBERT.

In the soul

Which, ruffled by no hope to see it tower
 Again in this world, cherishes it still
 In its own deathless and unsullied home;—
 That soul which, swelling from the mould of one
 Obscure as I, can grasp the stubborn forms
 Of this great vale, and bend them to its use,
 Until their stateliest attributes invest
 With pillar'd majesty the freeborn thoughts
 Which shall survive them. Even these rocks confess
 Change and decay; show where the ancient storm
 Rent their grey sides, and from their iron hearts,
 Unriveted huge masses for its sport,
 And left their splinters to attest a power
 Greater than they;—but mighty truths like these
 On which our slighted cause was based, shall hold
 Their seats in the clear spirit which disdains
 To sully or resign them, undisturb'd
 By change or death:—they are eternal, Henry!

HENRY.

If we were now the lords of this domain
 You love so well, I might have own'd a tie
 To bind me to your wishes; you resign'd them;
 What can these mountains yield to one who owns
 Mac Ian as their lord?

HALBERT.

The power to bear

That bitter taunt—which yet I feel!—O Henry!
 Was that well said?

HENRY.

You should not have provoked it
 By slanders on my officers and friends.

HALBERT.

Your friends ! Poor youth ! companionship in mirth,
Ungraced by thought, makes shallow friends ; and yours
Are worse than shallow—they are false.

HENRY.

Nay, this

I will not bear ; draw, sir !

*HENRY draws his sword and rushes on HALBERT,
who dashes it from his hand.*

HALBERT.

Take up your sword ;

See how a bad cause makes a brave arm weak !
Blush not ; 'twas but in pastime.

HENRY.

Kill me now,

And walk the hills in pride !

HALBERT.

Too plain I see

Our paths diverge ;—but let us not forget
That we have trod life's early way together,
Hand clasp'd in hand. How proud was I to watch
Your youngest darings, when I saw you dive
To the deep bottom of the lake beneath us,
Nor draw one breath till in delight you rose
To laugh above it ; when I traced the crags
By which with lightest footstep you approach'd
The eaglet's bed ; and when you slipped, yet knew
No paleness, bore you in my trembling arms
To yon dark ridge, from which in the cold thaw
The snow wreath melts, as infancy's pure thoughts
Have vanish'd from your soul.

HENRY.

No—Halbert—no !

Graceless I shook them from it, but they crowd
Here at your voice.

HALBERT.

And you will not forget us ?

Go, then, where fortune calls you, loved and praised—
Let not the ribald licence of a camp
Insult the griefs of Scotland. 'Mid the brave
Be bravest ; and when honours wait your grasp,
Allow a moment's absence to your heart
While it recalls one lonely tower, whose doors
Would open to you were you beggar'd, shamed,
Forsaken ;—and beside whose once-loved hearth
Your praises shall awaken joy more fervent
Than nobler friends can guess at. Ah ! you weep—
My own true brother still !

HENRY.

I am! I am! [*They embrace.*]*Enter* HELEN.

Forgive me that I follow'd you. I saw
 Both ruffled at your parting; but my fears
 Never suggested an event so sad,
 As that two brothers, from whose swords alone
 We hope protection, should direct their points
 Against each other's lives.

HENRY.

You must not leave
 This spot with the belief that Halbert shares
 The blame of this encounter; mine the fault,
 Be mine the shame.

HALBERT.

I will not let you pour
 On Helen's ear one word of self-reproach;
 You'll not believe him shamed?

HELEN.

Indeed I will not;
 I feel that shame and Henry are disjoin'd
 As yonder summits. [*To* HENRY.

I must teach your steps
 The pleasant pathways which we used to tread
 In old sweet times. [*Takes his hand.*

HALBERT, (*apart*).

It cannot be she means
 Other than sisterly regard in this;
 'Tis but the frankness of a courteous heart.
 No more—no more.

HELEN (*to* HALBERT).

Will you not walk with us?
 I have a hand for you too.

HALBERT.

Nothing else?

HELEN.

Yes; and a heart—a grateful one. So solemn!
 Nay, you must smile; this is a day of joy,
 And shall be cloudless. Hark! the music calls.

[*Martial music at a distance.*]

HALBERT.

Those strains again! Forgive me. Let us home.

[*Exeunt.*]

That there are some prettinesses in these passages we will not deny. That the whole affair was got up merely to shew off the banks of Loch Leven, Halbert's old chapel, and the mouldering battlements of his castle, Mr. Talfourd cannot but

admit. In order however to be able to deliver himself of some favourite descriptive jingling lines in blank verse, full of serpentine rivers, dark rocks, a ricketty tottering chapel, shadowy hills, thundering streams, wild myrtles, rocks that have no flowers, but nevertheless are beautiful against their own will, most reluctantly reflect the sun (as if they, poor rocks, could help it!) and even sustain (still without their consent) clouds that “grow proud to wait upon the Lasting,”—unrivetted masses, splinters, &c. &c.,—what does our author do? In the first place he (by his legislative power we suppose), divorces Helen from her lawful husband without rhyme or reason, makes her a bone of contention between two brothers, makes those two brothers go to sweet Loch Leven’s banks to defy each other to mortal combat, reconciles them on the spot (as soon as his poetical vein is exhausted) and then renews the quarrel between them, rendering it more embittered than ever! Is this tragedy?—or melo-drama—or comedy—or farce—or even *farcicula*, as we once saw a little interlude described in a play-bill?

The arrival of the king’s troops in Glencoe would seem to be sufficient to engross all thoughts. No such thing. This is precisely the moment when Halbert bethinks himself that he ought to get married. Apprehensive of the impression which Henry, dressed in his gay uniform, cocked hat and feathers, might make upon Helen, he resolves to remind her of her prior obligations to himself, and so he seeks her forthwith, and sounds her feelings on this tender subject, reminding her of the many sweet looks she gave him in their frequent walks and conversations together. She does not deny all this, but says with great naïveté:—

——“but not a word
Of *courtship* passed between us.”

This denial is quite enough to let loose upon us another burst of rhodomontade.

“HALBERT.

Not a word.

Words are for lighter loves, that spread their films
Of glossy threads, which while the air’s serene
Hang gracefully, and spangle in the sun
Of fortune, or reflect the fainter beams
Which moonlight fancy sheds; but ours—yes, ours!—
Was woven with the toughest yarn of life,
For it was blended with the noblest things
We lived for; with the majesties of old,
The sable train of mighty griefs o’erarch’d

By Time's deep shadows ; with the fate of kings,—
 A glorious dynasty—for ever crush'd
 With the great sentiments which made them strong
 In the affections of mankind ;—with grief
 For rock-enthroned Scotland ; with poor fortune
 Shared cheerfully ; with high resolves ; with thoughts
 Of death ; and with the hopes that cannot die.

HELEN.

Hold ! If you rend oblivion's slender veil
 Thus fearfully, and spectres of the past
 Glide o'er my startled spirit, it will fail
 In reason.

HALBERT.

No ;—it shall cast off this cloud,
 And retain no impression save of things
 Which last for ever ;—for to such our love
 Has been allied. How often have we stood,
 Clasp'd on yon terrace by columnar rocks,
 Upon whose jagged orifice the sky
 With its few stars seem'd pillar'd, and have felt
 Our earthly fortunes, bounded like the gorge
 That held us, had an avenue beyond,
 Like that we gazed on ; and when summer eve
 Has tempted us to wander on the bank
 Of glory-tinged Loch-Leven, till the sea
 Open'd beyond the mountains, and the thoughts
 Of limitless expanse were render'd sweet
 By crowding memories of delicious hours
 Sooth'd by its murmur, we have own'd and bless'd
 The Presence of Eternity and Home !

HELEN

What shall I do ?

HALBERT.

Hear me while I invoke
 The spirit of one moment to attest,
 In the great eye of love-approving Heaven,
 We are each other's. When a fragile bark
 Convey'd our little household to partake
 The blessing that yet lingers o'er the shrine
 Of desolate Iona, the faint breath
 Of evening wafted us through cluster'd piles
 Of gently-moulded columns, which the sea—
 Softening from tenderest green to foam more white
 Than snow-wreaths on a marble ridge—illumed
 As 'twould dissolve and win them ;—till a cave,
 The glorious work of angel architects
 Sent on commission to the sacred isle,
 From which, as from a fountain, God's own light

Stream'd o'er dark Europe—in its fretted span
 Embraced us.—Pedestals of glistening black
 Rose, as if waiting for the airy tread
 Of some enraptured seraph who might pause
 To see blue Ocean through the sculptured ribs
 Of the tall arch-way's curve, delight to lend
 His vastness to the lovely. We were charm'd,
 Not awe-struck ;—for the Beautiful was there
 Triumphant in its palace. As we gazed
 Rapt and enamour'd, our small vessel struck
 The cavern's side, and by a shock which seem'd
 The last that we should suffer, you were thrown
 Upon my neck—You clasp'd me then ;—and shared
 One thought of love and heaven !

HELEN.

Am I indeed
 Faithless, yet knew it not ? my soul's perplex'd ;—
 Distracted. Whither shall it turn ?—To you !—
 Be *you* its arbiter. Of you I ask,
 In your own clear simplicity of heart,
 Did you believe me yours ?

HALBERT.

Yes ; and you are.
 With this sweet token I assure you mine,
 [*Places a ring on her finger.*]
 In sight of angels. Bless you !

HELEN.

It is done
 I dare not, cannot, tear this ring away."

The beauties of Loch Leven, and the wonders of Iona, are undoubtedly very fit subjects for poetry. There may be minds prone to admire the mode in which those subjects are dealt with in the passages which we have just quoted, and we leave our readers to vote just as they like upon that question. It shall be, to use a parliamentary phrase, an "open question" between us. But we think all persons of common-sense and unvitiated taste must agree with us in opinion, that descriptions such as these in a tragedy, which ought ever to be a poem of *action*, are entirely out of place ; and being out of place, become a hindrance to the progress of the plot, and a nuisance to the ear of the spectator.

Henry, of course, when he hears of the intended marriage, complains of being jilted. He looks forward with horror to the jibes of his brother officers, and so he has an explanation with the lady, who absolutely has the courage to tell him that Halbert clearly proved to her satisfaction that she had long

loved him. Henry is surprised. She then acknowledges that whatever she had at any time said of love and all that to him (Henry) was mere flirtation, and then she shews the ring.

This long episode having now fully answered its purpose,—the principal features of Glencoe, Loch Leven, and Iona, having been duly described,—the two brothers having completely revolted all natural feelings by their expressed hatred of each other,—the hero, Halbert, having shown how little worthy he was of any body's sympathy,—at last the marriage hour comes, and Halbert, well knowing that Helen, notwithstanding her professions, loved Henry better than him, resigns her at the altar to Henry. Just at the moment the sacred rite is about to commence, the massacre of Glencoe begins. Halbert is shot—Henry runs away—and amidst all sorts of fires red and blue, and dying groans, and shouts, and wailings, the curtain finally drops; and with it, if we be not much mistaken, dies the transitory dramatic fame of Mr. Serjeant Talfourd.

We come now to another aspirant to the vacant tragic crown, in the person of a Mr. John A. Heraud, author of *The Judgment before the Flood*; *The Descent into Hell*; *The Pleasures of Genius*, and many *et ceteras*. The Muses forgive us! Though rather attentive to what is usually going on in the literary world, we must acknowledge that of Mr. John A. Heraud, or of the poems here mentioned, we never chanced to hear before. This tragedy, however, if we are to credit the titlepage, appears to have reached a second edition, and his preface does certainly show that he had reason strong

“To shame the rogues and print it.”

It was “patronized” by Macready, who strongly recommended it to Mr. Bunn, who “returned” it to the author. When Macready became lessee of Covent Garden, his flattering opinion of the piece was called to his mind; it was replaced in his hands; whence it found its way to Kenney, who pronounced it full of “fine poetry and great eloquence,” but he put it to Macready’s own judgment, whether “the public had not always shown extreme coldness towards all such subjects.” The play was again “returned” to the author. So much for Macready’s “patronage.”

Mr. Heraud, however, was not so easily to be driven from his purpose. When Madame Vestris became the queen-regent of Covent Garden, he submitted his production to her award; but she “had a strong objection to a Roman!” Our aspirant learned now, for the first time, that there were “three classes of subjects proscribed at Covent Garden—the Roman—those

relating to the Saxon Heptarchy—and the Oriental." No wonder; for subjects less inviting to the dramatic tastes of John Bull could hardly be mentioned. It is a pity that Mr. Heraud had not known this, before he wasted his genius upon *The Roman Brother*. He has secured to himself, however, in his own good opinion of it, a perennial source of consolation, of which we by no means wish to deprive him.

"In publishing this drama," he says, "in the present form, the author feels that he is making a great sacrifice—perhaps both of profit and reputation; but as the press teems just now with dramatic productions, in proof of the eternal truth that dramatic genius never dies, he feels a moral obligation in contributing his stock of evidence to the 'cloud of witnesses,' who have rejoiced in becoming martyrs to the great cause of dramatic reform.

"Of course, after all, the public will decide for themselves on the merits of the present tragedy. The circumstances connected with it, however, indicate strongly enough, that, as above stated, it is not from want of dramatic authors, but, from the paucity or erroneous distribution of efficient actors, that dramatic productions of the first class are not presented. The fault lies with the theatres, whatever the reason for its existence there. If managements have done well in the course they have unfortunately taken—then the public have done ill, in not encouraging them sufficiently. But if aught nobler and newer might have been effected than has been attempted, then the public, with this feeling, have acted judiciously in barely tolerating the obsolete and the meaner kinds of entertainment. Enthusiasm is wanting to beget enthusiasm."

A few passages will exemplify the "stuff" of which this composition is made; and when we say "stuff," let us not be misunderstood as using the word in a degrading sense. On the contrary, we gladly acknowledge, that we have found in this production many tokens of a vigorous intellect and no ordinary power of expression. We are no sooner apprised in the opening scene—one conducted in the true fashion of Roman-citizen uproar—of the meditated division of the empire between *Caracalla* and his brother *Geta*, than the former appears muffled on the stage, to disclose the fratricide he had just perpetrated.

"Great night! subvert the censer of the sun,
And empty its cold ashes in the dark!
Like moping, shivering owl, I would be stirring
Alone;—not even a star awake. Night's cressets!
Your everlasting oil should be poured out,
That men might see me not! Blindness, come on
Earth, and, heaven! thee. Die, thou pervasive air!
That no articulation more be heard
Of voice, though strong in anguish of remorse,
Or motion, maddened from its stealthiness!"

The main object of the author in this work, is to exhibit, in the most striking colours he can select, the remorse by which the soul of the emperor is actuated. His lines therefore are often very loud, full of that "great eloquence" of which Mr. Kenney speaks. The assassination which puts an end to the reign of Antoninus, ought according to the usual rule to have terminated the tragedy also. But Mr. Heraud closes his piece with a grand spectacle,—the entrance of Caracalla's successor on the stage, with all the pageantry of a Roman triumph.

The reader may perhaps think that he will have had a sufficient specimen of Mr. Heraud's style in the following scene from the second act. The persons supposed to be on the stage are *Mæsa*, sister of *Julia*, *Antoninus*, *Macrinus* (Prætor) *Diadumenius* his son, *Julia* (the empress mother), and *Soemias* the daughter of *Mæsa*.

"(Shouting heard without.)

MÆSA.

What shouts are those?

I will inquire—

(Exit *Mæsa*, then re-enters).

'Tis the Emperor returned

Successful from the Senate.

(Flourish of trumpets—Enter ANTONINUS, MACRINUS, and DIADUMENIUS.)

ANTONINUS.

Give them thanks

From me—dismiss them—come back, *Diadumenius*!
Take them my *Caracalla*—this same mantle,
I brought with me from Gaul. Give it to them,
To pattern from : for thus I do them honour—
Each one of them shall wear their Emperor's robe;
The *Caracalla* be the soldier's dress—

(Exit DIADUMENIUS—shouting heard without—"The
Caracalla ! the *Caracalla* !")

I am glad to be quit on't. I would breathe freely—
Room to expand in—for my heart is swelling !
Dominion ! thou art as the crown of life,
Hung in the sky above us, hovering
Till on some single head it settle down—
My temples greet thee, like a rainbow-wreath
Around them ! Sun of glory ! who makest golden
The marvelling air with miracle—I feel thee,
I love thee—thou art beautiful and bright,
Like to a planetary coronal
On a tall mountain's top—a lamp—a fire—
That warms me, that illumines. Never yet
I felt me an imperial man till now !

JULIA (*aside*).

Thou comest like a dancer to a revel,
 Forgetting thou hast passed thy brother's corse
 Upon the way.

(*To him.*) Thou'rt as a wassailer,
 Bearing a wine-bowl in thy drunken hand,
 Not knowing it holds poison. Dash it from thee!

ANTONINUS.

Hail! my imperial mother! bid me hail!
 Thou too art in heroic ecstasy,
 And speak'st in tropes! Why, then, we both are mad.
 Thy brain as mine is swimming, and whirls on,
 As doth a stormy night into the dawn,
 Abashed with colours of the coming light!
 'Tis from the lack of use that this is strange.
 Had I been active from my prime of life,
 This whirl had not perplexed me. 'Twill decrease,
 As I grow custom'd to the common lot.

(Re-enter DIADUMENIUS, and whispers MACRINUS.)

What are ye whispering there?

MACRINUS.

'Tis of Papinian—

My son brings word that the prætorian soldiery,
 Hearing of his dismissal, have fallen on him,
 As one disgraced, and slain him for a traitor.

ANTONINUS.

Do ye my work for me . . . who dwell behind
 The stars . . . whose awful mandates, with the winds,
 Ride through the desolate clouds, and, with the thunder,
 Strike, like its bolt? Are your dread voices but
 The echoes of my will—the loud exponents
 Of my unheard desires? Peal on—peal on!
 Let the gale burst with sobbing!

JULIA (*kneeling*).

'Tis my heart—

Thy mother's heart is breaking with those sobs—
 O, hear him not, yet righteous destinies!
 Lest from your outraged thrones ye rain down plague
 And pestilence upon the race of men;—
 And, in the midst of darkness, making light
 Through your dread presence only, walk the world
 With a great frown on your divinest brows,
 And a discriminant finger, pointing out
 Your chosen victims from the shuddering crowd,
 As on ye move in slow and solemn state!

ANTONINUS.

What charm art muttering to the *Fates* that love us?
 Gods love gods. *They* are gods. Princes are gods—
 Imperial names are syllabled divinely,

Or should be—do not err from overmuch
Humility, lest they be jealous, mother !
Of their bestowed companionship on souls
That want due dignity to be their fellows.

JULIA (*rising and approaching him with solemnity*):
Are the gods jealous ? 'Tis then of our pride—
And thine is awful now, for there is one
Of them, a solemn anger, whom this vaunt
Must needs offend—a new one, and named Geta !

ANTONINUS (*appalled*).

I thought not to have heard that name again—
And least from thee; where least I can avenge it !

JULIA.

Thy hand upon thy sword hilt ? Let it go—
Thus I remove it ! Ha ! I have thee now !

(*She draws the sword from his side.*)

Thy brother's blood is on this steel ! IT LIVES !
A fearful creature this same bloody weapon !
This vampire that sucks blood, and after weeps
Red gore in mockery or in drunkenness—
A crocodile with wet eyes from o'ermurdering,
Shedding tears like-hued with the wine it drinks,
From life's own wine ! It is a reeking monster,
That never can be shamed, for all its blushes
Are boastful insolence ; when they burn upon it,
Then 'tis with glory gilded ! 'Tis a snake,
That winds its way into the valiant heart,
Then comes in triumph out with rosy jaws,
For it has stung and slain ! My strained eyes ache
With tracing thy keen edge. Here, Mæsa ! take it,
And put it out of sight.

ANTONINUS.

O, bury it !

Heap mountains on it ! delve for it a grave,
Deep as the centre ! I would break it small,
And scatter it like dust, but that the reptile
Would grow as worms do, and thus multiply—
Let it be crushed with the whole weight of the world,
That it may rise no more ! and with it go,
Clean, utterly away, minutest thing,
Each atom, each remotest accident,
That can remember us of him it slew !

JULIA.

That is impossible !

ANTONINUS.

Impossible !

Then even let me therewith be likewise hid,
In the profound, where dreadful chaos is,
With the mysterious elements of nature ;

There sleeps the insentient, tranquil ; while, unheard,
 Confusion rages in the infinite void—
 Gape, earth ! and swallow all—ourselves and Rome !

SOEMIAS.

O, Antoninus ! my own Antoninus !
 If the earth gape, we will descend together :
 For I have known thy virtue, and will love thee !
 Let not great Fear seize on thy valour thus !

ANTONINUS.

Too valiant ! Blood is so easily shed—
 'Tis but as an air-bubble—prick the vein,
 And the small globe wells forth, and then it breaks—
 Is gone ; . . . dew—dew, which the sun colours like
 The coral—but of soft and fragile web,
 Which with his kiss he shatters—'Tis exhaled
 Even so soon ! But we have *no* power—*none*—
 That tiny orb—that gem—to reconstruct !
 Why was life trusted to such transient keeping ?”

Mr. Heraud very ingenuously publishes the following note at the end of his production :—

“ A friend has forwarded to me the following concise criticism on the foregoing tragedy ;—‘ Your first act is prosaic ; the second, poetic ; the third, psychologic ; the fourth philosophic ; and the fifth, theologic.’ With all my heart.”

The criticism is not altogether unjust, though quaintly expressed. The pervading faults of the composition, in our judgment, are the multiplicity of commentaries, if we may say so, which Antoninus makes upon his guilt ; the refinements to which he has recourse, with a view sometimes to extenuate it in his own eyes ; the strong tendency to bombast which always actuates the author’s pen, and the many specimens of that unhappy style into which he is betrayed. The introduction of an astrologer to tell us that which needed no prophet, and the sleep-walking scene, are such obvious blemishes, that we are surprised at their having been allowed to stand after a moment’s revival.

Notwithstanding these and several other faults which we might have pointed out in *The Roman Brother*, we must say, in conclusion, that we are much disposed to hope for better things from the pen of Mr. Heraud. His mind is of a bold and tragic cast. There is a manliness and calibre about it which throw the dramatic nurslings of Messrs. Talfourd and Bulwer into the shade. We should strongly recommend him to apply his hand to some theme which is *not* “ Roman, Saxon, or Oriental.”

ART. IX.—*Parliamentary Speeches.* Session 1840. No. I to VI. London: 1840.

THE late session must have exhibited, even to the most ordinary observer, tokens of approaching changes in these kingdoms, which may fill some minds with alarm, but which, we candidly confess, only present to our eyes omens of the most auspicious nature, both for our religion and our country. Though little has been actually completed in the way of important legislation during that period, considering the great proportion of the year through which it has extended, it has nevertheless done more for unveiling the real condition of all parties in church and state, than any session upon record. Never had ministers so many battles to fight for the preservation of their power; never were the combatants upon the arena of the House of Commons more evenly matched in talent as well as in numbers; never was the war of eloquence more fiercely conducted on both sides of the house. No topic which could afford even the slightest, the most transient advantage to the opposition benches, was allowed to escape them without being turned round in every possible point of view, and magnified into a bugbear. Never were tactics more in requisition on the ministerial side of the Speaker's chair. On more than one occasion the fortune of the field seemed extremely doubtful; and if, at the close of the campaign, the whigs appear to have kept their ground, it must be admitted that they owe much of their success to the indiscretion of their enemies.

All the sound-thinking portion of the public have undoubtedly contemplated many of these party contests with thorough disgust. They say—and say with great truth—that parliament was intended by the constitution as an assembly of discreet men, fitted by station and intelligence to consult and legislate for the welfare of the empire. The mercantile classes, especially, complain that matters of great importance to trade have been either wholly neglected, or indifferently attended to, while the personal interests of rivals for office absorbed the entire attention of the House of Commons. At a period when the fostering care of the government was required to guard against inroads made upon British commerce in many parts of the world—when severe pressure, arising from a great variety of causes, kept down enterprise—when most of the manufactories were unemployed, and trade was literally at a stand-still—they were compelled to witness the spectacle of party warfare waged with unprecedented bitterness, and the great interests of the

nation sacrificed to the trials of strength incessantly going on, with a view simply to decide whether Lord Melbourne or Sir Robert Peel should be First Lord of the Treasury—and this, too, after it had become perfectly apparent that, even if the tories gained possession of the government, they could not keep it for a month.

The effect of all this has been, to lower parliament very much in the eyes of the country. Often have we heard men—men even of strong tory tendencies—express a desire that some Cromwell would go into the lower house, turn out those eternal talkers, lock the door, put the key in his pocket, and keep it there for a year or two, if with no other purpose than to give those excited politicians time to cool their temper, and to recollect that they were made members of parliament for a more valuable object than that of attacking each other night after night, in order to preserve or win official place. The evil of these continued discords has become absolutely intolerable. The mode in which they have been treated, too, by the angry and mortified hooters within, and their no less irritated auxiliaries without, the walls of the house, has been most disgraceful to the country.

The public writers engaged in this wild warfare have acquired habits of exaggeration, which unfit them for discussing any political subject in a simple, candid, rational style. Each takes up and prosecutes his own sectarian views, as if they were founded upon the only basis of wisdom that could ensure the welfare of the empire. The principles of his party, whether in or out of power, are all perfection—those of his adversaries are all pregnant with dangers which must, if carried into effect, bring on instant confusion, and eventually overthrow the whole fabric of society. “Bugbearism,” if we may coin such a word, is the cue of all these literary combatants. It is the badge of their tribe. They do not, we would fain hope, often shut their eyes voluntarily to the truth that shines before them; but being habituated to contend within a limited range of ideas—liberal, conservative, radical, ultra-radical, ultra-tory—they see nothing good, or even capable of being made useful, in any aspect of a public question which does not square at all points with their own prejudgment on the subject.

To take for an instance the system of “agitation,” which, under the masterly hand of O’Connell, has been worked out into a regular political science, condensing within itself the scattered elements of liberty, and holding at all times prepared for action a power that is certain, sooner or later, to attain any

object not beyond the fair scope of reason and justice. Why, to hear some men, aye, even men in office—men who call themselves whigs, and are by others esteemed worthy of that appellation—to hear these men barely enunciate the word “agitation”—to see the tremor into which it throws their nerves—the quivering lip, the hectic redness of the cheek—one would think that the phrase poisoned in them the source of every deliberate reflection. With these gentry “agitation” is a bugbear: it frightens them as an ugly mask would alarm a child; it scares away the power of examination, and condemns them to a state of existence, *quoad hoc*, little raised above idiocy.

For many a long year Catholic emancipation was a “bugbear” to millions of minds throughout these kingdoms. There was no peril within, or without, the horizon of human vision, which it would not produce, were it to be conceded by the legislature. It would rob “the Church” of its temporalities. It would subvert the religion “by law established.” It would hurl the monarch from the throne, and put the Pope in his place, and fill the land with jesuits, and produce a reign of terror such as had not been witnessed even in the worst times of the French Revolution!

Nor at all less dangerous was “parliamentary reform” during the period when it was yet untried. Here was another “bugbear,” cried up by its opponents as the immediate herald of interminable intestine wars, amidst which commerce must fall into ruin, the streets of London be over-run with grass, the mob must rule, every emblem of legitimate authority be flung into the public kennels, or burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Major Cartwright, Hunt, Cobbett, *et hoc genus omne* were no better than fiends; and any plain man who was supposed to be even slightly inoculated with the reform virus, was shunned by all good subjects as if he were infested with the most formidable contagion.

Though experience has proved how ill founded were the apprehensions which all these “bugbears” were made to excite; though “agitation” has been discovered to be a game at which two can play, and that sometimes, with nearly equal advantage on both sides; though “Catholic emancipation” has not yet, after the lapse of eleven years, pushed the monarch from the throne, but, just the contrary, tended most materially to fortify all the constitutional bulwarks of that throne; though parliamentary reform has not yet produced a sanguinary revolution, but on the contrary has, in all probability,

prevented one, nevertheless the old system of "bugbearism" is still resorted to upon every occasion, when it becomes useful to raise a clamour for or against any measure which any party in the state may think fit to suggest or to denounce.

We are not such visionaries as to expect that any country enjoying a free constitution can be governed without a combination of strong minds, bound by some tie to think and act together, with a view to influence the community, and to carry out their own opinions as to what they deem the best schemes for the benefit of the Commonwealth. The absolute will of the sovereign being stripped of all authority in a constitutional order of things, the power to exercise the necessary functions of government must be lodged in the hands of the subject. Such power must be won by the strongest amid the host of aspirants. In the days of the Plantagenets the strongest were those who had the greatest number of armed retainers at their back. In the times in which we live, public opinion is the great weapon of war; and to obtain possession of it, or of something as nearly as possible like it, is the object of those who hold office, as well as of those who seek it. Hence the battles of the "leading articles" in the newspapers—hence their "bugbears" decked out in every shape of monstrosity—hence their unceasing assumptions as facts of the inventions of their own heated brains—hence their false reasonings, their unblushing virulence, their attacks upon each other, conducted in a temper, which, if translated into action, would be in many cases absolutely savage. Hence, moreover, the war of speeches during the recess, at dinners and other descriptions of public assemblies. The cheers of these meetings are taken by the speakers to be the true expression of public opinion; and they go away from them filled with a sense of their own triumphs, which prevents them (if in office), from believing that they can be put out, or (if not in office) animates them with the hope that the approaching session must inevitably witness the downfall of the ministry.

When the session itself comes; when the speech from the throne is delivered and canvassed; when the address, now a mere formality, is voted; all tongues are busy preparing for the first field-day when the opposition party is to make a demonstration of its strength, and to compel that of the ministers to exhibit all its resources in number and talent. Nor is this course objectionable. On the contrary, an absolute monarchy would, in our judgment, be preferable to a government conducted under the control of a parliamentary party

altogether unopposed, or opposed only by a set of men few in numbers, and undistinguished by intellect of a superior order. It is of the very essence of our constitution that the benches of both sides of the House of Commons especially should be strongly occupied, for we are prone to believe—with reference to politics, that true wisdom—the wisdom most capable of being in the long run the most practicable, will very generally be found rather in rules resulting from a just compromise between antagonist ideas, than in the unanimous dictations of any one set of minds whatever.

If we were asked our opinion as to the “ballot,” (which in the mouths of the tories is one of the greatest “bugbears” of the present day),—we should answer that in some cases it might be productive of useful effects; in some cases precisely the reverse; and on the whole neither so dangerous nor so very valuable as many people imagine. To declare on one hand that it would sever all the legitimate ties between landlord and tenant, that it would make hypocrites of the electors, and introduce into the character of our countrymen a vein of cunning and deceit which now does not appertain to it, is, in our judgment, rank nonsense. To proclaim, on the other hand, that the “ballot” would secure to every voter the perfect liberty of using his franchise without control or even influence from any other quarter, is, so far as we can see, mere Utopianism. There is no state of things liable to the operation of political excitement, in which the voter can perform his functions in the polling booth with an impenetrable secrecy. It is vain to look for such a result. And even if it could be effected, it would not be permanent, for the party whom it might prejudice would sooner or later discover some mode of counteracting it, which would leave the whole system of voting very much where it stood before.

We make these remarks in passing, in order to lead to one general observation, of the truth of which we are thoroughly convinced—that there is no measure likely to be proposed to our legislature—not even universal suffrage itself—which could produce all, or any great portion of the perils supposed by its opponents to be wrapped up in it, as in a Pandora’s casket. The truth is, that we have, in the good sense of the community; in the intimate and indissoluble connexion of all the well-stationed families of which the influential mass of the community is composed; in the machinery of the constitution; in our tribunals, our laws, our fixed habits, our press; the ancient and indestructible foundations of our monarchy; our

police, army and navy ; our general stake in the preservation of order ; our almost universal faith in Christianity, and in the superintendence of a paternal Providence, valid securities against those extreme dangers, with which violent debaters threaten us, whenever they utter their harangues upon measures which they happen to have any party or personal motives for resisting.

Finality men, non-finality men, advocates of movement, men of "fixed principles," democrats, chartists—these are all, not indeed empty sounds, (for they are words significant of certain ideas) but they are phrases which have for us neither great attraction on one side, nor great repulsion on the other. Those persons who, when the reform bill was passed, looked to the immediate results of that measure as consequences beyond which they would not be content to go, have since discovered the gross want of foresight which they then betrayed, inasmuch as they have found themselves compelled, by new circumstances, new views of policy, and the unconquerable influence of time itself—the great innovator—to adopt or propose several measures directly springing out of that bill, which seven years ago they would not have admitted even to contemplation. The penny postage is one of these measures. Everybody knows that this is the work, not of our parliamentary leaders, but of the constituency brought into power by the reform act. This of itself is a change which puts what is called "finality" into a position fit only to be laughed at. Every steam-boat we build, every railway we construct, tends in the same direction—that is, a direction opening to our community combinations of thought, faculties of invention, and facilities of action, of which ten years ago they were wholly unconscious. To talk of "finality" on any subject liable to change, and to say that "Here I take my stand—here is my 'principle fixed'—no farther shall I go"—is the language of Lilliputians, if such a people we could imagine to be in existence.

Therefore it is, we feel, that, let what will come, no serious evil can approach us which may not be resisted, or remedied, and that, too, without any great exertion or sacrifice on our part. We protest that we have never seen the system of "bugbearism" carried to so great an excess as it was during the late session. We are of opinion that there was scarcely a measure planned by Her Majesty's government for future execution, which the leaders of the opposition would not have felt themselves either disposed or constrained to pursue, were they to be placed in the cabinet tomorrow.

In order to prove this position, let us examine a little into

what was said upon the motion made by Sir J. Y. Buller in the early part of the session, with a view to show that when the whole force of the opposition was directed against every point at which any weakness could be suggested to exist, the position of the government was proved to be impregnable.

Much of Sir James Graham's wrath was poured out upon ministers, on account of their not having persevered in their title bill, with the celebrated "appropriation clause" included in it. But as that bill had been previously passed, and was, when he spoke, in progress of favourable action, this question, at all events, could make no difference between the policy of ministers and their antagonists. He objected to the appointment of the Marquis of Normanby as principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, because, during the noble lord's administration in Ireland, he had, according to the opinion of a majority of the other branch of the legislature, mingled too much of the prerogative of mercy with justice. But this also was a by-gone matter, which could not influence the future proceedings of the cabinet. The right hon. baronet's discursive oration next went off to Jamaica, and expressed his amazement that Lord John Russell, as minister for the Colonies, could act upon the Jamaica Bill, which had been forced upon him by a majority of the House of Commons. The majority was indeed a small one; nevertheless, the ministry resigned in consequence, and when Sir Robert Peel, upon being called upon to constitute a cabinet of his own, found the task impracticable, and Lord Melbourne was again, of necessity, summoned to resume the reins of government, he and his colleagues are thus taunted with accepting a bill which they could not refuse. They did all they could to resist it, and having failed, they are blamed for not attempting impossibilities! Had Sir James Graham been in Lord John Russell's place, how could he have acted otherwise than as that noble lord had done? At all events, here was another by-gone question, which could afford no new ground of difference between the antagonist parties.

Another question was the ballot. Sir James contended, with great vehemence, that the existing ministry ought to be distrusted and discarded by the house, not because they were known to entertain any intention of proposing the ballot system for adoption, but because they admitted it to be an open question. Now, we ask, what could Sir Robert Peel's government (supposing he had succeeded in forming a cabinet, and got his cabinet into action) have done with the ballot?

Either it would be carried against him, or he would effectively resist it. If carried against him, he must have resigned. If he had succeeded in resisting it, he would have had on his side a majority of Her Majesty's present government. Upon the ballot, therefore, there would be no difference between the two cabinets, except this, that the one makes it an open question, and the other would have no dependent who even thought in favour of it. This, then, is no material point of policy, so far as the two cabinets would be concerned. It is a mere affair of discipline, waiting the progress of public opinion, which, after all, will control any government that may be in power, from whatever side of the house that government may be selected.

Then there is the question of an extension of the suffrage. Mr. Macauley, it seems, is in favour of such an extension, to a limited degree. Lord John Russell (and a decided majority of the existing cabinet think with him upon this subject) is, however, against any change upon that point. Between Sir James Graham and the noble lord—in other words, between the actual government and one formed from the other side of the house—there would be no variation as to this question.

Another concession which, it appears, Mr. Macauley is not indisposed to make, if it should be much pressed out of doors, is, the shortening the duration of parliament. That right hon. gentleman would limit the period for which members are elected to four years; and Lord John Russell has mentioned a similar disposition on his part, but limiting the concession to five years. We really do not know that there is any strong opinion in the country upon this matter. It is so seldom that any one parliament does in practice reach the mature age of seven years, that no great inconvenience appears to have been yet felt in this respect. There has not certainly been recently any general outcry about it. It is one of the desiderata that have been enumerated in the declarations of the chartists; but we cannot find that, as yet at least, it has made any great impression. We venture to say, that if Sir James Graham were in power, and petitions for shortening parliament to five, four, or even three years, flowed in from all quarters of the country, he would not be found amongst the opponents of what he would then call public opinion. At all events, the question is not one at this moment before the country, and it could not therefore constitute any real ground of difference between the political systems of a Melbourne and a Peel cabinet. The same observation applies to the corn-law and poor-law questions.

Then, as to the chartists—a great portion of Sir James

Graham's speech, upon the motion already adverted to, was got up to establish the conclusion, that ministers, by their cautious conduct relative to public meetings, had, both directly and indirectly, afforded great encouragement to the chartists. Objections against public meetings, and those, too, of a very multitudinous and vigorous character, undoubtedly come with a bad grace from one, who is obliged to make the admissions contained in the following passage:—

“The right honourable gentleman (the Judge Advocate) has made an appeal to me, of which I do not complain, with regard to the appeals made to the popular feeling in aid of the reform bill when it was in its agonies and struggling for existence. I do not by any means deny that such appeals were made with my knowledge and concurrence (cheers). I say, and have always said, adopting the phraseology of the noble lord, that there then occurred an immense change in the opinions of many—a revolution, but happily a bloodless one; and I admit distinctly, that upon that occasion appeals were made to the popular feeling which, perhaps, went beyond the limits of prudence. I do not wish to conceal any thing. I state facts. Appeals were made certainly that bordered upon the very verge of the law, and went, perhaps, beyond prudence.”

For the right hon. baronet, after these admissions, to get up a charge against the ministers, accusing them of favouring the meetings of the chartists, is one of the most glaring instances of political hypocrisy that have lately fallen under our notice. At all events, Lord John Russell's notions upon this subject do not vary from those of the right hon. baronet.

“Supposing,” said his lordship, in his well-known letter to the electors of Stroud,

“a new enthusiasm could be awakened, I am not ready to stir the cauldron from which so potent a charm could be extracted; but the excitement of a new change—the passions again raised—the house of commons again in the furnace, to be melted in a new mould—the people again in the temper which burst out in flames at Nottingham and Bristol—would go far to shake the stability of property, and make law the servant of disorder. The reform act was carried under the auspices of Lord Grey, assisted by statesmen long used to power, and able to weigh their proceedings. That weight of authority carried with it a large proportion of the House of Lords, and the dispassionate reformers throughout the country. But, for a new reform bill, opposed by a majority in the House of Commons, and five-sixths of the House of Lords, no such authority could be invoked. It would be menace, and the multitude; unknown leaders dictating to intelligence and property; an attempt at reform, but sure to end in confusion.”

With this letter before him, and with the knowledge which

he must have possessed in his mind, if he had only read the newspapers of the day, that the ministers were actually doing every thing in their power, without having recourse to new laws, for putting down the chartists; with the further knowledge which the right hon. baronet must now have, that in their prudent and constitutional course of action, they have entirely succeeded in suppressing the chartist insurrection,—we imagine that he regrets having made this most wanton accusation against the government.

Lord Stanley's speech on the same occasion commenced with a complete confession of the motives by which he, and, as he declares, the whole tory party, (of which he has been for some time an avowed member, if not the chief leader,) were actuated in the sort of opposition which they had resolved to maintain.

“If my right hon. and learned friend will, however, ask me why we now come forward, and why we have so long hesitated, I will frankly tell him. I will tell him that it has been a constant principle with my right honourable friend (Sir Robert Peel) and those who act with him, that at no time would they endanger the existence of the government, or seek to overthrow the government, unless they were at the same time prepared, and as they believed, able to take the responsibility of their places. I will tell my right honourable and learned friend, further—that we have watched the growing feeling of the population and of the parliament; and we know, from one change after another,—we know from the highest authority—we see it every day, we have witnessed it in the counties, we know it from our neighbourhoods, that, day after day, and month after month, one by one, and two by two, the most respectable and steadiest adherents of the government, (loud cheers from the ministerial benches, re-echoed by the opposition) are abandoning them in the reckless and downward course of policy which they are pursuing. We know the effect that has been produced in England, we know that the eyes of the people are open to the character and conduct of the administration; we know that there is indeed, on the other side of the house, a set of gentlemen holding office, but we know likewise, that they pant and languish for something that shall be a government. But I should be sorry that my right honourable and learned friend should delude himself into the idea that the cause is to be won or lost by the division of this night. That that division will be lost we know. Do not let my right honourable and learned friend flatter himself with the notion that the result of this division will produce the slightest alteration in the course which the great conservative party is pursuing. Measure by measure, step by step, failure after failure, we will watch, and we will mark, and we will control the government. We will support them as occasions may arise, and many have arisen, where they were

glad to receive our support. But no consideration shall constrain us in our fixed line of duty as one great united party in this house, from observing their measures, from canvassing their bills, and from *obstructing* them if we please—aye from *obstructing* if we please, (cheers from the opposition benches), and from throwing out, as we have done, measures, which we believe detrimental to the best interests of the country; and while from the commencement of the session till the end of it we shall exercise this important duty, we will leave to others the name, while we are content to wield the authority, of the government."

It is clear from the whole of this passage, that the mass of the tory party were, at the commencement of the session, discontented with the mode in which Sir Robert Peel had previously acted as their leader. He was not, they felt, and whispered to each other, sufficiently eager to seize the helm of the state. He was, himself, indifferent to office; while they were all panting for power: he witnessed their over-heated anxiety upon that great point with a philosophic coldness. They therefore crowded round Lord Stanley, whose ambitious and sanguine character more accorded with their own views. Nor was the personal position of Sir Robert Peel without its influence in this matter. His origin was of yesterday. He was purse-proud. His manners were not of the most conciliatory kind. Impressed with the belief that his party could not dispense with his services, he acted wholly upon his own opinions, without consulting them. His public station was not a little damaged by his frequent changes of principle, and they could not be safe in any expectation which they might form, that he would remain long faithful to the line of policy which they would wish him to pursue. Such we happen to know, from unquestionable authority, were the sentiments of a great majority of the opposition at the commencement of the session. Everything that has since occurred, has tended to widen the differences between Sir Robert Peel and those who were formerly the aggregate of his followers. We believe we may now state, without fear of contradiction, that a large section, if not a decided majority, of those followers have elected Lord Stanley for their future leader, and that they have cordially adopted his "obstruction" system, and determined to try its efficacy on every possible occasion.

This course of proceeding is grateful to them for many reasons. They are many of them proud of their own ancestry. They were glad to shake off the rule of a plebeian, and to substitute for him a patrician, distinguished not only by his descent but by his personal accomplishments, his engaging bearing

in the circles of his friends, his undoubted powers of debate, and his fearless and unequivocal expression of his sentiments. The natural candour of his mind, the disdain of consequences by which that mind is ever actuated, a disdain which often has operated with as much mischief as a positive deficiency of judgment could do, had indeed a serious tendency to incapacitate him for the office of leader, nay, had more than once compromised his position as a minister. This was a serious drawback. However the party had no choice. Lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel, it was clear, never could work in harness together, for any length of time. Sir Robert Peel well knew that the noble lord never would act cordially under him, except with the hope of supplanting him. The pride of the patrician, the temper, the haughtiness, (when excited), by which Stanley was above all men distinguished, ill-suited with a pride, quite as sensitive, which Sir Robert felt, in being the first son of a cotton spinner, that was ever the head of a British Cabinet. Everybody remembers how he boasted of this, when, upon the dismissal by the late king of the whig government, the business of the country was left at a stand, until the "cotton spinner's son," as he called himself, could be brought home from Italy.

That famous experiment and its failure could not convince the party, of the utter futility of all their attempts to recover the power they had wielded during the palmy days of Lord Liverpool. There was no principle of toryism incompatible with the reform bill, which Sir Robert was not content to sacrifice, or at least to explain away, in order to retain the office to which he was so unexpectedly called. In the new construction which he gave to the old doctrines of his party, he surprised some of them, disgusted a few, but pleased a great majority, who thought they saw that his only object was to cajole the public, lately so much attached to the reform cause. We believe that Sir Robert was really anxious to act upon the reform bill to its whole extent; but he soon found that the inveterate hostility to change, by which many of his followers were actuated, embarrassed his course to such a degree, that what he had begun in sincerity, he was obliged to carry on in dissimulation, until he felt himself at length forced to abandon all further attempts at reconciling the ungovernable prejudices of the party with the new state of the constitution. His second experiment, in May last year, was even more inauspicious than that of 1834-5. He found it impossible, when power was again proposed for his acceptance,

to advance even so far as the construction of a cabinet which offered the slightest chance of permanence. The question of the household was the least of his difficulties. The true obstacle was Ireland, and the faction that must rule, or at least try to rule here; and seeing that we were already grown to that degree of strength, that the minority had no chance whatever of recovering the ascendancy which they had so long maintained, he surrendered his task in despair.

The language which he now holds to his party is, in a few words, this:—"You are an unreasonable, ungovernable, selfish set, and I really can have nothing more to do with you. Many of you want me to repeal the emancipation act. I will not comply with any such absurd requisition. You wish me to discontinue the grant to Maynooth. I will do no such thing. You would have me proscribe all Catholics from even the minor offices of the state. I will not openly proclaim my intention to act upon this suggestion, but I will carry your will into effect as far as I decently can. Let me go on in my own way for awhile, and you can then judge of my success. But for me to resume the government now, while so many denunciations against the Catholics are ringing from the pulpits and platforms of Protestant meetings, is a hopeless affair. So proceed you now with your new leader, and try what you can do. I shall watch your course with deep interest. But for me my path is taken." We do not know what other meaning than this, can be ascribed to the peroration of Sir Robert Peel's speech upon the "non-confidence motion," as it is familiarly called.

"I have now done. I thank the house for the indulgence that it has shown to me. I think that you must see that I had no alternative. Having to state why I withheld my confidence from her Majesty's Government, and to state also the principles on which I myself should be prepared to act, I had not any alternative but to enter into an explanation, or to submit to the taunt of concealing my opinions (hear, hear). I have adhered to those opinions; you tell me that it is impossible that they should be acted upon. You tell me that the avowal will make me forfeit the confidence and excite the dissatisfaction of the great body of the party with whom I have acted. I have had no indication of withdrawal of that confidence (cheers). It has hitherto been reposed in me—it has been given to me to a greater extent than to any man similarly situated. The avowal of my opinion may lead to withdrawal of that confidence. But even if the avowal of my opinions and the declaration of the principles on which I would act with respect to the poor-law, with respect to the Relief Bill, and with respect to their fair and honest execution; if these

should lead to the painful results of a diminution of confidence in my friends and supporters, then I frankly declare to you, that however painful that would be, I should prefer it to the purchasing the continuance of that support by withholding my opinions, or by my acquiescence in doctrines which I really repudiate (cheers). I do not believe that the opinions I profess are incapable of execution; but this I frankly say, and you may depend upon it, though I cannot answer your question as to the principles on which her Majesty's Government can be conducted by me—this I can answer, that if it be conducted on other principles than those which I avow, then I shall be no party to it (hear). I have no such satisfaction in office that I can consent to the retention of office upon the condition of being the instrument in carrying into effect other men's opinions (cheers). My ambition is of another order. For any private object I want not office. I want not any distinctions that can follow office. I am contented with the power that I now exercise—I am contented with the confidence that I now enjoy (cheers); and I never will consent to hold office on any terms dishonourable to or inconsistent with myself, or inconsistent with the constitutional functions of a minister; and I never will consent to hold office if my opinions on political affairs be overruled, or if my supporters only support me on the condition of my adopting theirs (cheers). Whether these opinions are capable of being reduced to practice, I know not. I am not aware whether it is possible to procure such support as to be able to reduce them to practice: but they are those on which I mean to act in and out of office (cheers). Professing these principles, I may, perhaps, forfeit the confidence of my friends: but depend upon it, no attempt will be made by me to conciliate or to procure the confidence of my opponents. I shall, then, thus steadily pursue my course, indifferent to personal objects, indifferent to the possession of office, but perfectly ready to take it whenever the difficulties of public affairs call upon me, consistently with my own sense of honour and of duty, to take it: refusing to keep it upon any other conditions, and disdaining to hold it on the terms on which it is at present held. I shall continue to retain every distinction, every regard which I aspire to, in private life, knowing that I shall have the satisfaction of co-operating, in cordial confidence, with men whom I chiefly esteem and respect, knowing that their opinions are in concurrence with mine—in complete, uninterrupted concurrence—co-operating with my noble friend the member for North Lancashire, and with my right honourable friend the member for Pembroke, who may, indeed, be taunted with having left the opposite side of the house, but who have made the noblest sacrifice of their political interests to principle, that ever was made in recent years by public men (cheers). Above all, I shall retain the confidence, I shall retain the satisfaction, the distinction of co-operating with that illustrious man by whose right hand I have stood in the conflicts which have been fought for the last twelve years, and who now with faculties unimpaired by advancing years, is proving

that the same qualities which raised him to the highest pitch of military glory, that fortitude, perseverance, simplicity of mind, the love of justice, and sense of duty, qualities rare in their separate excellence, wonderful in their combination, still distinguish him in his civil life; and show that as a statesman his reputation is not inferior to what he has achieved as a warrior."

Sir Robert had undoubtedly much to complain of in the conduct of his quondam subalterns upon the privilege question, which unfortunately consumed so much of the precious time of the house at the commencement of the session. He fully supported the views taken of it throughout by ministers; but his discontented crew would not follow in his wake; they endeavoured by numberless petty manœuvres to make the utmost use of that question to damage the ministers, and it must now be confessed, that committing as it did the House of Commons in a conflict with the highest common-law court in the realm, and having opened many avenues to attack upon the cabinet, of which the little minds of the opposition availed themselves with partial success, it has done no good to the character of the house itself.

The war with reference to the finance department was led on by Messrs. Herries and Goulburn. At a period in the history of Europe, when it was peculiarly necessary that England should present herself in her greatest national strength to all the other powers—at a crisis when many most important subjects were upon the tapis—the question of the East, our dispute with Naples about the sulphur monopoly—our differences with Portugal—our complaints against China—the inroads of the French upon our African trade—the continual blockades of the French in South America—the long unsettled affair of the American boundary—the yet unregulated destinies of the Canadies—at the moment when all these most vital matters were to be placed in a shape for a final arrangement, Mr. Herries thought fit to take a step altogether unprecedented in the House of Commons, with a view to show that our finances were in a course of dilapidation from which it seemed scarcely possible that we could recover.

Early in February, before any thing like a fair estimate of the probable income for the current year could be made out, he moved and carried by a majority of ten, that such an estimate should be made out and presented to the House, admitting at the same time that his motion was without precedent at so early a period of the year. In his speech he calculated that at the end of the year 1840, the deficiency of our income,

as compared with our probable expenditure, would amount to no less a sum than six millions sterling! Supposing that Mr. Herries believed his own statement to be correct, was it an act of patriotism in a member of the House of Commons to proclaim that we were on the verge of bankruptcy, at the very moment when we had to struggle for our interests and our honour in every quarter of the globe?

Without going into details, it is now sufficient for us to know, that even with all the additional expenditure which the Eastern and China questions must of necessity impose upon us, the deficiency of our revenue for the year would be under three millions, and that this deficiency has been amply provided for, so far as is necessary, by an equitable per centage upon certain sources of income already in action. Mr. Herries, therefore, and his associate Mr. Goulburn, exerted all their energies to shew, that while England was yet negotiating in some quarters, and obliged to throw out menaces in others, in order to preserve her station as a great power, she was in a state of financial ruin. Happily the nations with which she had to contend, placed no reliance upon the factious exaggerations of those right hon. gentlemen. But that was not their fault. They did all they could to wound their country in its most vital part, merely that they might obtain a temporary, and, as it turned out, a false triumph over the ministry. Our parliamentary annals present no passage more disgraceful to an opposition than that which we have just described.

Not content with this most unjustifiable proceeding, the opposition, or, more correctly speaking, the "obstruction," next took up the China question. The lead upon this attack, was given to Sir James Graham, who, in a most elaborate analysis of the voluminous documents printed upon this subject, endeavoured to show that the measures announced to be taken by the government against the Chinese were certain to fail; that the war was brought on by the negligence of ministers, and that the true cause of it was, the interruption of a trade in opium, which, upon the part of our merchants was a mere system of smuggling. Sir Robert Peel took a similar view of the question, and endeavoured, moreover, to insinuate that the ministerial measures would—nay, that they ought to be—taken up by other powers as a cause of war against England! He alluded especially to Russia and the United States! Now let us hear the opinion, not of any of her Majesty's ministers, but of the Duke of Wellington, on the subject:—

"I cannot think of advising her Majesty to submit to insults and to injuries, such as, I believe, have never been inflicted be-

fore upon any person charged with public functions, as her Majesty's superintendent in that country—injuries such as were never inflicted upon any such person residing under the protection of a foreign government, and which were inflicted on the part of the Chinese authorities. It is perfectly true, that the trade in opium has been carried on contrary to the laws of China. But then, my lords, it was carried on with the knowledge of the local authorities on the spot (hear, hear). Though forbidden by the laws of China, practically it was allowed; it was known to the Emperor himself, and to all his servants, for many years; it was known to the government of India; it was known to parliament and to the government previous to the existing administration. Nay, in a report made by a committee of the House Commons upon this trade, it is particularly observed that it is desirable that it should be continued. Really, then, under these circumstances, it is rather a little hard to come down upon these traders, and to say that they have been guilty of an offence for which they are not only to be punished by a loss of their property, but to be absolutely abandoned; and then to have told to them—'You have been the cause of this great misfortune, and you therefore shall never have any redress whatever' (hear, hear). That is a course to which I for one can never be a party." (cheers).

This was the language of a patriot, who valued the honour of his country—who had fought a hundred battles for her glory. What a contrast does it offer to the miserable pleadings of the two right honourable baronets, who made all the use they could of their positions to obstruct the course of her Majesty's minister, upon this most important question!

Night after night having been wasted in these debates, and the "obstruction" having taken nothing after all by their hostile motions, it seemed good to Lord Stanley to attack the capitol itself in which the strength of the government was collected. He found—he has long found—and, please God, he will find for many a year yet to come, that so long as the majority of the Irish members continue to support a liberal ministry, he may "watch," and he may "mark," and he may attempt to "control," and even to "obstruct," their measures, if he think fit; but that nevertheless, the viper does but bite against the file. Nay, he may even call forth shouts of triumph from his followers, and proclaim, "We will leave to others the name, while we are content to wield the authority of government!" Vain boast! Empty sounds! Authority of government, indeed! Heaven forbid that the powers of government should ever again fall into such incompetent hands. My Lord Stanley, the words of Lord Althorpe are branded upon your forehead—"Your government of Ireland was a miserable failure;" nor have you retrieved your fortunes by your registration bill.

Wrap up, as the "obstruction" leader may, in fine language, and in artifices devised for him by his legal associates, the whole character of that famous bill, it is now as clear as the sun at noon, that its real and sole object was to hand over the preponderating influence of the Irish constituency to the tory landlords. We Irishmen have an odd way of looking at political measures propounded for our acceptance. We are told, in very plausible phraseology, "Oh, here is a defect in the law, which wants amendment. Your mode of registering your voters is not quite as it should be. You know I mean no earthly harm. But really I think that, for your own benefit, a registry that is to endure for eight years, cannot be advantageous to you. You should have a new registry at least every year; and in order that it should be an indisputable one, here is a form of claim, and here are modes of proceeding to establish it, which, though at first rather unintelligible, and perhaps a little expensive, will nevertheless set you all right." Such a proposal as this, even from a long-trying friend, would be listened to by us with some jealousy at this moment, when we hear nothing on all sides from the Tory press but yells—we can use no softer phrase—against the irresistible power of Ireland in the very heart of parliament.

But when a measure affecting our constituency is offered to us by a Stanley—the man of coercion—the ally of Lyndhurst—the idol of Philpots—the champion of that press which day after day denounces our venerable bishops, and our virtuous, patriotic, and beloved clergy, as so many "surpliced ruffians"—it is rather too much to expect that we are prepared to receive from him even an unquestionable boon (had it been such), without a little misgiving. We have most of us read a little of the classics; we have got as far at least as the story of the Trojan horse; and somehow or other, common-place as it may seem, we are exceedingly apt to exclaim on such occasions—"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

We can never forget the manner in which our O'Connell was treated in the House of Commons, while he was engaged in the strict performance of his duty with reference to this bill:—

"Mr. O'CONNELL; when we get into the house—I will move that the house do adjourn. I have but one reason for this; it is a bill to trample on the rights of the people of Ireland, (loud shouts, and a whistle from many members at the bar and on the opposition benches.) This is a bill to trample on their rights, (great groaning, and cries of 'oh, oh!' from the same parties). I repeat this is a bill to trample on their rights, (renewed groaning and great uproar). Yes, sir, if the beastly bellowing were ten times as great as it is, it would be my duty to interpose and stop this bill, ('oh, oh!')

"**SIR STRATFORD CANNING** : Sir, I ask whether it is not right that the honourable gentleman who has just sat down, should be called upon to retract his words, (universal cries of 'no, no,' from the ministerial benches, and 'order, order') ? Sir Stratford Canning stood at the table gesticulating with great vigour amidst the uproar, but his voice was completely drowned by the cries of 'order, no, no, and spoke.' At length we heard him say, the term I mean is 'beastly.' (great confusion.)

"**SIR C. ADAM** rose in the midst, and with considerable vehemence made some observation, not one word of which could be heard amidst the confusion, and he was followed by

"**SIR DAVID ROCHE**, who also stood in dumb show, for not a syllable would the Tories allow to reach the gallery.

"The hubbub in the house was immense, three or four members rose, and among them Lord MAIDSTONE, who served as the signal for renewed cries, if possible louder than the preceding, of 'chair, no, 'adjourn,' 'Mr. O'Connell,' 'apologise,' 'sit still,' and we know not what besides.

"**THE CHAIRMAN** : I feel assured that the expression used by the honourable and learned member ('no, no')—

"**MR. O'CONNELL** : If the expression had been used (chair, chair.)

"**MR. HEDWORTH LAMBTON** rose, but was instantly met with cries of 'chair, chair.'

"**THE CHAIRMAN** : If the word 'beastly' were used (yes, yes)—

"**MR. HEDWORTH LAMBTON** : Mr. Freshfield (order, order—question, question—and cries of 'Take your places ? bar, bar').

"Many honourable members took their places, but the bar continued crowded to the last.

"**THE CHAIRMAN** : The word 'beastly'—

"**MR. O'CONNELL** : When, sir, (chair, chair)—

"**THE CHAIRMAN** : I understood the chair to have been appealed to, on account of the use of the word 'bellowing,' (no, no—beastly). I feel assured that it was an inadvertent expression, and that the honourable and learned member will say so.

"**MR. O'CONNELL** : The only word I used was 'bellowing,' (no, no, 'beastly'). Can there be any other bellowing than beastly (cheers and laughter) ? Bellowing was the word I used (no, no). What sounds were they (cheers) ? Where they human sounds (cheers) ? That is what I said, because it was so.

"**MR. HEDWORTH LAMBTON** : Sir, I beg to ask, with great respect, if, when the honourable and learned member who was interrupted by the honourable member opposite, (Sir C. Canning), for using a very strong expression, you heard the extremely indecent interruption that was offered to him (immense cheering) ? I beg to say, that in my humble opinion, it is disgraceful for an assembly of English gentlemen to attempt to tyrannize over one individual member of this house (cheers, and cries of 'oh !') and I beg, with very great deference, to say, that when you rise to offer your opinion as presiding

over our proceedings, I consider you ought to take that into your consideration.

"The CHAIRMAN said that the expression complained of as having been used by the honourable and learned member was certainly a strong expression, but he had no doubt it arose from the feeling of the moment.

"Mr. EWART rose amidst cries of 'order,' 'spoke,' 'go on.' I beg most respectfully to state that if—(order, chair).

"The CHAIRMAN: Does the honourable member speak to order?

"Mr. EWART: I do. The question I understand to be raised between the honourable member for Dublin and the chairman (no, no). I say, sir, if by some singular good fortune your attention had happily been called to the interruptions that were offered before the honourable and learned member for Dublin made his observation, you would have called to order those who interrupted him, and not the honourable and learned member afterwards (cheers).

"Mr. CHARLES BULLER: Sir—

"Lord MAIDSTONE, Mr. FRESHFIELD, Mr. O'CONNELL—all these members were for upwards of a minute speaking at the same time, amidst the most deafening cries of order, and chair.

"At length the CHAIRMAN called upon

"Mr. CHARLES BULLER, who said, I do not wish to continue this very distressing discussion. If any person has any regard for the character of the house or for his own character as a gentleman, he will endeavour to close this question as speedily as possible. But I must impress upon you, sir, and upon all who preside over our discussions, that it is ineffectual to attempt to put down any person, who like the honourable and learned member, may use strong language by way of resenting insult, unless your attention is first directed to insults the most gross I have ever seen persons in the condition of gentlemen attempt to offer, or persons in the condition of gentlemen guilty of (loud cheers). I will mention one instance of the interruption which has proceeded from the opposite side during the whole of this evening; for during the whole of this evening I have heard from one (name, name). I do not know whether I could name the honourable or noble member* (name, name). No, I shall not name. But I have heard from about the same quarter of the house, addressed towards different members of this (the ministerial) side of the house, and particularly towards the honourable and learned member for Dublin, interruptions by whistling and other noises (cheers and cries of 'oh!'). I wish to offer no personal insult. I am anxious for the honour of this house, but I do say that those who first bring these manners into the house disgrace themselves (cheers). Yes, they disgrace themselves by introducing the manners of the ale-house into the House of Commons, and the house must be very patient towards those who resent these insults in a manner which I am sorry to say is too much called for, and too appropriate to the insult offered.

* It was Lord Maidstone.

"**LORD CLEMENTS** : The expression first used by the hon. and learned member was simply this. He complained that the bill before the house was to take away the liberties of Ireland. He (Lord Clements) had also made that complaint. The hon. and learned member used it once, and it received an indecent shout (cheers). It received a shout which was a disgrace to the house. That was not all—men on the floor of the house not only laughed and shouted, but they laughed in the hon. member's face—not only at a distance, but within a yard or two of his face.* The hon. and learned member bore it with great temper; and he repeated his opinion a second time, and it was received with the same insulting noise. The hon. and learned member tried a third time, when he received the same insult; and it was after the third time that he made use of the expression complained of. The honourable and learned member felt like an Irishman; I also feel like an Irishman, and I always will. I do not care what is said of me behind my back; or whether I am in the presence of gentlemen or not gentlemen; but I will not in silence hear any insult offered to my countryman, when he complains that the liberties of his and of my country are about to be taken away. I contend that this bill is wholly and solely for the purpose of taking away those liberties; and I do not think any gentleman has any right to come and stand upon the floor of this house, within a yard of any honourable member, and laugh at him in his face (cheers). If any member does that, the house must bear with what is said to him with patience and with temper (cheers).

"**LORD MAIDSTONE** : The honourable and learned member for Dublin had applied the term 'beastly' to certain words that were used towards him, which he did not happen to approve of. I call upon him to retract that expression. When he has done so, I shall be satisfied; but until that word is retracted, I will not be satisfied (cheers and laughter).

"**MR. O'CONNELL** : I am perfectly content with the noble lord's dissatisfaction (cheers and laughter). I would have appealed to you, Mr. Freshfield, but I wished to proceed with my description of the bill. When I gave that description, a shout was raised against me. You did not interfere to protect me (cheers). It happened a second time, and you did not interfere; it happened a third time, and I then vindicated myself, as you did not (cheers). Then it was that the honourable gentleman opposite (Sir S. Canning), who, by the by, took no part to call upon you to preserve order (immense cheers) when I was attacked, but sat with the most Christian and exemplary forbearance as long as the shouts, the whistlings, and the yells were directed against me; but the honourable gentleman, certainly with somewhat of an unbecoming indignation, the moment I described in moderate terms the character of this bill, rose and called me to order. I repeat that this bill is intended and calculated to trample on the rights and liberties of the Irish people—that it is intended and calculated to take from them the benefit of the reform bill, and the benefit of the Catholic emancipation bill. The noble lord has no right to force it on

* Lord Maidstone again.

contrary to the usages of the house, and ought not to have conceded to him any priority. The noble lord had been long the enemy of Ireland (hear, hear, order, chair).

"Sir STRATFORD CANNING said that the honourable gentleman, in explaining the circumstances which induced him to use a very unparliamentary expression had said that if he (Sir S. Canning) had the same perception which appeared to strike others—

"Mr. O'CONNELL: I speak to order—is this to order? (cheers.)"

This scene, looked at calmly, what was it but a real combat, as of old, between the Irish and the English, for the rights of our country!—fought, indeed, upon English ground, and with other weapons than fire-arms and battleaxes—but nevertheless full of that bitter rancour which in former ages characterized the hostility of Englishmen against Irishmen. We should, indeed, remember, that if we had upon this occasion the Stanleys, the Wynns, the Vernons, the Trevors, the Peels, the Packingtons, the Hardinges, the Gores, the Hopes, the Arbuthnots, the Egertons, the Inglises, and the Maidstones, opposed to us, we can count upon our side men of the best blood in England, and of the highest intelligence—the Russells, the Vivians, the Townleys, the Howards, the Talbots, the Caves, the Mildmays, the Lennoxes, the Langdales, the Heneages, the Ansons, the Berkeleys, the Ellices, the Bulwers. Nevertheless, we much fear that there is in England a numerous party, even amongst our apparent friends, who would rejoice in seeing the government sustained by any other than an Irish majority.

Nothing mortifies the tory writers of England more than the direct and irresistible power which has been fortunately for some time exercised by the Irish party in the House of Commons. Those writers have repeatedly analysed the divisions, with a view to show that had that party been divested of its power by any concurrence of circumstances, the tories would soon have every thing their own way. They talk of British majorities in a fashion altogether opposed to the principles and spirit of the union act, and indeed their arguments lead more directly to conclusions in favour of a repeal of that act, than any which have been yet resorted to at this side of the channel. The suppression of the Irish voice in parliament—the maintenance amongst us of the English Church in unlimited affluence—the exclusively Protestant character of the corporations and of all public schools—the rule of the sabre and the cannon—these are in few words the elements of the political system which the party now led by Lord Stanley

would endeavour to establish for Ireland—and be it added, that upon no other system than this, could he ever hope to gather around him a sufficient number of auxiliaries, in any new attempts which he may make for assuming the government of Ireland.

Mark the words of the Bishop of Exeter, when opposing the motion for going into committee upon the Irish Municipal Bill. After quoting from the report of the commissioners a passage in which it is stated, that “the admission of the commonalty to some share in the corporate proceedings (of Tuam), and the perfect freedom from religious distinction between the free burgesses and the great majority of the community, are strongly calculated to *prevent the dissension* which too commonly prevails in other places between the corporation, so called, and the inhabitants,” this meek prelate of a Christian Church, this teacher of “peace to all men,” this right reverend inculcator of the precept, “love your neighbour as yourself,” declares the true meaning of the passage to be, that “the tyrant majority of the Roman Catholics was so great, that the Protestant minority could not have the slightest chance of successfully opposing any of their measures, however detrimental they might be to the established Church.”

Give the Catholics power, he continues, by this bill—depend upon it they will “make an evil use of it.” “The people of Ireland are unfit for such a bill.” Corporations were first established in Ireland exclusively, says this holy man, for the purpose of “putting down the Irish and the king’s other enemies,” and for that purpose alone would he, of course, have them continued. “Exclusion was, in fact,” he adds, “the great principle of the Irish Municipal Corporations; and they answered the purposes for which they were created. The ancient corporate towns were fastnesses against the *Irishry*.” “A charter of Richard the Third forbids Irishmen to reside in the town without licence and the registration of their names.” “Henry V, in his charter to Limerick, directs that no one of Irish blood or nation should be mayor, or exercise any other office within the city, and that no person should take or maintain any man or child of Irish blood and nation, as apprentice, on pain of losing his franchise.” This is the sort of legislation which the Bishop of Exeter wished to see perpetuated in Ireland. War—unceasing war—against the Catholics. The House must now deplore every concession made to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland—

concessions of which "that population had done so much to prove that they were unworthy."

These proofs of unrelaxed hostility to Ireland, on the part of one of the most distinguished organs of the real sentiments of the tories, are, however, mere milk and water compared with the protest against the new municipal bill entered by the same prelate on the journals of the house to which he belongs. He states that he is dissentient from that measure, because it will encourage "the unceasing efforts of the papists to re-establish the domination of their own priesthood in its grossest and most revolting form;" because it will give efficacy "to every new proposition for increasing the power of that "bitter, unrelenting and perfidious enemy;" because it "arms the popish democracy of the cities and towns in Ireland with power to tyrannise over the Protestant and more opulent classes of inhabitants, and to extort from them funds for the more speedy and effectual execution of their own unhallowed designs;" and "Lastly, and above all," says this pious prophet, "because by this wilful and deliberate abandonment of the cause of true religion and of the security of the Church in Ireland, to which the fundamental laws of the constitution, the act of union, the oath of our sovereign, and all the most sacred duties of subjects to their ruler and of men to their Maker, alike bind us, we have provoked the justice of Almighty God, and we have given too much reason to apprehend the visitation of Divine vengeance for this presumptuous act of national disobedience"!!!

Never was a theological doctor—never was even Philpots, in such a passion before. We fancy that we see him in his study writing this last sentence, his hair standing on end, the foam rushing from his lips; and that having finished he rises in a frenzy and stamps about the room until—his dinner is announced! Nothing else could make him forget his passion.

Strange to say there is one expression in the said "protest," in the truth of which we entirely agree. He calls the late session of parliament a "disastrous" session—"disastrous," of course he meant, chiefly to the Church of England. And in point of fact it was so. "Heavier blows," and greater "discouragement," were dealt out in succession against that Church during that session, than during any other period within our recollection. The measures taken in parliament for arming the bishops with power to enforce ecclesiastical discipline within their respective jurisdictions, made it manifest to the country that they possess no substantial spiritual

authority, and indeed no authority at all except that which they acquire from an act of the legislature. The conclusion is therefore inevitable, that the "Church" is a mere civil institution, governed only by "civil" officers, and that the idea of its being an institution such as the Messiah came on earth to establish, is a mere delusion. It might just as well be affirmed (we say it with reverence), that the mission of the Redeemer was to found the National Gallery in Trafalgar-square, or any of the courts in Westminster Hall. In this respect the session really was "disastrous" to the Protestant cause.

But this was not all. Many and variously formed were the modes, by which the "Church" party endeavoured to get under their own exclusive control the entire education of the kingdom. For this purpose loud clamours were raised in all their pulpits, reviews, magazines, tracts and newspapers, in speeches, and resolutions at dinners and at public meetings, and in lectures delivered all over the country. In due season petitions were got up, and printed, and distributed with sundry skins of parchment amongst the clergy, and the said skins were returned with numerous signatures—though by no means so numerous as had been expected. The Archbishop of Canterbury however, wisely thought that half a loaf was better than no bread, and he was content to stipulate that for schools in which the doctrines of the Church of England were exclusively taught, no inspector should be appointed without his concurrence—so that in fact all the efforts in favour of the intended domination of the Church over all the new public schools turned out a complete failure. Truly the session was a very "disastrous" one.

"Misfortunes" they say, "seldom come single." A third "disaster" was in store for the "Church," altogether unlooked for. By one of those realizations of the adage, *Quem Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*, Sir Robert Inglis was inspired to move an address to her Majesty praying that she would be graciously pleased to direct an unlimited number of new churches to be built at the public expense. It seems not at all to have occurred to the hon. baronet, that the time chosen for this motion was peculiarly unhappy, seeing that, according to the authority of his friend Mr. Herries, our treasury was bankrupt, and the nation was actually committed in transactions which must impose upon that treasury new burdens. Neither did he consider that the Church of England, as the public well knew, was the richest ecclesiastical establishment in the world, enjoying as it did revenues little short of

four millions sterling per annum. We need hardly add that the motion was lost. "Disastrous" certainly the session might be called by the Bishop of Exeter.

Nor did the catalogue of "heavy blows," and great "discouragements" stop here. Steps have been taken for destroying many of the well-paid sinecures connected with the cathedral establishments. The drones are to be expelled from the hive at last. The fat canons are to be handed out from their stalls, and the large incomes upon which they reposed in peace are to be dealt out amongst the poorer orders of the working clergy. This measure was recommended by the ecclesiastical commission; and yet, when the Archbishop of Canterbury came to give it his support, he was charged even by some of his own suffragan bishops with having violated his episcopal oath. They called him in round terms a perjurer, just as Dr. Philpots calls every Roman Catholic member of parliament a perjurer who votes in favour of any measure calculated to act as a "discouragement" to the Church established by law. We must refer to the archbishop's defence against this accusation. It is a complete justification of the construction which we give to the oath imposed upon us by the emancipation law. His grace argued—and most correctly—that all oaths taken by legislators are taken with a necessarily implied reservation of the higher duties which they owe to the country; and that when in such oaths reference is made to laws already enacted, the obligation to respect those laws does not prevent the juror from consulting in parliament, with a view to amend or alter them, and to substitute for them others which he may deem more advisable under any new circumstances that may arise. When Dr. Philpots charges Mr. O'Connell again with perjury, the hon. and learned gentleman will have only to refer his right reverence to the speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury upon this occasion. A session which has taken this favourite resource of crimination out of the Bishop of Exeter's mouth, may be by him well termed most "disastrous."

His right reverence has had something still more painful to endure, to which we have not yet alluded. On the 26th of May last, the archbishop of Dublin presented to the house of Lords a petition, signed by thirty clergymen and thirty laymen, complaining of certain parts of the articles of subscription to the Church of England, and of the Liturgy, which it required to be altered. His grace stated in substance, that he agreed in the views set forth in that document; but that, although he presented it, "he could not recommend to any

branch of the legislature interference with the affairs of the Church, except as to temporalities alone; for he felt that it was not well qualified nor disposed to touch upon subjects of a spiritual nature (hear, hear). The legislature had indeed the sole power and right to make such alterations as might be called for, or to say that they were not needed: but neither the House of Lords, nor that of the Commons, was well qualified to perform those functions." Here is truly a perplexing case. An evil exists, and is complained of—one, too, of a most serious nature—affecting the very vitals of religion—weighing most grievously upon the consciences of many men, lay and ecclesiastical; and the only tribunal possessing power to remedy that evil, is not qualified to exercise that power!

Let us go a little further into this matter. The most reverend prelate proceeded to say, as well he might, "that this was an anomalous state of things, and that it was unsafe for any community—for the Church especially—to be without a legislative government;" and he then referred to a plan which he had formerly proposed, for "handing over the question to a body exclusively *appointed* to consider it, with the same power to make alterations, as the legislature now enjoyed." In conclusion, his grace asked, with much reason, "whether, in the alterations made by the first reformers, they intended that their amendments should never be changed—whether they were to be like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, unalterable—and whether it was their intention that the door should be locked, and the key buried and lost for ever?" We confess we should like to see this question answered, if only for the sake of curiosity. And moreover, we should be very glad to hear his grace point out the authority competent to *appoint* the "body" in question. If that authority be, as it must be, Parliament, then we should further like to know by what process a legislature, not itself possessed of spiritual power, could bestow that power upon any person or persons whomsoever; for we presume that in matters entirely of a spiritual nature, as the articles and the liturgy of the Anglican Church are supposed to be, no change could be effectual which did not originate in a competent spiritual tribunal.

The name of one clergyman, Mr. Wodehouse, a prebendary of Norwich, was mentioned, as a person resolved to give up his preferment unless some such alterations as those required were made under the sanction of some duly authorised power. The alterations demanded were, that "the letter of the prayer-book and the subscription to the articles should be rendered more

consistent with the practice of the clergy and the acknowledged meaning of the Church." Hence it must be inferred, that the petitioners in this case, of whom thirty were clergymen, deviated in practice from the articles of faith to which they had pledged their consciences by their signatures; and further, that the Church itself did not, in their opinion, mean to impose upon its members the faith which is described in its own articles. This, to say the least of it, is—to borrow the language of the archbishop of Dublin—rather an "anomalous state of things." The archbishop of Canterbury expressed an opinion, that the best way for remedying it would be, to pass a law, not for altering the prayer-book and articles to suit the consciences of particular clergymen, but for "making the practice of those persons more consistent with the prayer-book and the articles." Here, then, we come to an inquisition—to an inquisition to be established by parliament; that is to say, to a tribunal exercising spiritual power of the most tyrannical nature, over the consciences of individuals; the said tribunal being of itself a pure lay body; parliament possessing no means within its reach of giving to others spiritual energies which it does not itself possess.

The bishop of Norwich confessed very plainly on this occasion, that "the difficulties with respect to an alteration of the liturgy, and perhaps of the articles, were apparently insuperable!" A very consoling doctrine, truly, for Mr. Wodehouse, who must have, in consequence, at once resigned his stall, had it not been for the right reverend prelate's further explanations, which certainly are indulgent enough to meet any cause of conscience whatever, at least with respect to the articles. He substantially admitted that it was not at all an uncommon occurrence for a clergyman signing the articles thus "to confess with his lips what he did not confess with his heart;" but he did not wish this to go abroad, as "it would be giving their enemies an advantage ground, of which they would readily avail themselves." "If the subscription," he added, however, "were understood in the literal and most stringent way, there were difficulties which weighed heavily upon scrupulous consciences, and by removing those difficulties they might leave the way open only for consciences that had no scruples, to enter the Church for objects which referred only to the secular views as to profits which they might entertain." Here, therefore, is a precious dilemma. The difficulties as to the subscription are confessedly very painful to scrupulous minds; but they cannot be removed, because, if they were, the

road to the wealth of the Church would be at once laid open to every person who might choose to enter it, merely for the sake of the money he might make.

The right reverend bishop, however, very ingeniously tries to escape both horns of this dilemma. "The Church," he says, has a *sort of elasticity*, which allows and graduates the differences that exist.

"Those who accomplished the Reformation were placed in very difficult circumstances—they had to satisfy a body that included persons of very different feelings. The articles of the Church, therefore, were framed on a reference to the opinions of a very wide body, that differed on many points. There was a sanction for this opinion in the speech of a noble lord, a distinguished statesman, with which their lordships were familiar, who had said that the Church of England had a Calvinist creed, and an Arminian clergy. And there were those who would infer from the same evidence, that to Arminians the creed was sufficiently satisfactory, and that it allowed the admission of a Calvinistic clergy. In fact, the Church was so constituted, that it was calculated for all who agreed in the broad distinguishing features, and in the salutary doctrines of the Christian Church. This being taken for granted, what ought they to do? He would recommend that they should honestly and boldly meet the difficulties, not only because the Church was founded upon liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment, but because it gave the greatest—he would not say latitude—but privilege of private judgment. Therefore, in extending the subscription, he was persuaded that they would be granting a boon and a benefit to many scrupulous and tender consciences that were amongst the brightest ornaments of the establishment."

So that thus, in fact, the bishop of Norwich throws wide open to every species of conscience, whether scrupulous or unscrupulous, the gates of the Church;—an evil which he had just deplored—an evil against which he had just proposed to provide a remedy; and which, in fact, his remedy would not only tend to increase, but to sanction with all the authority which he could bring to bear on the subject! His right reverence adds, very candidly, that "It never was pretended that the clergy agreed in every part and every iota of that to which they subscribed at their ordination!" This frank exposure of the state of "the Church" brought up the bishop of London, who said that—

"He would not have entered into the discussion of it were it not for the observations which had escaped from the right rev. prelate in the heat of debate, and because, doubtless, he was unaccustomed to address them, which were little less than a libel on the Church (hear, hear). He had heard the right rev. prelate say that the Church was

founded upon liberty of conscience. It was practically the fact that the Protestant Church permitted as great a degree of liberty of conscience as was consistent with the interests of religion; but he had always understood that the Catholic Church was founded on truth; that the Church was the authorised interpreter of the words of truth, and that she would desert her duty if she did not lay down, for the good of the people, the great truths which were extracted from the Bible (hear, hear). The question of subscription to the articles was very different. It was not required from all members of the Church, but only from the ministers of the Church, as a security against a greater evil, the constant change and fluctuation of doctrines by men not tied down by any precise articles (hear). What was the expansion that was required? It was this—that when a clergyman declared *ex animo*, he should be understood as declaring only in what sense he pleased. This was expansion with a vengeance—an expansion which did not partake of that prudent elasticity which though always ready to accommodate itself to the peculiarities of our infirm and imperfect nature, would never stretch beyond the line of truth, nor sacrifice that which was just and true to meet the maudlin scruples of any conscience whatever (hear, hear). He, for one, should think he was eating the bread of the Church unworthily if he were to subscribe any articles which he did not implicitly believe. If the articles were not scriptural—if they were calculated to do more mischief than good, let them be abandoned; but do not interfere with the terms of subscription; do not, for the sake of the tender consciences and nice scruples of some, adopt a mode of subscription which would leave the door open to the most unscrupulous (hear, hear, hear). He confessed he did not see anything of the hardship that was complained of in this matter. Prior to ordination, was not every man so conversant with what he was required to do, that when he came to do it he ought to do so with a clear conscience, or else not to do it at all (hear)? That he thought was a complete answer to the application for an expansion of the terms of subscription.”

What, then, we ask, is Mr. Wodehouse to do? To resign—or not to resign—that is the question. “You are not at all bound to resign, says the Bishop of Norwich, for although you have signed articles which you do not believe, it does not signify. There is “a sort of elasticity in the Church” which permits you to do just as you please upon this subject. Mr. Wodehouse might possibly request his right reverend friend to be a little more explicit as to the said “elasticity,” for the words “a sort of elasticity,” he, a scrupulous man, might perhaps think vague. It not being probable that the bishop could elucidate this peculiar supposed attribute of the Anglican Church any further, Mr. Wodehouse might then perchance seek information upon it from the Lord Bishop of London,

who would at once tell him in no measured terms that the doctrine of the Bishop of Norwich was sheer heresy, that *his* elasticity was "expansion with a vengeance," and that unless he (Mr. Wodehouse) believed sincerely what he had signed, he "was eating the bread of the Church unworthily." "Bread of the Church?" Mr. Wodehouse might exclaim—Does your lordship mean the sacrament—for that I have always thought to be the "bread of the Church." "Oh dear no"—the good bishop would answer, "I mean the thousands per annum you put in your pocket for doing nothing." A precious dialogue this would be to go before the people of England. The debate that is before them is, if possible, still worse. And if it be said that the petition which gave rise to it, was signed only by thirty clergymen, the answer to this objection is given by the Bishop of Norwich.

"The petition contained nothing new; there was nothing that did not find a place in the bill of 1689 which was sanctioned by the crown; the plan and the petition were almost *verbatim et literatim*. The monarch of that day proposed this plan, because he conceived that it was necessary for the safety of the Church; and archbishops and bishops, with professors of high degree, and dignitaries of the Church in numbers, agreed in a petition which was similar to that which the most reverend prelate had that evening brought before them. How came that measure to fall? He would blush to give the details of the intrigues by which it was quashed. The house might remember them, but, out of a regard to the interests of the Church, he would not mention them."

This statement was confirmed by the Bishop of London.

"What had been said by the right rev. prelate that the petition was not new, was correct; all that was stated in the petition was said by Bishop Hoadly; it was said less perfectly by his commentators; and it was said more clumsily in the House of Commons in 1772, although the arguments then used went further than the present petition, emanating, as it did, from respectable persons. He would neither impugn their respectability nor their sincerity, though he took a different view from them, and thought that they were little aware of the evils which would arise if they tampered with the articles."

We may take the liberty to ask, *en passant*, how it would be possible for a spiritual tribunal to be established in the Anglican Church, whose office it would be to settle all disputed theological questions, seeing that, as to the very basis upon which that Church is supposed to rest, there seems to be even amongst its most learned dignitaries no settled opinion? The Bishop of Norwich affirms that it rests upon "liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment." The Bishop of

London declares this to be a "libel on the Church," which he says is founded only on "truth," although it permits, not an unrestrained liberty of conscience, but just as much as is consistent with the interests of religion. "What is truth?" the one bishop might ask. "You will find it in the Scriptures," the other would reply. "But suppose we differ as to the interpretation?" "We cannot differ, for there are the Articles to decide between us." "I have signed the articles, but I do not believe in them." "Then all I can say is that you eat the bread of the Church unworthily." "Well—but this does not decide whether I am right or wrong in my interpretation of the Scriptures, and you admit that I have a right to "liberty of conscience." "You may have a right to liberty of conscience, but you have no right to be a bishop." "That is a question which you have no better authority than I have to decide." "True—it must be decided by a competent tribunal." "No such tribunal exists." "Let us create it." "How?" "By act of parliament." "But parliament cannot confer spiritual authority, and without that, your tribunal, if created, must after all be only a lay jurisdiction, to which I need not and would not submit my liberty of conscience."

There is hardly any error in reasoning, which is not included in the dialogue here supposed to have passed between the two bishops, a dialogue founded on what they are reported to have said in the house of lords. In the report, no material mistake can have occurred, because the words imputed to them perfectly express the principles each laid down as the foundation of his faith. There is the *petitio principii*, and not one, but several vicious circles on both sides; and it is very plainly confessed that the Anglican Church is, and has been for near a century, without any form of legislative government, and, what is still more perplexing, without any practicable means for obtaining one. It is moreover acknowledged, that within the bosom of the said Church are many clergymen who do not believe in what they have sworn they do believe, whose practice is inconsistent with her formularies, who are declared therefore to be "eating the bread of the Church unworthily," and yet whom there is no authority to exclude from the temporalities which they enjoy! Had not the bishop of Exeter good reason to declare, that the late session was indeed a most "disastrous" one?

There was one other "disaster" which we must not forget to record,—the grant to Maynooth. The exertions made by the Protestant clergy throughout England and Ireland

during the last two or three years, to prevent this grant from being renewed, have been unprecedented in the annals of bigotry. We shall quote only a single resolution, that of the Lancaster Protestant Association, upon this subject. It speaks the opinions of all the assemblies which have met upon the question; it is in such perfect harmony with the sentiments of Dr. Philpots, that we should feel no difficulty in believing it to have been penned by his right reverence:

"That, therefore, the support now given by a Protestant government to popery, in the colonies and elsewhere, but especially to the Popish College of Maynooth, in Ireland, by grants from the public treasury, is, in our judgment, highly offensive to Almighty God, and eminently dangerous to the country, and therefore it is the bounden duty of every Christian Englishman to petition for the discontinuance thereof."

Well,—petitions were poured in abundantly against the said grant from all parts of the country, and on the twenty-third of June a motion was made, that the said grant be discontinued after the present year. Mr. Plumptre introduced the subject, and was supported by Colonel Perceval and others; and out of a house of one hundred and sixty-three members, forty-two divided in its favour! Ah! that little mouse born of a big mountain, what a mortifying lesson it often affords to the furious fanatics of our day! Oh truly "disastrous" session, my lord bishop of Exeter!

There is one other remark in his lordship's protest, to which we are willing to subscribe to a certain extent. He observes that since the passing of the act for the reform of the commons-house of parliament, the house of lords has been practically deprived of what was wont to be deemed its constitutional share of control over the executive power of the crown; but that nevertheless, it was "enabled, till the *present disastrous session*, to retain and assert its legislative independence; and by the wise and efficient exercise of its highest duty, in the correction or rejection of bad bills, had continued to earn and enjoy the grateful veneration of the English people. That lofty position it has, in this instance (of the Irish municipal bill,) voluntarily surrendered; and has thus, by its own act, gone far towards realizing the prophetic declaration of Sir William Blackstone, that the constitution of England could only be destroyed, by one of the three branches of the legislature losing its constitutional weight, and submitting to the domination of the other two."

We agree with the bishop of Exeter in thinking, that the

house of lords has recently lost much of the control which it formerly possessed over the executive power of the crown, in consequence of the reform act; because that act took away from them the power which they had very amply exercised, of nominating a majority of the members of the house of commons, the very evil of which the people most justly complained. We agree moreover with the right reverend prelate in opinion that the upper house has "voluntarily surrendered" the lofty position which it might nevertheless have held in the constitutional system, but that such "position" it has lost by confining its exertions to the mere rejection of bills sent up by the other house; often without the slightest examination; often in pursuance of a vindictive desire to set itself in opposition to the wishes of the people, as expressed through the lower house of parliament; often from an unrelenting hostility to Ireland, and a fanatical hatred of the religion that prevails here.

Look for instance at what has occurred during this very last session of parliament. The house of lords scarcely transacted any business at all before Easter. Lord Brougham retired to the French coast of the Mediterranean. Lord Lyndhurst was not well. The absence of these two noble lords was made the ground upon which the legislative functions of that house were suspended for nearly four months. Nothing like business commenced there until after Whitsuntide, and then came the excuse, (one which was very freely used in several preceding sessions also), that there was not sufficient time for considering the bills which came up from the house of commons, and in consequence, several measures of great importance have been thrown out, as the expression now is, "wholesale."

The natural result of this system must be to lower in the scale of the constitution, the proper power of the house of lords. That power it can only maintain by keeping itself in action during the period for which it is summoned by Her Majesty's writ, to consult upon high and important matters connected with the interests of the empire. But it virtually disobeys the writ, and abdicates its functions during the greater portion of the session: and when at length it does assemble to do business, there is not time for deliberation; and two law lords, and the duke of Wellington, absolutely exercise the whole power of the house. The remainder of the great majority of the peers, with one or two exceptions, absolutely go for nothing, and make themselves of no worth whatever beyond their mere votes when present, and their proxies when absent.

There is no man of common discernment, who does not see that the house of lords is certainly retiring from the ground it once held, and ought still to hold in the constitution. Its complete inertness during a great part of the period, when it should be industriously occupied in the performance of the duties which it shares with the commons, makes the people almost forget it is in existence. And when they see, that just for a month or so towards the end of the session, the lords chiefly meet, rather for the purpose of impeding than forwarding the business of the country, they cease to respect opinions delivered without much reflection, opinions too, that shew no progress of intellectual power or information, but springing from principles altogether behind the spirit of the age.

Some of the peers themselves see very clearly this state of things, and complain of being made "waiters on the resolves of my lords Lyndhurst and Brougham." There are a few more-over who feel themselves not a little hurt by being obliged in all things to submit to "the duke." It is "the duke," always "the duke." What does "the duke think of it?" If you ask a noble lord on the opposition benches, to undertake any measure private or public, his invariable answer is, "I must see the duke first," as if the house were not the house of peers, but of one peer, the duke of Wellington, or rather a chancery of the duchy of Wellington, much after the fashion of that belonging to the duchy of Lancaster. To look at its register of votes, we should say that it is an assembly of non-contents, a mere negation in our constitution—doing a great deal of harm, and very little good. It was a keen and just remark of Mr. Sheil, alluding to the majority of *three* by which the grant of £30,000 for general education purposes in the session of 1839 was carried, and the majority of one hundred in the House of Lords by which they sought, but sought in vain, to divert that grant to an exclusive system of education under the control of "the Church," that it was now an established rule that three voices in the commons were more than equivalent to one hundred in the lords. The fact is so. The lords have, by their own capricious, inconsiderate, and vindictive proceedings lost much of their fair proportion of constitutional power, and almost all their ancient moral influence over the opinions of the people. The "grateful veneration," of which the Bishop of Exeter speaks, no longer exists.

Let us now review the observations and facts which occupy the preceding pages of this article, and see how parties actu-

ally stand in Church and state. Within the establishment itself the picture is exhibited of a clergy living upon the temporalities of an institution, to whose articles of faith they have all necessarily subscribed, but from which numbers of them dissent. It is admitted on all hands that this is a most serious evil, demanding immediate redress; but that there is no spiritual authority existing competent to afford that redress, and it is evident that no such spiritual authority can be created, inasmuch as there is no supreme spiritual source, connected with that Church, from which such authority can emanate.

If the old convocation could be revived, which nobody seems to desire, it could possess no authority of that nature? And even if it could be invested with the character of a spiritual assembly, how is it possible that binding laws could be enacted by men who do not agree amongst themselves as to the foundation upon which such authority could be erected? No law could proceed from such a body which bishops, clergy and laity might not afterwards violate, or construe as they wished, by reason of that privilege of private judgment, which privilege is itself the parent of the Church. It seems to us therefore impossible, that an institution situated as the Anglican Church is at this moment, confessedly without a legislative government, without the power of creating one, and in consequence agitated by dissensions between dignitary and dignitary—between bishops and their clergy—between the clergy and great bodies of the laity—can long survive against the hourly increasing intelligence of an age which must cease to permit the continuance of an Anomaly running counter in every part of it to the common-sense of mankind, and yet appropriating to itself a revenue of four millions a year!

As to the condition of "parties" in the world of politics, it seems, we think, to be the general opinion, that the course pursued by the opposition, during the late session, has fatally injured themselves, and greatly strengthened the power of the existing government. The many motions devised for the mere purpose of "obstruction" have been clearly seen through by the thinking portion of the community, and have been by them most justly disapproved. The history of those motions, moreover, bears upon every page of it the disgusting features of gross exaggeration and falsehood, and what is still more irredeemable, the downcast aspect of entire failure.

That history has further disclosed the variety of mutinous subalterns on the opposition benches—the fanatics led by Mr.

Plumptre and Colonel Percival, the ultra-churchmen under the standard of Sir Robert Inglis, the haters of Ireland under the command of Lord Stanley, and the seekers of subordinate place, who veer about with every wind, and the aspirants to high place, who cling desperately to Sir Robert Peel. Upon any motion to the prejudice of the political influence exercised by Ireland, all these would undoubtedly agree, as they did in the instance of Lord Stanley's registration bill. But place Lord Stanley or Sir Robert Peel at the head of a new cabinet, it would become at once apparent that the registration majority would speedily disband themselves, because the aspirants to subordinate places never could be endured in Ireland, even if those of a higher character could possibly constitute an united government.

As to the party which supports Lord Melbourne, it must also be admitted to be variously composed. But although the differences existing amongst them are warmly expressed upon some occasions, and complaint is made that ministers do not attempt more than they have yet effected for the promotion of the liberal cause, still we are happy to observe that a spirit of forbearance has lately prevailed amongst the reformers, which teaches them to wait more patiently for the progress of events.

For ourselves, wedded as we confess we are to the cause of our own beloved land, we shall never despair of her fortunes, so long as we possess an executive constructed upon, and sincerely carrying out, the principles of government first laid down, and, amidst a host of difficulties, formed into a solid system by the united and indomitable energies of Lords Normanby and Morpeth, and the ever-to-be-lamented Drummond. In Lord Ebrington, Lord Morpeth, and Mr. Norman Macdonald, we have still everything which the circumstances of the time require. Their fidelity to the good cause cannot be suspected, and the acts of our lord-lieutenant have been hitherto beyond all possibility of reproach.

Let us be but true to each other, and *attend to the registries*, and vain will be opposition or "obstruction" to any really useful measure upon which we set our hearts. With a temperate (thanks to Father Mathew), virtuous, industrious, prudent, thriving, able-bodied, able-minded, well instructed, courageous population at our backs, let us proceed in a steady, constitutional career, until we establish the "Emerald Isle" upon a pedestal of national greatness, equal to that of any other state in Europe, and from which not all the Stanleys, and Peels,

and Philpots in England can force it,—conspire, and scheme, and attempt to legislate, and harangue, and “protest” against it as they may.

We have by our own fearless well-directed energies won emancipation—we have chained down to earth the old orange oppressor—we have swept away half the spurious prelacy by which our sacred soil was contaminated—we have shut up many of the stone and mortar things they called “churches by law established”—we have ensured, by vast numbers of public schools, the revival of that general learning for which the Irish were in former days distinguished throughout the world—we have rendered impracticable amongst us the domination of a hostile local government—we have abolished “the fastnesses against the Irishry,” and shall soon have in their places “fastnesses” of our own which will bid defiance to every enemy of the said “Irishry,” foreign or domestic—we have sent Stanley and his “registration” myrmidons to wreak the vengeance they proclaimed against us, upon grouse and woodcocks; and as we thus “grow in our growth, and strengthen in our strength,” we shall make the welkin ring with our merriment, at the ludicrous spectacle which every poor “thimble-rigger” must exhibit, when he may again venture to deal in his “knaveish tricks” against the liberties of Ireland.

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IT is a striking fact in the history of our species, that their earliest studies were the skies. Arcturus, the Pleiades, Orion, and the “Crooked Serpent,” were spectacles familiar to men, and which they converted to practical use, in ages when they appear scarcely to have known how to distinguish one stratum of earth, or even one blade of grass, from another. The heaven-ward gaze which bespeaks their origin and their destiny, rendered them indifferent to subordinate objects, until their curiosity having become satiated with the stars, they bent their eyes to the spot which was assigned to them for their temporary habitation.

What new wonders, what inscrutable mysteries, then began to exercise and confound their intellectual faculties! They discovered here accumulations of matter of various descriptions, moulded, (as they have by incessant research eventually learned,) into a sphere, placed at a certain distance from an infinitely larger sphere invested in light, around which, while turning on an axis of its own, it advances in an orbit, not a circle, and yet is unerring in its return to the point from which it had set out. They beheld it faithfully attended in its journey by another, and a minor, sphere, of whose course it is itself the centre; and then, gradually extending their inquiries, they found that the world in which they dwell, is but one of several globes, some with, some without, retinues of satellites, all in motion round the same great source of that luminous element so essential to their common existence.

But the mind of man did not rest here. He pursued his career of inquiry until, by the aid of the telescope, he caught glimpses of myriads of spheres before unseen,—spheres which

though apparently fixed, by science are judged to be in motion, forming with those that are visible to the unassisted eye, and with countless hosts of others hidden even from the telescope in the heights of space, a sublime procession around the uncreated focus of all the spheres—the throne of the Omnipotent.

The logic that detains us within notions only of those things which we can actually see or touch, ought to have long since become obsolete. We should look out of our ark betimes, and contemplate its progress upon the ocean of the universe. The relation in which our globe is placed with reference to the sun and moon, gives us habits which, though useful for many purposes, tend nevertheless to limit the range of our ideas. Those habits render us conversant with enumerations of hours, and days, and months, and years, and centuries; whereas, if we could but grasp within our view the magnificent scheme of creation, of which our system constitutes so small a part, we should know that time is but a local phrase, and that in truth, man is living and moving not in time, but eternity.

Then come the questions, how, and why, he happens to be here?—What is he?—When came he hither? How long is he to remain here? Whither is he to go, if he does not altogether perish on this earth? Examining his own structure, he finds it most elaborately wrought in every part; each part, each particular sinew, vein, limb, organ, adapted with wondrous accuracy to the functions which it has to perform,—some always at work, independently of his will—some instantly obedient to his order,—the whole a fabric incomparable for its beauty and perfection to any other animated object which he beholds on this earth.

He observes that all things around him, living, or not living, are subject to laws of perpetual mutation. The insect that creeps to day, to-morrow puts on wings and seeks the sky. The tiny seed he puts into the ground, in due season sprouts up into a stem, yielding a hundred other seeds of the same species. The green summer attire of the elm and the oak becomes sere in the autumn, falls at their feet, and turns into mould. The spring calls forth fresh foliage which again delights his eye, and again fades and mingles with the soil beneath. Walking through the corn-field, he lights upon a little habitation, carefully hollowed out and furnished with materials conducive to warmth; several curiously spotted oval-shaped objects are there, within which are contained the elements of life, and joy, and melody, and if he but permit them to remain untouched, he may speedily watch the flight of the creatures

within them to "Heaven's gates," and hear them make the welkin ring with their song. The dew or the rain imbibed by the vine, is changed into a delicious nectar cheering to the heart of man. The same elements are converted, in the upas, into a liquor that instantly destroys him. Myriads of animated beings pass under his observation, some predestined to live a century, others to enjoy life only for a day or an hour. They consume each other, or losing their power of motion decay and merge into dust. The waters of the river and the ocean expand into vapour, rise and float in the firmament, again assume their pristine form, and descend to the sources whence they came. Man obeys the same law of change. The flesh and blood of his infancy speedily pass away. Those of his youth and maturity follow the same destiny, and those he happens to possess when he is consigned to the tomb, become the food of subterranean races, or moulder into a substance which yields the green grass and the flower.

But amidst all these transformations there is one element, in which he perceives no injurious change. He is conscious that whatever becomes of the silvered hairs of his head, and of the palsied hand, the stooping frame, and the eye curtained by the cataract, there is something within him which tells of all the past; which looking backward to a point, has from year to year been still expanding in its forward views, and growing stronger in its natural powers; the same in the smile of the infant, improved in the meditation of the sage,—the same in the vision of the night, as in the reality of the morning,—the same in the zephyr of the spring, as in the tempest of the winter,—and therefore not, at all events, of this earth's matter. That matter, although undergoing perpetual alteration, never perishes. By stronger consequence the element that thinks, which does not lose a spark of its original fire, cannot die here: and if it cease to think on this globe, it must pursue on some other the exercise of faculties of which it cannot divest itself, even if it were so disposed. Reasoning from the greater energy those faculties have gained by exercise on this stage of existence, we are entitled to conclude that they must still go on farther towards perfection, when they display themselves in a nobler field of exertion, until at length passing through all the orders of intelligence, from man to the angel, from the angel to the seraph and the cherubim, they beam in the light of the divinity.

Thus the question, "what is man?" may be answered in language, the truth of which he would find confirmed by every object he can see on earth, even if there had been no Heavenly

Preceptor sent to disclose to him that splendid destiny. It is not alone the principle of identity in his mind, that guarantees its immortality; we must believe from every fact which inquiry has brought within our knowledge, that the powers of consciousness, of memory, of precaution, of volition, which every organized being exercises, from the gnat of the sun-beam to the leviathan of the deep, more or less partake of the nature of mind. We perceive, however, that they do not individually improve, unless assisted by man, and that the races which succeed each other, gain nothing from the experience of those that have gone before them. This well ascertained truth demonstrates that such races have no higher destinies to fulfil than those which are assigned them here. When they die, their consciousness dies with the form which it had animated. Man's pledge of immortality (even without the hopes given to him by Revelation,) is not only the consciousness of identity, but the ever improving character of his intellect; his constant elevation even here, from a meaner to a higher state of existence and enjoyment. Born naked, he, who was once contented to clothe himself in the skin of the lion or the tiger, now vests himself in silver and golden tissues of the most magnificent description. He who once journeyed painfully on foot, has compelled the horse and even the huge elephant to bear him wherever he chooses to go. The canoe which feared the slightest wind or wave, he has improved into the steam ship, which traverses the ocean in defiance of tide and storm. And not satisfied with the path which his feet have worn down the valley, and over the mountain, he has made himself an iron road, that spans the hollow and pierces the rock, and bears him by the assistance of fire and water, in four hours, over a distance, which had cost even his father a period of as many days.

Man is the peculiar favourite of nature,—the great object of all her operations. Like a fond parent she often discourses with him, and simplifies her speech to her child, hushing him to repose with her nightingale song, awakening him to activity and joy, by choirs that make the woods resound with their melodies: tempting him into the fields by the gaiety and diversity of the flowers in which she has arrayed them: amusing and instructing him at every step he takes by her divine alphabet,—the hosts of busy and beautiful insects that cross his path, or hum in his ear, or captivate his eye.

Still, as he grows up, she pursues her maternal purpose; she teaches him to watch the heavens, and read the stars. As

if these bright volumes were insufficient for her object, she summons from the depths of space her comets, which by their re-appearance at intervals more or less regular, enable him to form some faint idea of the vastness of the firmament. Not satisfied even with these exertions, she frequently projects from her stores of light thousands of meteors, which appear sometimes to be telegraphic symbols of great tidings, communicated from orb to orb, sometimes are dissipated in showers of dazzling lustre, as if to stimulate and prepare his vision for spectacles infinitely more resplendent.

Oh ! had man not been disobedient when first placed here—had he not condemned himself, in consequence of his fall, to earn his bread by the “sweat of his brow,”—had the earth not been accursed by reason of his altered relation to a just Creator,—what a different, how much more exalted, a being would he not have shown himself at this period of his residence in what would have still been a paradise ! If, under all the circumstances of his history, and looking to the many difficulties with which he has had to contend,—the obscurity caused by passion and crime in an intellect that was at first without a cloud—the incessant toil through which he has had to struggle in order to regain some portion of the strength that belonged to his original faculties, he still evinces his god-like nature, and every day manifests it more and more ; what a glorious radiance would have issued from his brow, what pregnant expression would have flown from his lips, what sublime imagery would have announced his thoughts, what hymns would have been ever ascending from his enraptured soul, to the eternal object of his love and adoration, had he but preserved undefiled his primitive innocence !

Is it intended that the day shall come, when the human mind shall exist here in a state of perfection and happiness such as it enjoyed before the garden of Eden was turned into a desert ? To what great purpose tend these “goings to and fro,” which at this moment appear to pervade almost every region of the earth ? If we calmly observe the activity of invention, which especially characterizes the intellect of our own country,—the success with which it is attended—the many unforeseen and important results by which it is rapidly followed—the constantly increasing courage and power which intelligence and enterprize acquire in new spheres of action ; and then consider that the immediate consequence of all these impulses and their corresponding operations, is the nearer and the nearer approximation of human communities to each other ;

we shall be compelled to conclude that great changes—changes all of an ameliorating character—in the general condition of men, are not very remote from the present era.

It cannot be doubted that the more frequently and the more nearly intellectual creatures are brought into intercourse with each other, the more speedily must vanish all national prejudices, all limited views of self-interest, and all those sordid thoughts which lead only to crime. Questions may be raised as to the lawfulness, in a moral point of view, of many of the proceedings which the Crusaders thought fit to adopt. But many nations were awakened by those movements from a profound lethargy, and some of the first symptoms of modern civilization were among the results of the wars against the Saracens. The career of Napoleon, however culpable in some respects, was one continued scene of new thoughts, and expanding aspirations upon the part of men through all Europe. The countless triumphs of man's inventive faculties during these latter years of peace, infinitely more than compensate for the devastations of all former wars. These triumphs are still in progress; one leads to another, with a ratio of improvement, for which, arithmetical or even geometrical proportions afford no adequate expression. The course of reasoning—of reasoning in the strictest sense,—which the data now in our possession would fairly justify, might appear visionary if we were to follow it through its legitimate direction; we are content therefore to indicate it, and let the future plead our justification in holding out the most brilliant hopes to mankind.

It is important to this view of the subject, always to bear in mind that change is an essential property of all material things. The portions of this globe which are now above the sea, were unquestionably for ages underneath it; well-examined astronomical and geological discoveries, aided by many chemical experiments, would lead us to believe, that although the Omnipotent might have bidden by a single mandate this sphere to exist in the condition in which we now find it, He preferred to have it formed gradually and in conformity with certain laws which he has been pleased to prescribe for Himself in all His creative operations. It may be, that the sudden launching into space of a dense orb, already furnished with its necessary solid materials, and its due proportions of ocean, atmosphere and light, might produce disturbances in the movements of pre-existing globes that would violate the rules to which He had subjected them. Thus the creation of one sphere might render it necessary to take a preparatory course as to all others;

the law of unity and harmony being one by which it seems to have pleased the Deity to demonstrate His existence and power to His intelligent creatures. Undoubtedly, such disturbances might have been hindered by the will of the Creator. But again, we may presume to suppose, that He preferred a course of action, consonant with general rules, which being more observable by His creatures than separate displays of power, would have the effect of exciting their faculties and exalting them to the knowledge of His "ways."

All the probabilities of theory—for we must be satisfied so to consider them—run in favour of the supposition that the chief masses of the materials of which this globe is now composed, originally existed in a gaseous form. It is well known that solids may be converted into elastic fluids, and elastic fluids into solids. Hydrogen and nitrogen gases are most probably metals in a state of vapour; and the most approved mode of accounting for those immense substances called meteoric stones, which are precipitated occasionally upon earth, is that they are generated in the atmosphere itself.

Nor is this doctrine by any means repugnant to the account of the creation of our planet which we find in Scripture. Quite the reverse; for we are expressly told that it was in its primitive state literally "void and empty," giving us the idea of a mere nebula, resembling those which astronomers have observed in several parts of the Heavens, and conjectured to be embryo worlds in a course of preparation for a more compact condition. We possess no means of calculating the ages comprised within the period alluded to by the author of Genesis, as "the beginning," nor how long the state described as "void, empty and dark," continued. During the darkness, waters however appear to have been generated, and after the spirit of God moved over them, He bade light to exist. Light therefore, according to this account, is a substance independent of the sun, for the sun was not created until what is called the fourth day of the creation. This statement is fully borne out by the fact, for we find light diffused throughout all nature. Extract from the earth a flint, strike it with another flint, or with any hard substance, and "light is made." Penetrate caverns where no ray of the sun ever entered, and you behold them illuminated. Light exists in the eye, as any one may discover, by striking that organ. It is latent in wood, and may be developed from it by friction; it is in almost every kind of stone, as the horse's hoof when stricken against it often proves. Go into the Italian or Mexican forest, or wander by

our own green hedges, in the dusk of the summer evening, and you see thousands of winged, or unwinged insects, carrying their lamps, fed not by the sunbeam, but by the primary light which God had commanded to be made.

Sail upon the ocean, and your prow ploughs up light at every bound. Look at the waves broken on the rock by the angry wind—what surges of light they leave behind them ! Resolve the element of water into its component parts, and it will produce light. The lustre of the emerald, the opal and the diamond, is borrowed from the same original source with which the sun has nothing to do. This light is, according to the best modern opinions, identical with what is usually denominated the electric fluid, or at least uniformly pervades it ; and the sun is only the great repository, where volumes of that fluid are collected for distribution through all the planets and their satellites appertaining to its system.

After light was made, the firmament was created, to “divide the waters from the waters.” This firmament we call the atmosphere—a word derived from the Greek terms, *ἀτμός* (vapour), and *σφαῖρα* (sphere),—that is, the vapour by which our sphere is surrounded. It does undoubtedly divide the waters from the waters in this sense, that amongst its other ingredients it holds in solution a certain quantity of water,—a quantity which, if it were all at once precipitated upon the earth, would (according to Leslie,) cover the globe to the height of about five inches. The atmosphere serves also in another way to “divide the waters from the waters,” for as the process of evaporation is always going on from the surface of the sea, from rivers, and every part of earth where there is moisture ; the vapour so produced ascends to the sky, and is there retained until it descends again in the form of rain.

The process by which rain is produced, is a matter which has not yet been satisfactorily explained ; we know from experience, that the southern, the south-western, and the western winds of our climate, are often accompanied by clouds and rain. But instances are known to have occurred of showers from a sky in which no cloud appeared. Professor Wartmann, one of the associate members of the Meteorological Society, has given a detailed account of a phenomenon of this kind, which he witnessed at Geneva, on the 31st of May, 1838. The whole of that day had been characterized by sudden atmospheric changes ; sometimes large black clouds, extremely agitated, covered the sky from one horizon to the other ; sometimes the sky was cloudless ; and again new masses of vapour appeared, followed by heavy showers.

"The same day," he states, "as I was walking upon the quay of the Rhine, at 7h. 2m. P. M., there came on a sudden shower of rain, which continued for six minutes, under circumstances which astonished every one present. The drops at the commencement of the shower were large and compact, but they became smaller until the complete cessation of the phenomenon. This rain, the temperature of which was lukewarm, fell vertically from a sky perfectly clear in the zenith, and without any apparent cloud in the visual horizon; a thermometer placed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the earth, indicated at that moment 65.3 Fahr. The air was calm, and the moon, without any cloud to obscure it, was shining nearly on the meridian.

"This rain had great analogy to that which fell here, with a perfectly clear sky, and an atmospheric temperature of 70.5 Fahr. on the 9th of August last year, at 9h. 15m. P. M. which continued about two minutes, and was repeated several times in different parts of the city at intervals of half an hour.

"It is a remarkable fact, that in both cases the zenith was cloudless, the air clear, and without agitation; the first drops of rain that fell were large, and of a warm temperature. It is also further remarkable that the former of these rains took place at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ h. P. M. when the thermometer in the open air was 70.5 Fahr., and the latter at 7h. 2m. P. M. the thermometer being 65.3 Fahr.; consequently, they both occurred at the close of the day, and under very different atmospheric temperatures.

"It appears, however, that this singular phenomenon is produced in the night as well as in the day, in summer as well as in winter; but it remains to be determined if it could occur at a very low temperature.

"The late Professor, M. A. Pictet, of Geneva, (who was a member of the Meteorological Society,) once witnessed a similar shower in the night between the 6th and 7th of January, 1791, at one hour after midnight. He says, that the heavens were perfectly clear, there was not the least mist, and the wind was very gentle; but he did not know the temperature of the air at the time."—pp. 129-30.

In these instances we must presume that either the vapours which yielded the rain were so rarified as to be invisible, or that the rain was the result of a disengagement from the atmosphere of a portion of the water which it always holds in solution. In some climates, as for example those of Devonshire and Ireland, the proportion of the aqueous ingredient in the atmosphere exceeds that of other localities. This humidity, when not visible as vapour, often lends a magic charm to the landscape. It has acted on more than one occasion, like the lens of a telescope, and enabled persons standing on the shore at Dover, to see Calais distinctly. Boulogne also is said to have been once made visible at Brighton, through a similar formation in the atmosphere.

As to the other ingredients of which our atmosphere is composed, the state of our knowledge is as yet very imperfect. We can undoubtedly affirm from common observation, that it is matter affording considerable resistance to mechanical force; that it is elastic, a given volume of it being capable of compression into a smaller compass, and of resuming its former bulk when the pressure is removed; and that it possesses weight. The whole height of the atmosphere is calculated to be about forty-five miles, the greater proportion of it, however, looking to its density, not being higher than twenty miles. As the pressure from above must act on the particles below, it will necessarily follow that the lower strata of the atmosphere are much more dense than those above them. It would seem, however, that this difference would cause no inconvenience to animal existence. The Baron de Humboldt, indeed, and other travellers, who have surmounted the Cordilleras of the Andes, affirm that they suffered great difficulty in breathing, when they reached those summits. Mr. Monck Mason, however, in the account he has given of his celebrated aeronautic expedition across the channel in company with Mr. Green, states, that the balloon frequently attained an altitude of twelve thousand feet, and that at no time, did they experience the slightest effect on their bodies from the diminished superincumbent weight of the atmosphere. He, as we think, justly attributes the difficulty of breathing, spoken of by the Baron de Humboldt and others, to the muscular fatigue necessarily incurred in the course of their upward journey.

Notwithstanding the admitted fact, that a column of the atmosphere possesses a certain appreciable weight, and that this weight serves to keep in balance the mercurial column of the barometer at a particular height, there is scarcely any question connected with atmospherical changes, more difficult of solution, than those arising from the variations of the height of the mercury in that instrument. We find in the volume before us the observations of several eminent members of the society, with a view to throw some light upon this most perplexing subject. We shall quote their remarks, upon one month only, (that of July 1837,) taken at eight different stations in England; we apprehend that the data, which even these scanty materials supply, must serve to shew that the action of the mercury in the barometer is as yet one of the arcana of nature, with reference to which our investigations have made but slender progress.

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July 1837, at London. "The month entered with fair weather, and a *high* barometer, and the wind blowing brisk from the E.: intermissions of clouds and sunshine, with a *falling* barometer, continued until the 5th, when light rain fell in the evening. Fair weather prevailed, until the 14th, when a brisk wind set in from the S., accompanied with heavy showers. On the morning of the following day, 15th, there were several dark threatening clouds; much rain fell in the afternoon, but the evening was fair and clear; variable weather prevailed until the 29th, when a strong wind set in from S. E. varying, and the barometer *fell suddenly* at 11 A. M. attended with a heavy shower of rain. The wind continued high during the night, but abated on the following day, veering to the S.W. The month ended with *cloudy and wet weather.*" p. 62.

At Bedford. "This month ushered in with a fresh breeze and a high barometer: N.E. and N.W. winds prevailed during the former part of the month, and the barometer was very steady. On the 13th the wind veered to S.S.W. and a little rain fell. A light breeze on the 14th from S.S.W. On the following day it became squally, from W.S.W. which increased on the 16th, to strong squalls accompanied with rain. On the 18th, a gale from W.S.W. attended with showers; squally again on the 20th, with a fresh breeze from W.N.W. Fair weather, with light airs and occasional breezes from N.W. and S., prevailed until the 28th, when a gale with hard squalls, set in from the S., and the barometer, which, on the preceding day at 3 P. M. stood at 29.82 inches, now fell to 29.20 inches; this meteor reached its maximum on the following day, when it became stormy with hard squalls from the S.W. quarter, and the barometer then rose. It was squally on the 30th with a fresh breeze from the W., which on the 31st veered to the N.W. During the latter part of the month, in consequence of S.W. winds accompanied with rain, the range of the barometer has been very irregular." pp. 76,77.

At Derby. "Summer weather still prevails, and the wind continues to blow from the N.E. The atmosphere appeared in perfect equilibrium, but its balance was destroyed on the 13th, the wind changing to the W. and it became showery. On the 14th, the barometer had fallen to 29.41 inches, and a tremendous storm of thunder occurred, accompanied by heavy rain. On the following day, another violent storm of thunder took place, the wind being from S.W. the barometer afterwards rose. On the 18th, there was a third terrific storm of hail, accompanied by thunder, and the wind afterwards changed from W. to N.W. and the following day became fair. On the 20th, the wind returned again to W., and thunder and hail followed. It veered again to N.W., and fair weather then ensued. The wind returned to the S.W. on the 26th, and alternate fair and wet weather followed. The barometer still ranged low, and excepting the four first days, kept below 29 inches. The temperature has also been very irregular, the minimum varying from 41 to 48, and the maximum from 68 to 89 Fahrenheit." p. 81.

July, 1837, at Thetford. "Alternations of fair and cloudy weather, and a low temperature ushered in the month, with the exception of the last week, the range of the barometer was steady, notwithstanding several windy days." p. 96.

At Swansea. "The former part of this month was characterized by very hot weather, which continued with little intermission, until about the 12th, on which the hottest day occurred. Rain then fell, and fine weather ensued until the night of the 28th, when we were visited by a very severe storm, commencing in the S.E., and lasting throughout the whole of the next day, and part of the night of the 29th. The very rapid fall and rise of the barometer was very remarkable on those two days." p. 111.

At High Wycombe. "The month was very fine, the quantity of rain being small, little more than one half of the quantity in July last year. The mean temperature was higher than in the same month last year, and twenty-one days were without rain. The barometer was lower, as respects the extremes, than in the corresponding month last year; but there was an extraordinary coincidence in the mean and that of the last year, the difference being only the .0029th part of an inch. Thunder was heard on the 18th in the afternoon. The wind was chiefly from the W. veering from S.W. to N.W." p. 116.

At Cheltenham. "The month commenced with fine summer weather, an easterly wind, and a high barometer. The weather continued fair until the 13th, when we had clouds and showers for two days, and with slight intermission it was fine throughout the month. The wind has been generally from W. and S.W.; the mean temperature has been higher than in the five preceding years. Maximum pressure on the 1st, 30.08 inches. Minimum pressure on the 29th, 28.87 inches." p. 122.

At Gosport. "The first part of the month to the 13th, was dry and fine, with hot sunshine on two or three days; but the lower part of the atmosphere was not arid, nor the temperature in the shade above the summer heat. The latter part was alternately showery and fine, with nearly a uniform temperature." "The mean temperature of the air this month, is two degrees lower than the mean of July for a series of years." pp. 136, 137.

It thus appears, that during the month of July 1837, the weather was extremely unsettled at Bedford and Derby; that the prevailing winds there, during the month, were those from the W. or the S.W.; that several terrific storms occurred in both these places; that the storm of the 28th and 29th, which was experienced at Bedford and Swansea, was not felt at Derby, Thetford, High Wycombe, Cheltenham, or Gosport; that it visited London as a strong wind; that the barometer fell suddenly at London on the 29th, at Bedford on the 28th, fell rapidly and rose rapidly at Swansea on the 28th and 29th; that at Cheltenham where, with the exception of two days, 13th

and 14th, the whole month was fine, the barometer was lower than at Bedford on the 29th; that at Thetford it was steady during the whole month; that at High Wycombe, although the temperature was higher than during the same month for several years, the barometer was lower as to the extremes, than it was in 1836.

It further appears from the London and Cheltenham returns, that while the wind was from the E. the barometer was high, and this is generally understood to be the case, but that the mercurial column is very irregularly affected while the winds blow from all other quarters, sometimes rising, sometimes falling, in the very same currents, whether from S. or S.W. or W. At Thetford the barometer is said to have remained "steady," during the month, "notwithstanding several windy days."

It is remarkable too, that the storm of the 28th and 29th, which seems to have made its first appearance at Swansea from the S.E., was felt at Bedford as from the S. and S.W. and in a lighter degree at London, as from the S.E. It would seem therefore to have passed in a current between London and Gosport, (not having been felt at Gosport at all) to Swansea, and then to have rushed with great violence from the S.W. to Bedford, expending its strength before it reached Thetford, where it may probably have been noted as among the "windy days" above mentioned. The sudden falling of the barometer at Cheltenham on the 29th, without any previous or subsequent appearance there of the storm of that day, Cheltenham being directly in its path from Swansea to Bedford, is one of the many phenomena of the atmosphere, for which we have no settled theory. It does not seem an improbable conjecture, that the local position of Cheltenham, as compared with the higher country around it, protected it from the fury of the wind, which may have passed over it through the upper regions of the firmament. The depression of the barometer might thus have been caused by the disturbance which took place in the upper strata of its atmosphere; and if other similar facts should be found to confirm this conjecture, we shall at least have made some progress, however small, towards a satisfactory solution of some of the difficulties attending the variations of the barometer, the alteration in this case (upon the hypothesis) having occurred not in consequence of altered temperature, but of a disturbed atmosphere; that disturbance having taken place in the more elevated strata of its firmament, and having required some portion of the lower strata to restore the equilibrium.

The practical uses to which the doctrine of a regularly stra-

tified atmosphere may be converted are numerous. For instance, it would teach us at once, that our construction of the interior of public edifices, such as churches, courts of justice, houses of legislature, theatres, and other places in which large assemblies are addressed, is defective, whenever the speaker has to direct his voice from a position much above the level on which his audience is chiefly congregated. To make them all hear him with facility he ought not to stand on an elevated stage, or in a high pulpit, but on the floor, the audience being raised above him. This was usually the principle upon which the ancient Greek and Roman theatres and amphitheatres were formed; and the result was, that the least modulation of the voice of the actor on the arena was distinctly heard from below. The true musical connoisseur, who wishes to enjoy the compositions of Mozart or Rossini, stations himself not in the pit of the opera, but on the front bench of the gallery. Mr. Monck Mason states that at an altitude of more than twelve thousand feet from the surface of the earth, he and his companions heard, not merely the rushing of the torrents below, but the sounds in all their solemn variations of the winds passing through the German forests.

In accordance with this theory is the fact, which any person may easily prove by experiment, that if he stand at a distance from two other persons placed together on the same level, but differing in stature, and if these two persons speak to him successively, his eyes being at the time closed, and his ear never before having heard the voice of either, he can instantly tell by the sound, which of the two is the taller. The voices flow to him on different strata, that of the taller of course upon the higher stratum; and the slight difference of stature which may be distinguished in this way, shews the exility of the atmospheric strata, at least near the surface of the earth.

We have pretty well ascertained by chemical experiments, the principal elements of which our atmosphere is composed. They are two very different airs, or gases, which in the nomenclature of the science, are called oxygen and azote,—words borrowed from the Greek language, the former being composed of the two words *ὄξυς* (sour) and *γεννῶ* (I produce), that is, its power of producing acidity, and the latter being framed from *α* (no) and *ζωή* (life),—that is destructive of life. In oxygen air, it is found that when no other air is mixed with it, a candle, or any other combustible substance, if ignited, would burn with greater rapidity and splendour than in the common atmosphere. In mere azote a lighted taper is in-

stantly extinguished. The difference therefore between the two gases is this, that one extremely favours life, and the other destroys it. If we were placed in oxygen alone, we should live as it were too rapidly. If we were placed in azote alone, we could scarcely live at all. By the due mixture of the two gases in the atmosphere, the evil effects of each in its separate state are neutralized, and thus by breathing both together we enjoy that mode of existence which is most suitable to the purposes we are placed on earth to accomplish.

It is stated by Sir H. Davy, that oxygen, in its elastic state, gives out light by compression, which is not certainly known to be the case with respect to any other elastic fluid, those only excepted with which oxygen has entered into combination without having undergone combustion. From the fire which it produces in certain processes, and from the manner in which it is separated by positive electricity, in the gaseous state, from the gases associated with it, it would seem, according to the same great authority, not easy to avoid the supposition, that it contains, besides its ponderable elements, some very subtile matter, which is capable of assuming the quality of heat and light. Vegetables, wherever situated, on land or in water, acted on by light, have the power of disengaging oxygen from their own elements of existence. They thus counteract and balance the effects of the respiration of animals, and of any combustion which may take place near them, and become active instruments for the preservation of the air of the atmosphere, and also of the air dissolved in the water of the ocean, in a uniform state,—the state most conducive to animal and vegetable life.* It appears highly probable that the common air when inspired enters into the venous fluids entire, though in a state of dissolution, carrying with it its ethereal part, which in ordinary cases of chemical fusion escapes; and that it is to this ethereal part we owe the continuance of that inward heat, without which we could not exist, and over which, even the most intense external cold, generally seems to exercise no material influence.

It must be understood that the particles, of which each of the two elements of oxygen and azote is constituted, are not confounded. The particles belonging to each, are merely mingled with each other; each particle has an elasticity, or a repulsive power of its own, in the natural condition of the atmosphere. The proportion in which they are so associated,

* Snow water has been said to contain much oxygen, and thus to be particularly favourable to vegetation.

is one volume of oxygen to four volumes of azote: the machinery of death thus exceeding that of life, in the ratio of four to one. And when combination takes place between them, as it does whenever the same volumes of air are frequently breathed, or acted upon by combustion, the pernicious principle gains a decided ascendancy. Hence appears the necessity of a perfect ventilation in all places where animal life is of importance, and of a sufficient degree of ventilation to allow of a complete supply of uncombined particles of the atmosphere to displace those which have been combined by either of the processes above mentioned, otherwise the result will be more or less destructive of existence.

Besides oxygen and azote, the atmosphere also contains other matter. The terrible storms which periodically occur in the inter-tropical climates, when the whole firmament is literally a mass of fire; and the long continued and heavy rains by which those awful visitations are followed, shew the source whence the fires that are known from the volcano to be at work within the interior of the earth, must have their origin. The reservoirs of water hidden also within the bosom of the globe, and the rivers flowing through its veins, the effects of which, when heated by the internal fires, are made manifest in the earthquake, must be portions of the element originally held in the atmosphere in a gaseous form. We observe from the torrent that often descends from the heavens, and which we call the water-spout, that a vast body of the element may be suddenly collected above our heads, and precipitated upon us almost before we have time to escape its fury. In some climates the rain assumes a combined form, resembling waves dashed from the clouds, and sometimes accompanied by immense hail-stones and fragments of ice, which destroy for a season all the hopes of the vintager and the husbandman.

The showers which sometimes occur, of insects and small fish, the aerolites, the quantity of earthy particles intermixed with rain-water, also assure us of the continued existence in the firmament of other matter than that which we perceive in the gaseous form. Every thing, in short, that we know of it, leads us to believe that it was, "in the beginning," mentioned in Genesis, the great laboratory in which, if we may presume so to speak, the primary materials of the globe were compacted through the instrumentality of its gases, its waters, and its fires. Hence we can the more readily comprehend the course of creation, of which the geologist has already found so many traces. During the unsettled periods of the earth, it is perfectly

consistent with even our present acquaintance with the atmospheric elements, that the remains of animals now confined to warm climates, should be found in climates where, if now placed, they could no longer exist; and that even whole races which traversed the marshes of the primeval world should have become altogether extinct. However necessary to the economy of creation they might have been in densely clouded skies, or in places where continued fires and inundations were performing those functions of which we now behold the results, in the vast hollows filled with ocean, in the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Andes and the Himalayas, in the Danube and the Nile, the Ganges and the Indus, the Plata, the Amazon, the Mississippi, and the Niagara; it is manifest that such gigantic and amphibious beings could serve no useful purpose, after the air was purified of its noxious vapours, the fruitage of the earth was mellowed by genial suns, the rank weeds gave place to nutritive plants, the forest trees put on their varied foliage, the groves were filled with birds, and the upland and the valley spread with green herbage, and decorated by flowers of every hue and fragrance, to greet the arrival of MAN, and to sustain him in happiness.

Since that great epoch, the general tendency of the earth has been (if we except the deluge,) to a state of repose,—a state into which,

“ If we steadfast look,

We shall discern

In it, as in some holy book,

How man may heavenly knowledge learn.”

The atmosphere, more perhaps than any thing else that forms part of the furniture of our globe, though charged with elements that conduce to health, is also fraught with poisons, which under a thousand forms enter the animal system, and prepare it for certain dissolution sooner or later. Every month may be said to have its peculiar epidemic,—January its influenza, attended by coughs, soreness of the respiratory muscles, prostration of strength, and a sense of suffocation;—February its rheumatism, and those affections of the throat so fatal to children;—March its pleurisy, pectoral complaints, and catarrhal fevers;—April its scarlatina;—May, June and July, their bilious maladies;—August its cholera-morbus;—September its small-pox and measles;—October, November and December, their typhus and other maladies which, from the want of cleanliness, comfortable clothing, good fires, and ventilated habitations, prove so destructive, especially to the poor. With

all these disorders, which in their progress sweep away great numbers of those who had commenced the year in perfect health, the changes in the atmosphere have an intimate connexion.

The instrumentality by which those changes are wrought, is one of the secrets of nature still to be discovered. Any circumstance which disturbs the usual proportion between the two great elements, oxygen and azote; any operation of the electric fluid, for example, which may serve to combine the two gases by combustion for a day, or even for an hour, would be sufficient to produce consequences destructive, rapidly, or gradually, but with a dire certainty, to myriads of every animal that lives in air, or on earth, or in the waters. It has been stated, and with a very great appearance of probability, that the cholera which beginning in India some years ago, subsequently took its course through almost every nation on the globe, was produced, or at least very much increased in its intensity, by impure gases mingled with our firmament, which had their origin in the atmosphere of the comet then passing near our planet.*

What are called "dry fogs," must be the result of matters held in the atmosphere in a state of suspension or dissolution. Of one of these extraordinary phenomena we find the following account, in Dr. Prout's Bridgewater treatise; his observations also on the cholera, which prevailed in London in 1832, will be found well worthy of attention:—

"In the year 1782, and still more in the year following, a remarkable haze of this kind extended over the whole of Europe. Seen in mass, this haze was of a pale blue colour; it was thickest at noon, where the sun appeared through it of a red colour. Rain did not in the least degree affect it. This haze is said to have possessed drying properties, and to have occasionally yielded a strong and peculiar odour. It is also said to have deposited in some places a viscid liquid, of an acrid taste, and of an unpleasant smell. About the same time, there were, in Calabria and in Iceland, terrible earthquakes, accompanied by volcanic eruptions. These earthquakes and eruptions, were supposed to have been connected with the haze; indeed it has been generally remarked, that such a condition of the atmosphere has been usually preceded by an earthquake, either in the same or in some

* Mr. Rogerson, an eminent surgeon of Liverpool, has recently maintained, before the Medical Society of that town, that the epidemics of 1834, 5, 6 and 7 were caused by a prevailing *negative* state of electricity in the air, causing inflammation of the mucous membranes of the lungs and bowels. And this is certainly borne out by the fact, that during six entire weeks that the cholera raged in Liverpool, the mean of the electricity was 11. *minus*, without any *plus* electricity whatever.

adjoining country. The dispersion of the haze in the summer of 1783, was attended by severe thunder storms. As might be expected, the general state of health has, for the most part, been deranged, during the continuance of these phenomena; simultaneously there have been epidemic diseases of various kinds. Thus, in the above mentioned years, 1782 and 1783, an epidemic catarrh, or influenza, prevailed throughout Europe; affecting not only mankind, but likewise other animals.

"The nature of the matter thus diffused through the atmosphere is quite unknown. It may be as various at different times, as the character of the epidemics to which it gives origin. As an example of the extraordinary effects which foreign bodies, when diffused through the atmosphere, are capable of producing, we may mention those produced by selenium, when, in combination with hydrogen, it is diffused as a gas through the air, even in the most minute quantity. The effects of this gaseous combination of selenium with hydrogen, are thus described by the celebrated chemist, Berzelius, its discoverer. 'In the first experiment which I made on the inhalation of this gas, I conceive that I let up into my nostrils a bubble of gas, about the size of a small pea. It deprived me so completely of the sense of smell, that I could apply a bottle of concentrated ammonia to my nose without perceiving any odour. After five or six hours, I began to recover the sense of smell, but a severe catarrh remained for about fifteen days. On another occasion, while preparing this gas, I became sensible of a slight hepatic odour, because the vessel was not quite close; but the aperture was very small, and when I covered it with a drop of water, small bubbles were seen to issue, about the size of a pin's head. To avoid being incommoded with the gas, I put the apparatus under the chimney of the laboratory. I felt at first a sharp sensation in my nose; my eyes then became red, and other symptoms of catarrh began to appear, but only to a trifling extent. In half an hour, I was seized with a dry and painful cough, which continued for a long time, and which was at last accompanied by an expectoration, having a taste entirely like that of the vapour from a boiling solution of corrosive sublimate. These symptoms were removed by the application of a blister to my chest. *The quantity of seleniuretted hydrogen gas, which on each of these occasions, entered into my organs of respiration was much smaller than would have been required of any other inorganic substance whatever, to produce similar effects.**

"As we have already stated, selenium is for the most part found in association with mineral sulphur; selenium is also, like sulphur, a volcanic product. Now, though we can hardly imagine the possibility of the diffusion of selenium through the atmosphere in combination with hydrogen; selenium may be so diffused in some other form of combination, which may produce effects analogous to those of seleniu-

retted hydrogen. We do not mean to assert that the diffusion of any such substance really takes place. Our intention is merely to show that a small quantity of an active ingredient, like selenium, is sufficient to contaminate the atmosphere over a wide extent of country. Such a substance being ejected from the crater of a volcano during an eruption, or through a crevice in the earth during an earthquake, may thus produce an epidemic disease; nor is it improbable that many epidemics, particularly those of a catarrhal kind, have so originated.

"The matters occasionally diffused through the atmosphere, which appear to be *in a state of solution*, are not often perceptible by our senses, unless in some cases, perhaps, by the sense of smell.

"As an instance of the presence of such bodies in the atmosphere, we may mention a very remarkable observation, which occurred to the writer of this treatise during the late prevalence of epidemic cholera. He had for some years been occupied in investigations regarding the atmosphere; and for more than six weeks, previously to the appearance of cholera in London, had almost every day, been engaged in endeavouring to determine, with the utmost possible accuracy, the weight of a given quantity of air, under precisely the same circumstances of temperature and of pressure. On a particular day, the 9th of February, 1832, the weight of the air suddenly appeared to rise above the usual standard. As the rise was at the time supposed to be the result of some accidental error, or of some derangement in the apparatus employed; in order to discover its cause, the succeeding observations were made with the most rigid scrutiny. But no error or derangement whatever could be detected. On the days immediately following, the weight of the air still continued above the standard; though not quite so high as on the 9th of February, when the change was first noticed. The air retained its augmented weight during the whole time these experiments were carried on, namely, about six weeks longer. The increase of the weight of the air observed in these experiments, was small; but still decided and real. The method of conducting the experiments, was such as not to allow of an error, at least, to an amount so great as the additional weight, without the cause of that error having become apparent. There seems, therefore, to be only one mode of rationally explaining this increased weight of the air at London in February, 1832; which is, by admitting the diffusion of some gaseous body through the air of this city, considerably heavier than the air it displaced. About the 9th of February the wind in London, which had previously been W. veered round to the E., and remained pretty steadily in that quarter, till the end of the month. Now, precisely on the change of the wind, the first cases of epidemic cholera were reported in London; and from that time the disease continued to spread. That the epidemic cholera was the effect of the peculiar condition of the atmosphere, is more perhaps than can be safely maintained; but reasons, which have been advanced elsewhere, lead the writer of this treatise to believe that the virulent disease, termed cholera, was owing to the same matter that produced the additional weight of the air."—Prout, pp. 347-53.

That the atmosphere ordinarily contains a great proportion of the electric fluid, is a fact proved by repeated experiment. It exists there usually in a dissolved, or rather attenuated state, until it is subjected to violent friction; and then it will give off sparks, and even continued light, or lightning, as we may see in the thunder storm. The friction that produces the lightning of the storm, however, is the result of some particular combinations, which occasionally take place in the firmament, and which have not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. The ordinary theory upon the subject is, that clouds charged with opposite kinds of electricity, (positive and negative) meet in the air, and repel each other. The collision causes the lightning, and the rush of the lightning through the clouds produces the sound which we call thunder. This theory wants examination, which it would be useless to institute until we are better acquainted with the atmosphere.

The electric fluid is subject also to a regular perpetual friction from the earth moving on its own axis. It is yet to be ascertained whether this action of the earth on the electric medium by which it is surrounded, is not intimately connected with the Northern and Southern Auroral lights, and also with the direction and variations of the needle. The friction in question, undoubtedly, increases the intensity of the fluid near the surface of the earth; and this intensity would go on always augmenting, unless some provision were made for restoring the equilibrium of the fluid in the atmosphere. Now according to the doctrine of Professor Daniell, there is twice as much light and heat absorbed in the Polar regions, as there is in those of the Tropics. If this be so, there must be a constant current of the electric fluid, (which is in fact a heated subtile element, always capable of being made luminous) from the equator towards the poles. The magnetic needle is, very probably, but the index of that current, as the vane is of the prevailing wind; hence the direction of the compass in a line that would always be parallel to the axis of the earth, were it not for the divergences which take place in the electric current as it approaches the poles. Those divergences would seem to be necessary to the due distribution of the fluid throughout those colder regions of the atmosphere; and when, from any cause, the current is swollen with more of the fluid than those regions can absorb, it will be driven back. The action of repulsion would render the superfluous portion of the current more or less luminous, and hence might arise the phenomena which we call the Auroral lights. When we say that the

surplus portion of the fluid not absorbed in the "colder regions" of the poles, will be "driven back," we assume that there are regions, both in the extreme North and the extreme South, which are less cold than those where the greatest accumulation of ice takes place. This assumption, though apparently paradoxical, is justified by the fact, that the late Russian expedition under the command of M. Von Wrangel, has discovered an open navigable sea beyond the seventy-second degree of North latitude; and when we consider the briny character of that sea, which prevents it from being frozen, we seem justified in concluding that the climate between lat. 72 and lat. 90 is much milder than it is at what may be called the zone of perpetual ice, found southward of lat. 72. It is moreover well ascertained, that the Auroral lights do not descend from the higher regions of the atmosphere. On the contrary, they uniformly ascend from the lower regions to the higher, and indeed are usually seen within a few miles of the earth's surface. They would appear, therefore, to be altogether of earthly origin: and this induction further favours the supposition, that as there is a Southern as well as a Northern Aurora, so also there is an extreme Southern as well as an extreme Northern, unfrozen Polar ocean.

We have not yet collected data sufficiently numerous to enable us to speak with anything like confidence upon this subject; all we can do, is to throw out for the examination of other minds the thoughts that occur to our own. That there is a true magnetic pole—that is a point to which the needle is always true in its direction,—seems highly probable. Indeed the two variations W. and E., and the increase of the variations on either side from the meridian where they begin, would seem to establish the fact. But we have not yet made sufficient progress in the South, to be able to draw the line of invariable polarity from the Arctic to the Antarctic regions. The observations already made, imperfect though they be, would lead us to suspect that the variations of the needle will be found to correspond pretty nearly in both those sections of the globe. The oscillations of a minor character which occasionally take place, would seem to be the result of local influence, or perhaps of partial accidental accumulations of the electric element.

The electro-magnetic fluid is known to be developed by the unequal distribution of heat through bodies. Why this happens, we know not, but the phenomenon is well established. The earth in its diurnal motion on its axis from West to East, has its surface successively exposed to the solar rays in an

opposite direction, East to West. The surface therefore, particularly between the tropics, will be heated and cooled from East to West, and thus tributary currents of electricity will be established in that direction. M. Pouillet has proved,* by direct experiment, that the combination of oxygen with the materials of living plants, is a constant source of electricity; and he has shown that a surface of 100 square metres, in full vegetation, disengages in the course of a day as much vitreous electricity, as would charge a powerful battery. Another source is evaporation. A third, and no doubt the most powerful of all, is the solar light; for that light is itself most probably oxygen, compressed and collected there for the purpose of distribution, throughout our whole system. With reference to the first of the sources of the fluid above first mentioned, Mr. Leithead has recently discovered that the effect of an unequal state of temperature, even in *one* metal, will deflect the needle. His account of his experiment is as follows:—

“ I first took a tin plate, and soldered to each end (near the edge,) a copper wire. I supported the plate on a glass pillar. I then took a little cotton wool, and placed it on one of the extremities of the plate. I connected the apparatus with the galvanoscope, by means of the copper wires, and then poured a little sulphuric æther on the cotton wool. As the æther evaporated, intense cold was produced at that end of the plate, and, as I anticipated, the needle was deflected. When the needle rested, the *heat of the hand* was quite sufficient to cause a *second* deflection !”

This experiment proves not only the fact that evaporation in general, which is only another expression for difference of temperature, produces electricity; but also, as Mr. Leithead justly remarks, “ teaches us what an incalculable quantity of the subtle fluid must be in constant motion around us.” It is a remarkable circumstance, however, which M. Pouillet has demonstrated, that the conversion of water chemically *pure* into vapour excites no electric tension,—probably because the process of purification expels from it its oxygen.

The dip or depression of the point of the needle, is one of the mysteries of magnetism as yet unsolved. At the equator, it assumes a perfectly horizontal position,—that is, a position exactly parallel to the axis of the earth. In the latitude of London, it dips nearly at an angle of 70.; over the pole it would be vertical. Is not this tendency of the needle downward to be attributed to the spherical form of the earth? The

* *Annales de Chimie et de Physique*, 1827. See also his *Elements de Physique*, Liv. ix. chap. 5.

globe is itself a magnet, by reason of the quantity of electric fluid which it contains, not merely at its surface, but intermixed with the fires and waters, and innumerable metallic and others substances within its interior. The point of the needle is consequently, by the attraction of the mass, deflected downwards as it proceeds from the equator to the pole. If we could suppose the surface of the earth a perfect level from the equator to the pole, the horizontal position of the needle could undergo no change. But in fact, a line drawn from the equator to the pole, must conform with the segment of a circle, and the point of the needle following the segment so described, must of necessity descend lower in proportion to its distance from the equator where it is held exactly balanced.

It would be impossible, without going far beyond the limits which a periodical journal can afford for any one subject, however important, to enter at present, into all, or even a few of the remaining topics which the study of the atmosphere opens for discussion. They are indeed inexhaustible. The subject of the "winds" alone, would require a volume. And then we should have to go through the distribution of temperature in the atmosphere, the production of rain, hail, snow: the causes of that colouring matter which, in former ages, affrighted the nations under the appearance of showers of blood; of the lunar atmospheric tides, of the formation of the different species of clouds, and of those beautiful meteors which within these last few years, especially, have been so much noticed in the heavens, almost annually, between the 12th and 15th of November.

A few striking facts with reference to some of these points, are all that we shall now venture upon. It is a singular circumstance, mentioned by Lieut. Colonel Reid, in his observations on the "law of storms," that no storm has ever been known to occur at St. Helena. The degree of magnetic intensity there is the lowest yet ascertained on the globe. That fortunate island may be said, therefore, to be placed in the true Pacific ocean of the world.

At Geneva, on the 25th of October, 1822, there fell thirty inches of rain in one day. An example still more extraordinary has been recently quoted by M. Arago, and which is perfectly authentic. At Joyeuse, in the department of the Ardèche, on the 9th of October, 1827, there fell above thirty-one (English) inches of rain in twenty-two hours.

All the researches hitherto made with respect to hail, would lead us to believe that it is peculiar to temperate climates, that it rarely occurs beyond the latitude of 60, that it

is most frequent in spring and summer, when it is often accompanied by thunder, that it is very seldom seen in winter, and that hail during the night is very uncommon.

"In tropical countries," says Dr. Prout, "there is little hail in any place that is not more than 2,000 feet above the level of the sea; in temperate climates on the contrary, mountain tops are almost free from hail; certain countries, especially some parts of France, are very liable to hail storms; and such is at times the fury of these storms that they lay waste whole districts. There are on record many instances of these calamitous visitations, which are usually accompanied by whirlwinds, and by the most appalling electrical phenomena. During storms of such degrees of severity, hail stones have sometimes fallen of enormous magnitude, and often of an irregular shape, as if they were the fragments of a thick sheet of ice suddenly broken; a supposition which alone will explain the formation of angular masses, many inches in size, and many pounds in weight. The production in the middle of summer of the intense cold that is thus indicated, is a puzzle which philosophers have been unable to solve." *Bridgewater Treatise*, pp. 336-7.

Upon the great importance of the careful observation of the changes which are constantly taking place in the atmosphere, commentary would be superfluous. We cannot however resist the temptation of transferring to our pages the following just and eloquent remarks on this subject, contained in a paper presented to the Meteorological Society, by Mr. John Ruskin of Christ Church, Oxford.

"It is a science of the pure air, and the bright heaven; its thoughts are amidst the loveliness of creation; it leads the mind, as well as the eye, to the morning mist, and the noon-day glory, and the twilight cloud,—to the purple peace of the mountain heaven,—to the cloudy repose of the green valley; now expatiating in the silence of stormless æther,—now on the rushing of the wings of the wind. It is indeed a knowledge, which must be felt to be, in its very essence, full of the soul of the beautiful. For its interest, it is universal; unabated in every place, and in all time. He, whose kingdom is the heaven, can never meet with an uninteresting space,—can never exhaust the phenomena of an hour: he is in a realm of perpetual change,—of eternal motion,—of infinite mystery. Light and darkness, and cold and heat, are to him as friends of familiar countenance, but of infinite variety of conversation; and while the geologist yearns for the mountain, the botanist for the field, and the mathematician for the study, the meteorologist, like a spirit of a higher order than any, rejoices in the kingdoms of the air.

"But, as we before said, it is neither for its interest, nor for its beauty, that we recommend the study of meteorology. It involves questions of the highest practical importance, and the solution of

which will be productive of most substantial benefit to those classes who can least comprehend the speculations from which these advantages are derived. Times and seasons, and climates, calms and tempests, clouds and winds, whose alterations appear to the inexperienced mind the confused consequences of irregular, indefinite, and accidental causes, arrange themselves before the meteorologist in beautiful succession of undisturbed order, in direct derivation from definite causes; it is for him to trace the path of the tempest round the globe,—to point out the place whence it arose,—to foretell the time of its decline,—to follow the hours around the earth, as she “spins beneath her pyramids of night,”—to feel the pulses of the ocean,—to pursue the course of its currents and its changes,—to measure the power, direction, and duration of mysterious and invisible influences, and to assign constant and regular periods to the seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, and day and night, which we know shall not cease, till the universe be no more. It may be thought we are exaggerating the effects of a science which is yet in its infancy. But, it must be remembered, that we are not speaking of its attained, but of its attainable power; it is the young Hercules, for the fostering of whose strength the Meteorological Society has been formed.

* * * * * It wishes to be the central point, the moving power, of a vast machine, and it feels that unless it can be this, it must be powerless; if it cannot do all, it can do nothing. It desires to have at its command, at stated periods, perfect systems of methodical, and simultaneous observations; it wishes its influence and its power to be omnipresent over the globe, so that it may be able to know, at any given instant, the state of the atmosphere at every point on its surface. Let it not be supposed that this is a chimerical imagination, the vain dream of a few philosophical enthusiasts. It is co-operation which we now come forward to request, in full confidence, that if our efforts are met with a zeal worthy of the cause, our associates will be astonished, *individually*, by the result of their labours in a body. Let none be discouraged, because they are alone, or far distant from their associates. What was formerly weakness, will now have become strength. Let the pastor of the Alps observe the variations of his mountain winds; let the voyager send us notes of their changes on the surface of the sea; let the solitary dweller in the American Prairie observe the passages of the storms, and the variations of the climate; and each, who alone would have been powerless, will find himself a part of one mighty mind,—a ray of light entering into one vast eye,—a member of a multitudinous power, contributing to the knowledge, and aiding the efforts, which will be capable of solving the most deeply hidden problems of nature, penetrating into the most occult causes, and reducing to principle and order, the vast multitude of beautiful and wonderful phenomena, by which the wisdom and benevolence of the Supreme Deity, regulates the course of the times and the seasons, robes the globe with verdure, and fruitfulness, and adapts it to minister to the wants, and contri-

bute to the felicity, of the innumerable tribes of animated existence." *Transactions, &c.* pp. 57-9.

To bring the matter home to "our own business and bosoms," it seems only necessary to add that, in one word, the whole of the vast commercial transactions of this great country are controlled by the atmosphere. To the variations which take place in that portion of our terrestrial system we owe (under the order of providence,) the succession of our harvests. The deficiency of the unfavourable season must be supplied by the importation of corn from abroad; that commodity being purchased chiefly in countries, which do not admit (except at very high duties,) our manufactures, and the operations generally being of an urgent character, the remittances in exchange for the importations must be principally in gold. The gold goes out of the coffers of the bank. The bank, in order to protect itself, the moment it begins to feel its average store of bullion diminishing in a serious proportion, will contract its issues, and call in its credits. The result is, depression of prices of all articles, the stoppage of mills in every direction, the dismissal of operatives, and these events occurring simultaneously with a rise in the price of bread, and the bankruptcy of many traders possessing only fictitious or very limited capitals, the whole country becomes a scene of discontent and confusion. These are events which happen with us periodically.

It would seem therefore to be one of the most important duties of government to provide, as far as possible, against the frequent return of catastrophes of this description. It is obvious that constant attention to the phenomena of the atmosphere, would often enable the government to judge pretty accurately of the coming season, and to make provision accordingly. Whether it might, or might not, be expedient to retain in public granaries, from the superabundant harvest of one or more years, a supply always adequate to the deficit of a disastrous season, is a question much too large for incidental discussion. But we apprehend there can be no doubt that the government is bound, by the duty which it owes to the community entrusted to its care, to assist by every means in its power, (and those means are very extensive,) the excellent society whose transactions are recorded in the volume before us. The police who are awake night and day; the harbour-masters; the persons to whom the care of light-houses is entrusted; the officers of the coast guard; should all be enjoined to make daily and nightly returns of the weather, either to a

department of government created for that purpose, or to the Meteorological Society. There are many private individuals who keep diaries of the weather for their own amusement. They could make no better use of their journals than by sending copies of them to the society.

We would take the liberty of recommending to the society, the establishment of a periodical publication, weekly, monthly, or even quarterly, of the information which they might thus receive. To have produced only one volume of Transactions during an existence of seventeen years, is a mode of proceeding not calculated to confer any material benefit on society. Upon the appearance, however, even of this their first-born, we do most sincerely congratulate them. It is not indeed arranged with much skill. There are many pages of repetition that might have been well spared, and the price of the volume is also beyond the necessity of the case; still we wish to be indulgent, and to refrain from any remarks that might check their disposition to pursue the most useful labours which they have undertaken. We are happy to observe that they have already adopted measures for extending the sphere of their utility, by multiplying the stations where meteorological observations are to be made. We shall be glad to see the results as speedily as possible, in a second volume of their Transactions.

ART. II.—1. *Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakspeare.* By the Rt. Hon. Thomas Peregrine Courtenay. 2 vols. 1840.

2. *The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakspeare.* Edited by Charles Knight. Histories, Vol. I. 1839.

“IT was not without real diffidence,” says Mr. Courtenay, “that I attempted further comments upon Shakspeare. I do not affect to have discovered new beauties in that writer, nor can I boast of the power to place in a more striking light, those which have now for some ages delighted the readers of the English language. But it appeared to me, that (after all the volumes which have been written) there are points of view in which a large portion of the works of Shakspeare are still to be considered.”

On reading this paragraph, our curiosity was at once excited. We felt anxious to learn what were these new “points of

view," which had suddenly flashed on the vision of the ex-vice-president of the Board of Trade, inducing him to enter that field, on which Coleridge and the Schlegels had earned some of their fairest honours, and from which so many of our olden critics had long since been driven with disgrace. We were indeed greatly at a loss to guess, what could be the contents of two volumes of *Commentaries on Shakspeare*, which professed neither to discover new beauties, nor to place the old ones in a more striking light. We had hitherto imagined, that, in exploring the depths of the rich Shakspearean mine, the dullest guide would have stumbled on some vein of virgin ore, and that none would have gone thither for the sole purpose of warning us against setting too high a value on the precious metal.

Yet such, if we rightly understand him, is the design of Mr. Courtenay. He proposes to show, that either Shakspeare, "or his more ancient author, has taken such liberties with facts and dates, and has omissions so important, as to make the (historical) pieces, however admirable as a drama, quite unsuitable as a medium of instruction to the English youth."

And therewith he proceeds to write a series of laboured disquisitions, tending to prove, amongst many other things of a similar character,—by reference to all kinds of authorities, and diligent collation of the old chronicles,—that King John after all might have had a good title to the crown of England,—that the Lady Constance had married a third husband, and was already in her grave at the time of the battle of Mirabeau,—that Richard II never saw his queen after he went to Ireland, that Anmerle's mother died some years before the date of the conspiracy against Bolingbroke,—that Hotspur is not known to have been "irascible," and that there is no warrant in history for making Owen Glendower *a bore*,—that archbishop Chicheley (if ever he spoke that speech on the succession to the French throne) must certainly have been mistaken in his genealogy, for that Hugh Capet had no ancestress of the name of Lingare,—that it was at Meulan, and not at Troyes, that Henry V bestowed his first kiss upon Catherine, and so on to the end of the chapter. Now in all this we have much pleasure in admitting, that Mr. Courtenay has displayed a spirit of careful and patient research, which, in many employments of life, would be highly praiseworthy. But we still have to enquire, how far it has fitted him for a commentator on the works of Shakspeare, and whether such creditable industry might not have been better applied to some other purpose.

And first, we hold ourselves in justice bound to declare, that Mr. Courtenay has no hostile intentions with regard to the great dramatist. On the contrary, he everywhere speaks of him in a kind of patronising tone, and is very anxious to guard against the possible effect of the *Commentaries*, in deterring the youth of England from perusing the historical plays. "I should indeed be sorry," he exclaims, "that the doubts I have raised of their historical accuracy should lessen the pleasure of any one in reading them." He evidently feels a sort of "sneaking kindness" for the Bard of Avon. He would be loath to do him a mortal injury. He was "bred up upon Shakspeare and the History of England," and if he have lost his taste for one portion of that early food, the meat has not been quite turned into poison. Though he fears, that "nearly every speech in Shakspeare contains something that a delicate and correct critic would expunge or alter;" though he believes the great poet "to have been a very idle man," and shrewdly suspects, that he "made the persons of his drama act *heterogeneously*, as he saw his neighbours act, and that he did not, in the one case more than in the other, draw the whole character in his mind;" though he claims for some of the novellists of our own day, a superiority over him who has been called the *thousand-souled*, "not only in the interest of the story, but in the accurate, varied, contrasted, and curiously-shaded discrimination of human character;" still he finds a charm in the "splendid and stately speeches," nor does he pretend to name any modern author, "in whom a *just* and *striking* portraiture of character is connected with so much of splendid versification, so much of lofty and affecting poetry, by turns didactic, descriptive, affecting, tremendous, so many acute and ingenious reflections and precepts, and so much withal of dramatic excellence, as in Shakspeare." After which liberal admission, couched as it is in the guarded language of a *delicate and correct critic*, he thinks it necessary to repeat his warning to the youth of England, in whom he evidently feels a quite paternal interest, that they should not, *for anything that he (Mr. Courtenay) writes*, "love Shakspeare the less, but that they should study history the more." In these few sentences, the reader will have remarked some of Mr. Courtenay's leading characteristics. He will not have failed to perceive traces of that *ingenuous modesty*, which once led the right honourable gentleman to avow, that, "his mind was a blank sheet of paper." He will next have admired in strong contrast with the last-mentioned quality, that species of *original boldness*, with which

the critic has handled a great name : and if our too fastidious reader should deem that something of *reverence* may here be wanting, we will hasten to reassure him on this head, by showing, that a higher reverence than he wots of was present in Mr. Courtenay's mind. The right honourable gentleman appears in the character of an iconoclast. He cannot bear to think, that idolatrous worship should be rendered to a human being. His piety revolts at the notion ; the spirit of John Knox stirs within him, and so, like one of the image-breakers of the sixteenth century, he catches up his sledge-hammer, ponderous as Thor's, and demolishes the shrines of genius, and scatters the relics of the mighty dead. It is really amusing to see, with what animation he pleads against our exaggerated estimate of Shakspeare's powers, just as if the *nil admirari* contained the pith and marrow of human wisdom, and with what a religious horror he denounces our profane deification of Shakspeare's memory, as if it were not to worship God, to honour Him in one of the noblest of his creatures. "Coleridge," says Mr. Courtenay, "is one of those who acknowledging, as Christians or philosophers, the imperfection of every thing human, yet conceive that it pleased Providence to make one exception ; and to favour the reign of Elizabeth, the kingdom of England, the county of Warwick, the town of Stratford-upon-Avon, and the one man Shakspeare born there, with an exemption from this otherwise universal rule . . . Hallam says truly," he continues, "that we contemplate Shakspeare with idolatry : the term is fully justified by Coleridge's professed belief, that Shakspeare's genius was *super-human*—language, I presume to say, equally absurd and blasphemous."

We hope that our malicious reader may not here be reminded of the old story of the Athenian, who voted for the banishment of Aristides, because he was tired of hearing him called *the just*. It is true, that absolute justice, like any other species of absolute perfection, ought not to be ascribed to a fallible human being ; and the Athenian, like Mr. Courtenay, was, no doubt, wise in his generation. If ever a literary ostracism should be established amongst us, it will be curious to note the mental structure of those persons that inscribe on their oyster-shells the names of the Miltons and Shakspeares.

Whilst on the subject of Mr. Courtenay, we will just allude to one or two more of his little peculiarities. The law of association acts on his mind in a very remarkable manner. We all know Fluellen's mode of reasoning when comparing Henry

of Monmouth with Alexander of Macedon; but some of Mr. Courtenay's analogies are not less ingenious. Sometimes a word, a name, transports him from the fields of France to the floor of the British House of Commons. Mr. Canning rises to his view in the midst of the distresses of Richard the Second—Arthur of Brittany calls up the image of the renowned Prince Arthur, and *he* again reminds him of Charles Wynn and the Duke of Wellington. The latter allusion is introduced after this fashion:—"I do not know precisely what the great deeds were which the fabulous Arthur of old times was supposed to perform. It may be doubted whether they exceeded those which the real and true Arthur of our days has accomplished." Sometimes he indulges in a sly, political sarcasm, such as—"Radicals, *perhaps*, are not readers of Shakspeare." Then he has sundry apprehensions, which are certainly confined to his own bosom. He believes that the taste for Shakspeare has declined since the days of his childhood, though within a few years there have been some symptoms of a revival; he thinks that the English youth have become less familiar with the works of the great poet than formerly—a reason, one would imagine, for not writing commentaries to warn them against his magic arts—and he gravely expresses a fear, that when Tom Campbell (as he unceremoniously calls him) says that "the description of the night before the battle of Agincourt will be repeated by the youth of England when our children's children shall be grey with age," his truly poetical friend describes what ought to be, not what is or will be. Last of all, Mr. Courtenay is a great sceptic. He sees no evidence of design in Shakspeare's historical characters, and he goes on to observe:—"I confess that my opinion is founded upon observation, not only of Shakspeare and his plays, but upon what generally passes in the world! I am a great disbeliever in complicated plots and deep-laid intrigues. I suspect that in nine cases out of ten, in which elaborate design is imputed to what a man says or does, the imputation is false or exaggerated." To the comprehensiveness of this last sentence there is really nothing to be added.

Having thus glanced at a few of the eccentricities of Mr. Courtenay, we now come seriously to consider the proposition, that Shakspeare has taken such liberties with history, as to render his plays quite unsuitable *as a medium of instruction to the English youth*.

Much will depend on the meaning of this word *history*. If it denote merely, *a record of past events*, there is no fixing

any limit to its application. Not only would the dullest chronicle that ever begot a head-ache be included in this definition—but speeches in parliament, police-reports, and all the multifarious contents of a daily newspaper, and even private letters, and the books of merchants, journals of every description, whether kept by saints or sinners, young ladies, or methodist parsons, would each and all be entitled to be classed under the same head. Or, if it be urged that these are only the materials of history, and that the duty of the historian is to make a selection or abstract from these different sources, so as to arrange his facts in a certain order, and present them in a convenient form to the reader; still it must be allowed, that such a mechanical employment could never have obtained that honour which is everywhere conceded to the name. If this were all, industry and patience would be the two prime qualities of an historian, and Mr. Courtenay himself might aspire to be thus distinguished. But no! it is not to these virtues—useful, indeed, but by no means rare—that all the nations of the earth have consented to pay homage; nor is it upon such terms that Clio sits crowned among the Muses.

Let us turn to Johnson's Dictionary—a book, be it observed in passing, which we never can open without a feeling of sincere respect for the memory of the great man who contrived to infuse so much wit and wisdom into the dry labours of the lexicographer. But what says the good Doctor as to the meaning of the word history? Here we have it: "A narration of events and facts, *delivered with dignity*!"—If this be a right solution, surely the doctor himself was no mean historian; for, when did he ever narrate the most trivial fact, whether to giant Burke, or diminutive Boswell, to his Sovereign, or to his own Tetsey, whether quaffing *bishop* at a tavern, or lolling over the tea-board at Mrs. Thrale's, that he did not deliver himself with a dignity which belonged to his very nature? It is obvious to us, in spite of the doctor's definition, that the claim of any narrative to be considered history, does not depend merely upon the *manner* of relating it.

But what, then, is the true meaning and end of history? Is it, as some have deemed, to be looked upon as *philosophy teaching by example*? We like this definition better than the preceding ones, because it implies that we are not to expect merely a dry series of facts, following each other in the order of time, or according to any arbitrary arrangement; but such a disposition of those facts as must show the presence of design—in other terms, a *work of art*. But then we object to

the words *philosophy* and *teaching*, because they convey to the mind a false notion, that the historian has always something to prove—some theory to make out for the instruction of the reader. True it is, that many of our histories have been written upon this plan; but the consequence has been that they fall short of their true purpose, and degenerate into party politics or religious controversy. If we, in our turn, were to try our hand at a definition, we think we should endeavour to explain our meaning of the word history, by a simple reference to one of the fine arts. We should call it *a PICTURE of the past life of nations*.

And if we come to examine it closely, we shall find that the analogy holds good in more than one respect. When the painter has fixed on a subject—which, of course, in this instance we suppose to be historical—when he has made himself acquainted with all the circumstances connected with it—when he knows not only the particulars of the scene to be represented, but the characters of the persons concerned, and the whole series of events that preceded and followed the action—when he has, moreover, collected whatever information comes in his way, with regard to time and place, habits and customs—we feel that he has only performed the least portion of his task. Thousands might have done the same, of whom scarce a dozen would be able to sketch the plan of a great picture, and of whom not one perhaps could execute the design when formed. It is now that he has to consider, first, the effect to be produced, and secondly, the means of producing it. He knows that he cannot represent the whole scene exactly as it passed, because there is no *daguerreotype* of man's invention that reflects back the images of former centuries, and fixes them for ever in all their minute detail. But he knows also by unerring instinct—if he be really an artist, and not a mere dauber—that he must endeavour to convey to the mind of the spectator a perfect copy of the idea he has himself conceived. To do this with effect, he must not crowd together all the persons and things that have any reference to the subject; he must neither marshal them in procession, nor heap them pellmell upon his canvass; but by skilful arrangement, by prudent omissions, by proportioning every part to the other, and making each conducive to the completeness and perfection of the whole—he will succeed in presenting us with a work, of which we shall at once acknowledge the truth as well as the beauty. Nay more—if he have seized and preserved the essential spirit of the scene, we shall not quarrel with slight

anachronisms, or mistakes of locality or costume. If, in a picture of the *death of Virginia*, we trace not only the struggle of the father's feelings, but the stern resolve of the Roman citizen—not only the purity of the maiden, but something of that national pride of chastity, which pointed the dagger of Lucretia, and distinguished in after years the great mother of the Gracchi—if we see in the looks and attitude of all the persons engaged in the action (the cruel decemvir, the false client, the bereaved lover, the awe-struck guards, the incensed multitude) not only the passions common to men in their situation, but also that rude massiveness of character which belonged to them as children of old Rome—we shall not fail to recognise the work as a true historical study; and we scarce shall have patience to listen to the learned blockhead that would criticise the position of the shambles, or the shape of the butcher's cleaver.

The task of the historian is not unlike that of his brother artist. He must select and arrange his materials very nearly on the same principle; only that as to him more has been given, more will be required at his hands. The picture which he draws is not limited to a fixed place, or a mere moment of time; he may range over any number of years, and transport us to all parts of the habitable globe. Nor is he confined to the use of a few colours, or hemmed within the boundaries of a square piece of canvass; he has at his command the vast machinery of human language, with all its endless combinations, and ever expansive force; and the length of the work to be produced is not often determined by any arbitrary rule. He has, therefore, many advantages over the painter, and it is very naturally expected that his picture should be more varied and more complete. Yet, after all is done, a picture it will remain: not the thing itself, but a representation—not a reality, but a shadow—belonging to the domain of art, and suggesting far more than it distinctly shows—bringing back to us the men of past centuries, not as a mere heap of dry bones collected from the tomb, nor yet in the exact shape in which they once walked the earth, but fashioned so as to indicate what they were, and indued with a kind of ideal life. It is by the imagination only that we have the power to wake the dead.

If any merely literal person should object to this view of the case, that on such a theory we might have poets and romancers, but no real historian—we have only to remark, that it is not from any indifference to truth, that we contend for this

mode of writing history. It is rather because we know of no other method by which so large a portion of truth may be obtained. Your annalist will write page after page, volume after volume, in which every one of the facts will be strictly true; and yet the whole work shall convey a false impression to the mind of the reader. The skeleton may be there, but where shall we find the flesh and blood? Surely these must be supplied, if the past is to be anything but a ghastly dream. And how can this be effected, save by the exercise of the highest order of genius?

Therefore, of all the *histories* that are given with so much pomp and bustle to the public, how few are really deserving of the name! It is no light task to build a bridge over the abyss of time, and connect together two worlds; and if it be true, as a poet of our own day has told us, that

“ ———— past and future are the wings,
On whose support, harmoniously conjoined,
Moves the great spirit of human knowledge” —

there can scarcely be any task more important. To perform it well, how many different qualities are required! What powers of thought and expression! What varied attainments! What experience of books and men! What insight into human character! What inexhaustible stores of sympathy! What lofty and impartial justice! — Yet every dull mechanic, that knows how to collect facts by the gross, and compare dates by the two first rules of arithmetic, fancies himself an historian; whilst the truth may, perhaps, be that the world since its creation, has not seen more than some dozen of the true breed, and that all of these (even the greatest) have, in some signal particular, fallen far short of the ideal standard of perfection.

Were we to attempt to describe this ideal standard, we should probably expose ourselves to nearly the same answer as that which Rasselas gave to Imlac's panegyric on poetry “Enough! thou hast convinced me that no human being can ever be a poet” — and, like the sage, we should then be forced to confess, that to be an historian “is indeed very difficult.” Nor shall we fail to come to this last conclusion, if we only consider, without going any further, how few men are able to take a correct view of that which passes before their eyes. Examine three several witnesses of a common street brawl, and each of them will give you a different account, and all of them a wrong one — not from any wish to deceive, but merely from half knowledge, and a sort of natural one-sidedness. The

case will be much stronger if we seek information as to affairs of state, or look for an accurate description of those events on which may depend the destinies of whole nations. And if this be so with all that is passing around us, how must it needs be with the times that are long gone by? True it is, that as we recede from our own age, some of the motives to misrepresentation gradually disappear. We can have no personal quarrels with dust and ashes; our jealousy hardly reaches beyond the portals of the tomb; our vanity and our petty self-interest are not often jostled by departed spirits; and when we have journeyed so far that we lose all traces of our own party language, and find quite another set of symbols and watchwords than those to which we have been accustomed, we are certainly much less likely to be influenced by verbal prejudices. But we must remember that this impartiality is seldom of that genuine kind, which arises from seeing all things in the pure light of day, and so giving to each its natural colours and proportions—but is rather the offspring of a dull hazy twilight, in which we have no preference for any one object, because all are equally indistinct and shadowy. It reminds us of Doctor Bartholo's method of opposing age to youth:—

“Je ne suis point Tircis;
Mais la nuit dans l'ombre
Je vaux encore mon prix;
Et quand il fait sombre
Les plus beaux chats sont gris !”

We are impartial, because we are indifferent. Our antipathies have perished; but so have our sympathies also. We no longer take a side, because we should be at a loss which side to take.

With all these difficulties the historian has to contend. Like the rest of the race of Adam, his knowledge must needs be imperfect; and his vision is often distorted by the *media* through which he surveys the world. He will require many rare gifts and attainments, before he can advance a single step in the practice of his high calling. But if we were asked to point out the one great, leading quality, without which he will never effect anything of the least value, we should name without hesitation that genial and catholic spirit, which is open to every impression, and sympathizes with all mankind. It is this, which enables the historian to pierce beneath the surface of things; to break through the crust of a mere outward and formal morality; to appreciate men's motives, and make due allowance for the circumstances in which they lived; to get rid of all narrowness of thought and precipitancy of

judgment ; to cherish no bitter feelings against any of his fellow-creatures ; to pity the unfortunate, and still more the criminal ; and to look at God's universe, not as a chaos of discordant elements, only to be set right by some snug little theory of his own—but as a great, harmonious whole, of which indeed he can comprehend but a small portion within the limited sphere of his intelligence, yet which holds together in all its parts, so that the actions of men here below, have their fixed and necessary relations with the moral government of the world, whilst amid all the apparent contradictions of this earthly state, there is *order* everywhere to be admired, and *beauty* everywhere to be loved.

Now this prime quality of the mind, without which all others will be but of slight service to the historian, was perhaps never bestowed in such full measure on a mere mortal, as it was on our own Shakspeare. As developed in his writings, it has in it something of god-like. His soul was so attuned to the universal harmony of nature, that whatever *is*, whatever *exists*, found in it a kindred chord ; and this catholic state of feeling, by rendering all narrowness impossible, prevented his being biassed by any of the prejudices or passions, which he so thoroughly understood, and of which he has left so graphic a picture. He was impartial, not from ignorance, but from knowledge ; not by confounding all things together, because of the imperfect light, but by seeing every object distinctly, and giving to each its due place. There is no other author, be he poet, historian, or philosopher, that can for a moment be compared with him in respect to this largeness and clearness of vision.

But if Shakspeare thus possessed the chief qualification for writing history, was he not also gifted with most of the minor requisites ? Where, as in him, shall we find such power of imagination united with such calmness of judgment—such a mixture of luxuriance and health, of intense force and perfect equilibrium ? Who has ever combined such a nice observation of particular facts, with such an intuitive perception of general truths ? Who could be at once so subtle and so profound ? And where has there ever existed a greater master of language ? for his style could be brief or diffuse, flowing or elaborate, exquisitely simple or supremely gorgeous, even as the case might demand ; so that it has been fitly compared to the polished diamond—magnificent as all other jewels blended in one, yet transparent as pure water, having no distinct colour itself, but reflecting the varied hues of earth and heaven.

We conclude from these premises, that Shakspeare might have been a great historian, perhaps the greatest the world has yet seen. As picturesque as Livy, he would have surpassed even Tacitus in the delineation of character. But the fates had reserved him for a still higher work than this, and he was to address mankind in a form even more universal than that of history. In the microcosm of the stage, he reproduced his experience of the world and of man. But leaving his *Hamlets* and *Lears* out of the question, he wrote, amongst other things, a series of dramatic chronicles, and it is to these only that we need at present allude.

Now it was to be expected, that he, who had such capacities for serving the muse of history, could not have touched so near on the confines of her domain, without producing something excellent in its kind; and accordingly, these expectations have not been disappointed. Standing as they do, midway between the realms of literal fact and poetic invention, these chronicles appear to us to contain whatever is really essential in the former; and, to go on with our previous illustration, borrowed from the art of painting, Shakspeare has here made use of the shadows of fiction, to connect and harmonize the scattered lights of truth. Were we to speak of them as poems, we should be at a loss to express our full sense of their power and beauty; but, looking at them merely as contributions to historical literature, we are perhaps still more astonished at the depth and force of that genius, which could thus embody the spirit of past times, and represent in a play the characteristics of a whole generation. Quite as accurate in matters of detail as the famous legends of Herodotus, and involving far higher truths of another kind, these dramas have done for England more than the history of the Persian wars did for Greece. They have inspired our country's youth, and will long continue to inspire them (notwithstanding the fears and warnings of Mr. Courtenay) with a proud and generous nationality, equally remote from the narrow-minded prejudices of China, and the vague and frothy cosmopolitanism of the French *philosophes*. They have taught them to set a just value on the virtues and achievements of their race, to link themselves with the past, by a chain of ennobling associations, and to feel, that the story of their ancestors will have to be continued by their children. Mr. Courtenay may rest assured, that the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Chatham knew very well what they were saying, when they acknowledged their obligations to these historical plays.

Cold indeed must be the heart of that Englishman, who can read these wonderful dramas without fruit, and who has not derived from their pages some lesson of loyalty or of patriotism. We often please ourselves with the reflection, that now, two hundred years after his decease, the genius of Shakspeare may still be guiding the arms and councils of his native land; that our princes may still learn wisdom at the death-bed of old Gaunt, or from the lips of the fourth Harry; that our statesmen may still be warned by the fate of Wolsey, and our populace by the follies of Jack Cade; that the honesty of a Carlsle may still speak truth to the senate, and the spirit of a Gascoigne maintain the independence of the bench; and that in those far eastern climes, beyond the waters of the Indus—where the lion has yet to do battle with the northern wolves, the young soldier, at a distance from his country and his friends, surrounded by hostile tribes, and amid all the dangers of unequal war, may still “rouse him at the name of Crispian,” and feel, that “the fewer men, the greater share of honour.” O long, very long, may the influence of these writings be acknowledged amongst us! for so shall we best fulfil our own duty as citizens, and teach all the other people of the earth to reverence:—

“ This royal throne of kings, this scepter’d isle,
 This earth of majesty, this seed of Mars,
 This other Eden, demi-paradise;
 This fortress, built by nature for herself
 Against infestation and the hand of war;
 This happy breed of men, this little world,
 This precious stone set in the silver sea.
 Which serves it in the office of a wall,
 Or as a moat defensive to a house,
 Against the envy of less happier lands;
 This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England,
 This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
 Feared by their breed, and famous by their birth;”

and then, if a day of wrath and peril should dawn upon us,—if the nations, jealous of our prosperity, should unite for our destruction,—we shall make up our minds at once, that we, “who speak the tongue that Shakspeare spake,” must either “be free or die,” and the loud clear voice of Faulconbridge will ring out bravely in our ears:—

“ This England never did, nor never shall,
 Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
 But when it first did help to wound itself.

Now these her princes are come home again,
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them : Nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true !"

These are the lessons, which, with all due respect for Mr. Courtenay, we believe to be taught by the historical plays of Shakspeare; and we cannot therefore in any sense agree to the proposition, that they are, from inaccuracy of detail, "quite unsuitable as a medium of instruction to the English youth."

If it should be urged, that, admitting all we have said to be true, it is still a harmless and even useful employment, to point out how far Shakspeare has departed from the literal facts of history, and to contrast his finished work with the materials from which it is constructed, we have nothing whatever to object to this view of the case. Had Mr. Courtenay contented himself with this task, he might have deserved well of English readers in general, and would certainly not have provoked any word of censure from us. But it is by attempting an absurd and irreverent criticism, that he has quite thrown into the shade whatever may be otherwise valuable in his labours. He seems to have forgotten the maxim of *Magna Charta*, and to have treated the great poet, as if he had only to pass judgment on his peer. We tell him, that he is no fit juryman in such a cause, and we challenge him in the name of his country. Nor does this imply any peculiar deficiency in himself; we believe there is no man living, that could have adopted the same *tone* upon this matter, without equally displaying his own hopeless inferiority—we believe, that the only style of remark, which will now be endured with regard to Shakspeare, is one, that does not pretend to pass sentence on faults and omissions, but humbly and reverently to study his works, as we do those of nature herself, to endeavour to discover new beauties, and more fully to illustrate the old.

Of a very different class to the criticisms of Mr. Courtenay, are those contained in the second of the two works, which we have placed together at the head of the present article. In his beautiful edition of Shakspeare, Mr. Knight has spared no pains to give us the text of his author in the most correct and attractive form, and his notes are everywhere valuable, as really throwing light on the poet's meaning. He too has consulted the ancient chronicles, and compared them with the dramatic version of the same stories; but in him, all this was "a labour of love," and the result is worthy of the spirit in

which he worked. Drawing copiously from the stores of Goethe, and Schlegel, and Coleridge, and Lamb, and Hazlitt, making use of a Steevens or a Malone, whenever they could be turned to account, he has yet added much that is original, and must henceforth take his place in the company of the true interpreters of the mighty bard. Rich in the beauties of typography, though we could have wished the text to be a little larger, for the benefit of the thousands that will continue to read it in their old age, and adorned by many exquisite specimens of the art of wood-engraving, this edition will, when completed, be unquestionably the best of its kind. It is one, that we could show to a foreigner without a blush, and lay with a feeling of pleasure at the foot of Shakspeare's monument.

In this first volume of the historical plays, we have King John to Henry V inclusive. Each play is preceded by an introductory notice, containing a careful examination of the state of the text and chronology, an account of the supposed sources from which the plot is derived, and a curious antiquarian dissertation upon period, locality, and costume. A few sensible, glossarial notes are appended at the bottom of the pages, and the close of each act is followed by numerous illustrations, pictorial as well as literary. Thus, in Richard II, we have a full description of the quarrel between Bolingbroke and Mowbray, and of the usages observed on that occasion; and, to bring it home to our senses, there is a picture of a knightly combat in the lists, with all the accompaniments of marshals, heralds, and pursuivants. Then, as we continue to trace the career of the unhappy monarch, all the scenes of his misfortunes and his fall, rise one after the other to our view. From the wilds in Gloucestershire, we catch a glimpse of Berkley Castle; we behold the "rude ribs" of that Welsh fortress, where the king received his rebellious cousin; we are thence transported to the honourable tomb, "that stands upon his royal grandsire's bones;" we walk with the "weeping queen," in the Duke of York's garden at Langley; we enter Westminster Hall, and are present at the surrender of the crown; and finally, we see that "street leading to the tower," with its quaint old buildings, and its air of the middle ages, where Richard poured his last tears on the bosom of the gentle Isabel. And when the editor has thus gone along with us through the whole drama, never thrusting himself impertinently in our way, but quietly helping us to understand the text, he suns up his own opinions in a short supplementary

notice, which is generally as able in its execution, as it always is modest in its design.

We need not add, that Mr. Knight has our best wishes for the success of this undertaking. We can scarcely doubt, that, as a pecuniary speculation, it will amply repay him for his liberal outlay of capital; but sure we are, that a higher reward is in store for him. Whilst thousands of critics and commentators will be forthwith buried beneath the weight of their own dulness, or only kept alive for a season, to furnish laughter for gods and men,—it will be his fate to be classed with that nobler band, who have really thrown useful light on the great productions of human genius, and received from the mighty spirits, to whom they have devoted their service, a more than adequate return of lasting and honourable fame.

ART. III.—*The Literary Class Book, or Fourth Series of Select Reading Lessons in prose and verse; Compiled by the Brothers of the Christian Schools.* Dublin, 1840.

WE congratulate the public on the appearance of this cheap and unpretending volume. The skill displayed in selecting the extracts, of which it is composed, and the lowness of its price, would certainly challenge the patronage of all, who think it of moment that models of pure taste be placed within the reach of youth in seminaries and schools. But it is not the mere literary merits of a compilation at which we rejoice. We see, in the volume before us, the first fruits of a young institution, established by the highest ecclesiastical authority, silently but steadily expanding, from small and obscure beginnings, and promising to present, ere long, in its extended usefulness, a lively image of the numberless monastic schools which, in ancient times, covered the entire land. We see in it the early effects of a spirit which the cravings of the young mind of Ireland for instruction untainted and solid, have of late excited. In a word, we see in it the first of a series of works, in which our children may find the principles of science and the beauties of literature, purified from the false doctrines and poisonous maxims, wherewith they have hitherto been mixed; the first stirrings of a movement that will eventually sweep away the mass of impiety and

impurity that now defiles our literature,* from every Catholic college and seminary and school and hovel in the empire.

The ardent thirst for knowledge, among even the rudest and poorest of the Irish peasantry, and the peculiar respect, amounting in some cases to veneration, with which learned men are looked up to by them, form at this day, as they did a thousand years ago, some of the most striking features in the national character. Among the penal laws, after those which directly proscribed the Catholic priesthood and worship, no other, not all the rest together, weighed half so gallingly upon the hearts of the people, as those prohibiting education, or permitting it only at the price of apostacy. The power which robs religion of her outward forms cannot altogether destroy her internal and substantial worship; the law which excludes from civil dignity may humble, without desolating, the branded race: but when the sources of knowledge are cut off, there is that taken away, which religion does not supply, and without which the comforts of the domestic circle are soon mixed with inquietude, and its amusements with grossness. The people of Ireland however defied the penalties, or evaded the restrictions of the savage code which aimed at subjugating their persons by first brutalizing their minds. Their young Levites sought, in foreign climes, for the learning denied them at home. But the stream of literature, though narrowed and forced into subterraneous channels, was never wholly dried up, and, at the breaking up of the weight of oppression, its waters again burst forth to light. Then were seen the tolerated chapel and the tolerated school house, side by side, in caverns of the same hill. We are not very old, and yet we have ourselves witnessed such a scene. Well do we remember, when, not a quarter of a century ago, in our boyish rambles, through some of the wild mountains that encircle the valleys of our native home, our ears were charmed, amid the stilly bleakness of the surrounding country, with the murmur of a hundred voices issuing from some dwarf cavern, by the way side, that seemed hardly capable of containing half the number. Well do we remember the astonishment, with which our eyes contemplated the half-clad but healthy inmates. Surely, we thought, the love of learning must be the ruling passion in the hearts of the parents of these poor children: a teacher is paid and supported, books are bought,—and all this by miserable creatures, who

* See the Articles on the "Prejudices of Early Education," and "Prejudices of our Popular Literature," in vol. v. and viii of the *Dublin Review*.

can hardly procure what is absolutely necessary of bad clothing and worse food. The man who says that the people of Ireland, and especially the poor people, are not in love with education, deserves to be called an ignorant blunderer or a malignant knave.

But the general diffusion of knowledge among the great mass of the people is dreaded by many, as pregnant with danger to the interests of society and religion. Whilst men live in community, say they, there must always be some to govern and others to obey, some to instruct and others to learn; some who live exempt from the toils of manual labour, and others doomed to work for their daily bread. All are not born to be philosophers or readers of philosophy, any more than all born to be legislators. A nation of learned men could no more exist for a day, than a nation of fiddlers. The ground must be tilled, the harvest gathered in, and food supplied, very different from that which science affords to the mind, or music to the ear. Again, it is said, the pride of learning, where it exists, is the most stubborn of passions, especially among the half-learned. They who hardly understand elementary truths, would, by a greater earnestness of dogmatism, affect an acquaintance with abstruse difficulties; and, thus, the wisdom and the faith of antiquity would soon fall before an irruption of sciolists and pedants. We know some very worthy men, who are haunted by apprehensions like these. If we do not admit, we are certainly unwilling to sneer at opinions held conscientiously; but we have neither respect nor toleration for the howls of grasping, selfish, domineering bigotry; and sure we are, that most of those who declaim against the general spread of knowledge, mistake narrowness of mind for delicacy of conscience, and speak from factious obstinacy rather than sober conviction. There is no more danger that general education will subvert or injure the order of society, than that an abundance of cheap bread will beget a general gluttony. There will be gluttons, whether bread be cheap or dear; and some will be turbulent and censorious, whether they receive education or not. They who apprehend danger to religion seem not to know, what every well-instructed Christian ought to know, that religion derives not her efficacy, nor loses her sway over the human mind, from the influence, however great, of mere human institutions or opinions or forms of society. To her doctrines error only is opposed, to her precepts immorality. She embraces alike within her ample fold, the ignorant and the instructed, the civilized, and the uncivilized.

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In early times her strength lay among the peasants, the beggars, the slaves, the half-barbarians; and some of the lowest and most despised of men, stand by the side of elevated rank and transcendent genius, in the ranks of the holiest saints and most learned doctors. As learning cannot produce, so neither can it destroy faith. That knowledge sometimes begets insubordination, and injures the simplicity of belief, is an evil to be anticipated, and prevented not by condemning education, but by guarding the purity of its sources, and directing and watching over its course.

But whether general education be a good or an evil, it is now vain to enquire; for the people are determined on possessing it. The progress even of the lower classes towards mental improvement is general and active. We may praise their zeal, or pity their folly; but it is beyond our power to check the one or cure the other. Since, therefore, the people must be educated, it is of the utmost importance, that the books which they read, and the teachers whom they hear, be such as give security, that together with knowledge, there be not introduced into the susceptible, unsuspecting young mind, either unsound principles or immoral habits. To dwell upon the vast influence which early friendships, early examples, early studies, early precepts, have upon the dispositions, would be to descant upon truths which every one understands and admits. Who is there who knows not that the elements which form the character of maturer years, are brought together, in our schoolboy days, through a thousand different channels. The air then breathed, the places then frequented, the maxims then listened to; every glance of the eye, every motion of the tongue,—all contribute to strengthen, or to repress the natural tendencies of the heart, to form a future blessing or a future curse to society. The parental home is indeed the sanctuary of young virtue. The school-room and the academy will confer benefits of a peculiar kind; but hard will the task be, for any labour or vigilance, to make an adequate substitute for the tender watchfulness of a mother's piety, and the homely lessons of a father's wisdom.

To those of lively and affectionate faith no object of diviner contemplation can be presented, than the wonderful providence which ever protects and consoles the afflicted faithful, even at the moment when the storm is loudest, and the darkness thickest. The incessant attacks of heresy upon the early church were broken against the strong array of Fathers, who manned her battlements from age to age: the cry of the be-

nighted nations for the bread of faith, called up a rapid succession of apostles; the yearning of thousands after a perfection, unattainable amid the distractions of business and the scandals of the world, was soon satisfied in the unnumbered abodes of seclusion, which the affluence or the persevering industry of pious zeal everywhere brought into existence. Each new want, which the ever-shifting relations of society created in the external policy of religion, was supplied by the comprehensive genius and vigorous activity of master minds, raised up, it would seem, for the special purpose. Athanasius and Arius, Jerome and Vigilantius, Augustin and the Donatists, Dominic and the Albigenses, Ignatius and the ten thousand sects of the Reformation, are names that tell, on one hand of the combination of power and wealth and talents and numbers which threatened the annihilation of all faith; and on the other, of the utter nothingness into which these terrific preparations melted away before the spirit of truth, operating through instruments often the weakest and meanest in the eyes of men. Before the invention of printing, general knowledge was necessarily confined to the few, whose wealth and leisure afforded them the means of purchasing and perusing costly manuscripts. The fierce wars which sprang out of the heresies of the sixteenth, and the revolutions of the seventeenth centuries, retarded the improvement which the popular mind would have otherwise derived from the cheapness and general circulation of books; and ages of barbarous persecution extended nearly to the present times the cloud of ignorance which hung over our own unhappy country. Since the great impediments have been removed, a universal desire for education has been created, or rather revived among us; and our holy Church, ever fruitful in resources wherewith to supply the spiritual wants of her children, has established a new order of teachers, admirably adapted to the humble wants and humble wishes of a poor, a pious and a generous people. The name of the little work which we have placed at the head of this paper, has already led our readers to understand that we allude to the BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

The introduction of the Brothers of the Christian Schools into Ireland, dates its origin from an act of enterprising but local zeal, on the part of a private individual. In the year 1803, Mr. Edmond Rice, moved by the miserable condition of the poor uneducated children of Waterford, and amply provided, in the resources of an extensive personal property, - with the means of healing the evil to a wide extent, conceived

the noble idea of establishing schools, in that city, for gratuitous and religious education. The prudent reserve of ecclesiastical authority, in awarding its sanction to new schemes and establishments, often operates as a trial to sincere zeal or as a check upon intemperate enthusiasm; and, accordingly, Mr. Rice was doomed to experience some delay and opposition, in the execution of his design. After much deliberation, however, and being fully satisfied that the advancement of religion and morality was the great end in view, the learned bishop, Dr. Hussey, not only signified his entire approval of the proposed plan, but moreover lent his warm co-operation, and at his death bequeathed a large sum to the institution of Mr. Rice. This gentleman now bent all the energies of his mind towards the accomplishment of his darling object. A dwelling house with school-rooms was erected; masters well qualified, both in literary attainments and edifying and prudent conduct, were provided; and a foundation made for the support of six, formed into a kind of religious community. Dr. Hussey was succeeded in the see of Waterford by Dr. Power. To this pious prelate the young establishment of Mr. Rice became an object of peculiar solicitude: his paternal attention was daily rewarded by the testimony which experience of its good fruits gave to the new system of instruction; and after some time, he succeeded in obtaining, for the society, the Apostolic benediction, together with a promise of future encouragement from the Holy See.

Meantime the society advanced, slowly indeed, but with increasing hopes and brightening prospects. In 1819, the number of houses through the South of Ireland, formed on the plan of the original establishment, amounted to seven. Only the solemn approbation of the Pope, was now required to give them solidity and extension; and, in the same year, an humble memorial to this effect was presented to his holiness, from an assembly composed of all the members. The petition contemplated the erection of a new distinct religious order: but it is a fixed principle at Rome to oppose the multiplication of orders in the Church, except after protracted and minute investigation, and upon the most urgent grounds; wherefore the application was promptly and decisively rejected.

A religious Institute, under the denomination of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, had already existed for upwards of a century in France. Dr. de la Salle, the founder thereof, a secular priest, of great learning and piety, had, as

early as the year 1684, resigned his ecclesiastical dignities, distributed a large portion of his patrimony in charities, and, with twelve pious associates, devoted himself entirely to the gratuitous instruction of poor children. The persecutions which the enemy of all good never fails to excite against those whom God raises up for the extension of his kingdom in the souls of men, opposed and invigorated the zeal of the holy man; but he lived to see the advancement and near accomplishment of his magnificent design, in the spread of his congregation through France, and in the warm congratulations of the Cardinal Noailles, and of the pious but unfortunate James of England. Soon after his death, in the year 1725, Benedict XIII erected the society into a religious order. A house was immediately established in Rome; and, through the blessing of the apostolic sanction, the humble devotion of the members, and the encouragement of the clergy and of the civil authorities, the Institution spread, with amazing rapidity and success, through several parts of the Continent. Its efficiency for the purposes of wholesome and solid instruction received an additional testimony and a temporary suspension from the sweeping fury of the National Assembly in 1789. The enactment then passed against the making of vows in France prepared the way for the total suppression of the order, which took place in the following year. When the hurricane had blown over, and the elements of social order began to coalesce, under the milder despotism of the first consul, and after the concordat between him and Pius VII, the schools were reopened, and, notwithstanding the many years of desolating war that followed, so quickly was the chasm in public moral education filled up, that, in 1829, there belonged to the Brothers of the Christian Schools no less than two hundred and ten establishments,—namely, one hundred and ninety-two in France, two in the Isle of Bourbon, one in Cayenne, five in Italy, five in Corsica, one in Savoy, and four in Belgium. The members, at that time, amounted to more than fifteen hundred, and, in Paris alone, there were sixty houses.

The authority of the Sovereign Pontiff brings to the mind of every Catholic an assurance, which needs not support or confirmation from any other quarter. But we cannot withhold from our readers the pleasing information that the active patronage of some of the brightest ornaments of the French Church was extended to the Brothers of the Christian Schools; the patronage of men, who, like Bourdaloue, Massillon,

Bossuet, Fénelon, well knew that the most precious portion of Christ's inheritance, delivered to their charge, lay among the humble poor; and that erudition however deep, and talents however splendid, are, in priest or bishop, but "lights that lead astray," if not directed as well to enlighten, to improve, to console the ignorant and lowly born, as to confound the metaphysical sceptic, or to captivate those who dwell in high places.

After the victory of Waterloo had terminated the protracted hostilities between England and France, and opened, on the Continent, an unmolested passage to strangers, the efficiency of the Christian schools became, through the medium of travellers distinguished for piety and learning, better known and appreciated in this country. The happy thought occurred of soliciting his Holiness for an extension of the brief of Benedict XIII to Mr. Rice's society; the plan was submitted to the consideration of the members; and, after much deliberation, the entire body, consisting of twenty-eight, with the exception of three, gratefully embraced the proposal. In 1819, Dr. Troy and the present venerable Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray, forwarded the application to Rome. The claims of the petition itself, supported by the strong and united approbation of two such prelates, could not fail to win the consent of a pontiff, who, like Pius VII, had the spiritual interests of all Churches, but especially of the long-suffering and ever-faithful Church of Ireland, so much at heart; and, accordingly, on the fifth day of September, in the following year, the brief was expedited, confirming the society, under the title of "Religious Brothers." Since then, nearly twenty years have elapsed; the first half, in the general the all-absorbing struggle of an enslaved nation for its legitimate rights, and much of the other in various short lived, but strong political excitements. But notwithstanding these and other powerful obstacles to the diffusion of the society, the number of its schools in the dioceses of Dublin, Cashel, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Killaloe and Kilfenora, has increased to thirty-five; the number of children educated to about six thousand, and the number of teachers, of which thirteen are in the Dublin schools, to more than eighty. We have heard, lately, that the patriotic Archbishop of Tuam has either already introduced, or means soon to introduce, some of the brothers into his archdiocese. We know not that in any other diocese, besides those just mentioned, they have as yet obtained a footing. It may be remarked here, that the "Religious

Brothers of Ireland" form a society perfectly distinct from that of the "Brothers of the Christian Schools" on the Continent,—the end, however, of both being the same, and the rules and constitutions by which they are governed differing very little from each other.

We have been anxious to form the most impartial view of the nature of this Institute; and, for this purpose, we have spared no pains in gathering, from the most authentic sources within our reach, every useful information. We have examined the small volume of Constitutions, together with a variety of other documents, published and unpublished, bearing upon our point of inquiry; we have had recourse to bigoted as well as unbiassed witnesses, in the parliamentary reports; and, not satisfied with these, we have ourselves, on several occasions, patiently examined some of the most frequented of the schools, and saw, with our own eyes, the working out of the system in all its details. It is, therefore, with no small degree of confidence, that we lay before our readers the results of our investigation,—selecting from our materials, such statements, and presenting such views, as we think may put the society in its true light before the public eye, and furnish the best evidence we can yet have, wherefrom to judge of the probable advantages which a more general adoption of the system throughout the country would produce.

The end of the institute is stated, in the first paragraph of the first chapter of the Rules and Constitutions, to be, "That all the members labour, in the first place, for their own perfection; and, in the second, for that of their neighbour, by a serious application to the instruction of male children, especially the poor, in the principles of Christian religion and piety." The obligation of gratuitous instruction, religious and literary, is precisely stated in the papal brief, and repeatedly enforced in the Constitutions, as that, for the fulfilment of which the order of the Christian Brothers exists.

"The brothers should recollect that the instruction of poor children is the great object of their institution, and, for which, through the mercy of God, the institute has been particularly raised up. They should always teach them gratis: nor can they receive from them or their parents anything by way of retribution for their education, but shall content themselves with the glorious recompense promised to all, 'who instruct many unto justice.' This gratuitous instruction of the poor is one of their vows."—*Rules*, c. i. § 3.

"The spirit of this institute is an ardent zeal for the instruction of children, for rearing them up in the fear and love of God, &c."—*Ibid.*, c. ii. § 12.

"The Brothers shall teach the children, in the way of science, such things as are befitting them But, above all things, the Brothers are to recollect that the instruction of the children in piety and religion, is the great and main end of their institute. They shall cherish a tender affection for all the scholars, particularly the poorest, &c."—*Ibid.* c. 6, § 1, 2, 5.

"These pious laymen have proposed to themselves the following end, viz. the gratuitous instruction of poor children, in the rudiments of the Christian faith, and whatever else may be adapted to their state and condition."—*Brief of Pius VII.*

"These rules or constitutions are as follow, viz. 1st. that these religious Brothers shall make it their principal care to teach children, particularly the poor, the things necessary for a Christian life; and that the main end and spirit of the institute must be an anxious solicitude to educate youth according to the maxims of the Christian law 5. The Brothers shall teach the children gratis, never accepting of anything as a reward or retribution either from them or their parents."—*Ibid.*

The brothers are bound by the three religious vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, to which a fourth is added, of firm perseverance in the institute, and a fifth, peculiar to themselves, of the gratuitous instruction of the poor. They live together in communities consisting of as many members as the general wants of the society may allow, or the necessities of the district in which they are situated may demand; and subject to certain rules of conduct admirably suited to preserve among them the piety and the detachment from secular engagements so necessary for securing the confidence and respect of the people among whom they live, and to keep alive the spirit of devoted zeal which the effective discharge of the laborious and irksome task of elementary instruction so largely requires. Each house is placed under the immediate control of a brother-director, appointed for a limited number of years, to whom the management of the funds and the general superintendence of the brothers themselves, and of the scholars are intrusted. The superior-general is elected by the secret suffrages of the directors of the several houses. His office, which, according to the first constitution, lasted but for ten years, is, by a more recent enactment, to continue for life; and he is assisted in the government of the order by two others, chosen in the same manner as he is himself, and dwelling always in the same house with him. Thus is there

a compact body of men united together by common laws, under a common head, and animated by a common spirit, for the attainment of a simple end,—and that end one of the best to which the loftiest desires can be sacrificed, or the brightest genius directed. The steady resolve of every member is first tested, in the course of preparatory training, and afterwards confirmed, by the deliberate and solemn promise which he makes, upon his admission, of persevering in the order : and the paths of ambition, which superior wisdom or superior talents might open to some, in the ways of ecclesiastical preferment, are effectually closed, by an explicit enactment of the Pope, forbidding the brothers to aspire to the priesthood or any orders whatever. One of the most abundant sources of neglect, or of something worse, in the schools of the poor, is that the teachers are for the most part persons who take up the office of instructor, as a last resource from the pangs of absolute poverty or of the drudgery, to them equally intolerable, of active labour ; or they are those who take it up as a means of temporary employment and support, until an opportunity is presented of embarking in some more lucrative or respectable trade. Men, with such views, have no love for their profession : they go through its duties as through a hated task, the prospect of whose speedy termination is all that cheers them on ; their minds are sordid and contracted, and they do not feel the importance of the trust committed to them, or their ambition stretches beyond the present narrow sphere and they despise the occupation which serves only as a step whereby to climb to a higher place. Hence it is that even of the poor children, who spend a sufficient time at school, so few are much improved, and so many are hardly improved at all. Hence so much fine intellect, which, if properly cultivated, might become a source of comfort and of fortune, is to its possessor and to society, a fruitless, if not a dangerous gift. But the Brothers of the Christian Schools become teachers, not from necessity, but from choice. Their energies are kept always active by the only stimulant which is unwasted by frequent application, uninfluenced by change of time or place, unsubdued by hardship, unwearied by fatigue, unbribed by gain—by the stimulant of deep, disinterested religious feeling. As disengagement from pursuits of avarice and from the narrowing ties of domestic attachment gives to the charity of the priest a free and ample range, so are the offices of an humbler sphere, and more earthly nature, benefited by a similar freedom in those upon whom they devolve.

Of the mode of living pursued by the brothers during the time not devoted to professional duties, it is only necessary to state, briefly, that their hour of rising is five o'clock each morning, throughout the year; after which, about three quarters of an hour are devoted to exercises of devotion. The schools are opened at nine, and closed at three. Dinner commences at half-past three; after dinner, the time is spent until nine, partly in recreation, partly in short spiritual exercises, and partly in reading literary or religious books. On Wednesday, the brothers, after dinner, walk out in the country, until half-past seven; and on Saturday, which is always vacant, they walk out in the country, in like manner, at some convenient time, between breakfast and dinner. When the inclemency of the weather prevents the usual walk on Wednesday, the next favourable evening is selected.

No one is admitted into the institute before the sixteenth or seventeenth year of his age, and no one can make his simple perpetual vows, until he has completed his one-and-twentieth year. The young candidate, besides unexceptionable testimonials of a virtuous life, must also possess considerable knowledge of an elementary kind, and exhibit proofs of a capacity that, with due cultivation, will make him afterwards a useful member. After his admission, he is placed under the direction of the Master of novices, and, for the space of one year, engaged in a course of uninterrupted study. During all this first period of probation, he receives frequent lectures on the art of teaching, the different modes to be adopted, according to the age or temper or capacity of the pupil, and the faults to be avoided. Among the novices, from one to two hours is, under the inspection of an experienced brother, devoted, each day, to mutual examination and instruction, on the several branches of science and literature usually taught in the schools. The year of noviciate completed, the candidate is sent to one of the houses, where his application becomes still more protracted and laborious,—not less than nine hours being daily consumed between oral instruction and private study, until, in the tardy judgment of his superiors, he is deemed in every way sufficiently qualified to enter on the office of public teaching. It frequently happens that the young brothers pass from six to ten years in these preparatory exercises, before they become members of the institute; and even after that, a certain time is, as we have seen, devoted to useful reading, for four or five days of every week. All, of course, are not subjected to such long and trying ordeal, because for all it is not necessary.

Some are, in point of scientific knowledge, qualified for any office in the society, on the first day of their entrance into it; and for such it is evident that only so much time is necessary for training, as will give them a fair opportunity of trying their qualifications for a state of so much restraint and labour, of becoming imbued with its spirit of religious self-devotedness, and of acquiring a familiarity with the routine of domestic observances and the peculiar methods of conveying instruction. Some possess talents, which enable them to outstrip the slower progress of the less-gifted brothers, and to pass in shorter time over the measured space: the necessities of some of the schools may demand a reinforcement of teachers, which can be supplied only from the ranks of the less perfectly trained. But, however these and similar causes may operate in shortening the course of preparation for some, it is a fixed principle in the society to advance those only to the office of teachers who, though not in all things so eminently qualified, as a longer course of preparation would make them, are yet sufficiently fitted to discharge their duties, with benefit to others, and with credit to themselves. The circle of studies comprises arithmetic, geography, English grammar, mathematics. We understand that some of the brothers possess a respectable knowledge of the classics. We have heard a clergyman, who is eminently entitled to judge of such matters, speaking, in terms of extraordinary praise, of the mathematical acquirements of one of them—one however, we believe, not honoured with any distinguished place, nor supposed to possess any remarkable degree of cleverness over the rest. The society has lately sustained a loss not soon to be repaired, in the early and lamented death of Mr. Griffin. The chaste and brilliant imagination, the pure feeling and the simplicity of style which distinguish the few relics of his genius this gentleman has left behind him, would reflect honour upon whatever body he might be associated with. The edifying life he led, from his early years, joined with his high intellectual endowments, pointed him out as one destined to become the instrument of much good to men. But hardly had he “laid down his laurel crown” at the foot of the cross, when God called him away to the possession of another and a better.

This system of education must, after all, like every other designed for practical purposes, derive its strongest sanction, in the minds of those not much influenced by mere authority or merely speculative arguments, from the development and application of its principles in practice. Theories the most

dazzling, hypotheses the most ingenious, maxims the most perfect, have fallen to pieces at the first touch of an experiment made to bring them down, from their airy dwelling in the dreamer's mind, into contact with the routine of human affairs. A scheme of popular instruction cannot be judged of, as a painting or a mathematical demonstration, by the gratification it affords to the taste, or by the approval which its perfect but untried organization may extort from the judgment. A plan that would crowd Utopia with sages, might empty the school-rooms of Europe; a plan that, in Italy, would be the hand-maid of science and virtue, might, in Ireland, work only discord and contented ignorance. There are undoubtedly certain rules, everywhere true, and everywhere applicable; but there are others which must be modified in a thousand different ways, according to diversities of country, of character, of prejudice, of situation. That the system of instruction adopted by the Christian Brothers has, in the details of its operation, accomplished its intended object, and that the effects produced by their schools, in the districts wherein they are situated, have been of the most gratifying kind, we have the testimony of disinterested, if not hostile, witnesses to shew.

We have ourselves witnessed the improvement, in propriety of conduct and in learning, made by several of the scholars. The strict decorum, the exact observance of discipline, the respectful demeanour of the boys; the surprising facility with which the several classes marshal themselves into order, at a given signal; the absence of all small freaks of mischief, which, in the common country schools, divide the day between frolic and drowsy application; the general eagerness and concentration of mind upon their present business, manifested even by the youngest—exhibit, on one hand, a decided proof of unceasing vigilance, of cordial zeal, of consummate skill, on the part of the masters; and, on the other, a lively picture of the habits of order and diligence to which the young volatile mind may, by an easy but well adapted system, be reduced. The extreme ignorance of some scholars, the extreme aversion of still more to constant application, are among the harassing difficulties which every teacher has to meet. But, in the Christian Schools, these are increased to a very great degree, by the number varying in each school, from one to three hundred: and these taken from a class of society, in which wholesome restraint is not often one of the "household words." The success of the brothers in master-

ing these difficulties deserves, undoubtedly, peculiar applause. The schools in Peacock-lane Cork, and in Mill-street Dublin, are the special objects, as well as the justification of our praise; of the other establishments in Waterford, Thurles, &c., we cannot speak from personal observation. But, above all things, it would be the greatest injustice not to notice with particular emphasis the fruits of early piety and strict observance of religious duties, which these establishments have produced in so many of the pupils. The number of young boys, both in Cork and Dublin, who have made their first communion and who frequent the sacraments at stated times, is very great. We are not afraid to say, even in these times of bigoted intolerance and still more bigoted indifferentism, that we look upon this as the most decisive proof of the real and enduring benefits conferred by the Christian Schools. The acquisition of mere knowledge is by no means the only or the most important end of the education of the poorer classes; nor is knowledge itself, to them at least, a good, unless in so far as it helps to discipline the mind for higher thoughts, to form the heart for the reception of purer feelings, than those which a perpetual contact with the grosser scenes of human existence is apt to generate. We speak not now of the necessity of uniting, in every case, religious with literary education, or of the obligation—real or imaginary,—of withholding the latter, where it cannot be had combined with the former. We speak not of what ought to be done in cases of difficulty, where our best exertions will be but inadequate and imperfect: but we speak of the case where we can effect our best desires, and effect them in the best manner. We need not be told of the influence of useful knowledge, of a cultivated mind, upon the moral and religious habits. We admit, because we believe the truth of this observation,—but only to some extent and generally. Education will of itself make a good scholar, but it only contributes to make a good man; in the latter work religion must have the first and largest share. As a pure atmosphere promotes the health of the body, but food supports and preserves it from decay; so do the observances of religion nourish the life of the soul. By education we understand; by these we reduce to practice: by education we gain a more comprehensive view of our many duties; by these we are strengthened to perform them well.

As, however, some of our readers may not deem the testimony even of a reviewer altogether above suspicion, we think it but fair to the institute of whose history and constitution

we present this rapid sketch, to lay before our readers a few extracts, with many of which some of them are no doubt already acquainted. To those who have seen them, as well as to the many who have not, it may be interesting to possess them in a form, at once more accessible and permanent, than any in which they have hitherto appeared.

Dr. Mc Arthur, a Scotch gentleman and a Presbyterian, after having stated, in his evidence before the Lords' committee, that the schools for children of the humbler classes, in and about Dublin, are in general inferior to the schools in other parts of the kingdom, makes an honourable exception in favour of the Mill-street schools. Speaking of the Dublin schools, he says—

"I do not think we have one decidedly good school, except the one in Mill-street."—*Lords' Report on National Education*, p. 301.

And, in reply to another question—

"I consider Mill-street as the best (school) we have."—*Ibid.*

Mr. Mills, a Protestant, was examined before the same committee. At the time of his examination, and for many years previous, he was one of the Inspectors of the Kildare-street Society. In his reply to some questions, he speaks thus of the Mill-street Schools,—

"I heard a class read, and was very much pleased with the reading. I was very much pleased also with the order and discipline and cleanliness of the scholars. They read a lesson to me in presence of one of the monks.....and I thought the answering of the boys extremely intelligent."—*Ibid.* p. 620.

Mr. J. Doyle, a Quaker says—

"There are a few valuable schools, &c.....and among the rest, I may mention the Monks' school, in Mill-street, a very well conducted school."—*Ibid.* p. 901.

In a written statement which Mr. Doyle furnished to the committee, he says of the Mill-street schools, that they are—

"Conducted in two very airy rooms by three monks.....A good deal of general knowledge imparted, in these schools, in an agreeable manner, by the teachers, in whom we saw more openness than in some other places."—*Ibid.* p. 888.

But the most unqualified testimony was that of a Protestant Rector, the Rev. George Dwyer. In the course of his examination, he states as follows—

"I would say the most perfect schools I have ever seen in my life, were the schools in Mill-street, in Dublin, and the schools in Cork. The most extraordinary progress I ever saw made by children; the

most admirable adaptation of the information to be communicated to the peculiar bent and genius and disposition of the child ; a sifting and searching of what the future destination of the child was, and an application of instruction to that destination ; a most curious eliciting and drawing forth and development of the powers of the children."—*Ibid.* p. 1245.

Of the merits of the Peacock-lane schools in Cork, (referred to in the last extract), the following account of a public examination, held in March 1838, will afford our readers abundant means of judging.

"The examinations held at the Peacock-lane schools, on Thursday the 22nd inst. furnished to the numerous and respectable visitors who attended, an intellectual treat as gratifying to their feelings, as it was creditable to the talents of the pupils. In addition to the usual subjects of education, viz. arithmetic, grammar, geography, mensuration, geometry, use of the globes, &c., the course of examination on this day embraced architectural drawing, including linear perspective and the distinctive characters of Grecian and Gothic architecture, hydrostatics, hydraulics, and the philosophy of heat, together with some interesting moral essays, written *extempore* at the desire of the visitors, who proposed the subjects. Among the specimens of architectural drawing, we noticed a plan of the monastery, the schools, the Magdalen asylum, the savings-bank and the court house. These were executed with real taste and elegance, and attracted not only general notice and applause, but a very flattering testimony of their merits from a respectable artist. In addition to the command of language they exhibited, the moral essays, considered even as exercises of thought for such an age, furnished a most gratifying proof of the intellectual and moral capabilities of the pupils. . . . This establishment numbers at the present moment no less than eleven hundred pupils."—*Cork Southern Reporter for March 24th, 1838.*

Although our remarks upon the Christian Schools are made with reference to Ireland only, we think it right to adduce the following testimonies in their favour,—the last especially, as it comes from one placed, beyond all doubt, the very first in the first rank of Catholic writers in our language, by his deep, varied, accurate learning ; by his fascinating and manly eloquence, and by the *true* Catholic spirit manifested through all his writings, in their meek and calm tone,—far removed, alike, from the dangerous latitudinarianism of loose and superficial scholars, and from the petty malignity of sordid and crippled minds, by whose advocacy the dignity of religious truth is sometimes degraded and its purity defiled. The first is an account (extracted from the Preston Chronicle) of a public examination of the scholars of the Christian Schools, held in Preston in 1830.

"The annual public examination.... took place on Thursday week, (December 16th) when the pupils exhibited a degree of proficiency highly satisfactory to the friends of the Institution.

"The examination was, as on former occasions, partly conducted by the boys themselves, alternately questioning and endeavouring, with surprising zeal and abilities, to puzzle and confound each other. It being understood that premiums had been provided for the best boys, the utmost anxiety prevailed among those to be examined, while each was resolved to be, if possible, of the number rewarded. Such was the expertness of the pupils, on the subjects of examination, and their astonishing perseverance in these contests, that the Rev. Mr. Scott and the other gentlemen who took an active part in the proceedings, were obliged in more than one instance, to divide the prize by lot, none of the contending parties being able to puzzle or embarrass the others.

"It was truly gratifying to witness the children's thorough knowledge of the Christian doctrine, their intimate acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures.....and the very perfect manner in which they went through their examination, in accounts, in mental calculation, English grammar, geography, use of the globes, and a portion of the mathematics. After the examination in geography, a boy of the name of Higginson, who was observed in the course of the day to distinguish himself in several of the classes, ascended the platform and addressed his mixed audience at considerable length, and with much effect, upon the advantages of a good education. He was listened to throughout with the greatest attention, and concluded amidst much applause and continued clapping of hands.

"The most perfect order prevailed in the room during the day; the children looked exceedingly well, the attendance of ladies and gentlemen was both numerous and respectable; and after one of the most interesting examinations which we have witnessed for years, all separated at half past two o'clock."—*Preston Chronicle*, Dec. 24, 1830.

The next is an official report of an examination held in London at St. Patrick's school-house, in June 1838.

"The examiners occupied upwards of five hours in the examination of the twelve boys, whose advancement and proficiency in their several studies, added to their religious and moral conduct, entitled them to become competitors for the three premiums annually disposed of by the governors of the charity.

"They have much pleasure in recording their testimony of the excellent system of education which would enable boys of their age and station, to undergo such an examination, and their satisfaction that the children of the poor should have such advantages thrown in their way.

"The boys were examined in writing, spelling, meaning and derivation of words. Their writing was singularly free and easy.

"Reading, parsing and explaining the subject read.

"English grammar.

"Geography,—more particularly of Europe, including the productions of different countries, the character and religion of the inhabitants, and distances of the several cities, &c., from the metropolis of England.

"Catechism.

"Arithmetic.

"In this latter branch particularly, as indeed in all their studies, the boys evinced a knowledge of the theory as well as of the practice of what they had been taught; and the examiners were very much pleased with the manner in which the boys acquitted themselves in examining one another in their various acquirements.

"The result of the whole was, &c. &c.

THOMAS MURPHY, *Chairman.*

"The first prize was a silver medal, having the harp and name of the school on one side, and the boy's name and age on the reverse; the second prize was also a silver medal, but transferable every year; and the third was a "Missal," beautifully bound, with the pupils name on the cover in gold letters.

"On Sunday, the 17th of June, nearly fifty of the boys of these schools were confirmed by the Right Rev. Dr. Griffiths; and on the same morning, about seventy of them received the holy communion."*

The last extract we shall give is taken from Dr. Wiseman's evidence before the parliamentary committee, in March 1836. Speaking of a school at Rome, transferred from its original conductors to the Christian Brothers, he says:—

"It was put under the superintendence of the Brothers of the Christian doctrine, and the most radical change that can be conceived has taken place from first to last. I was astonished in merely observing the boys walking about, with two or three of these good fathers accompanying them, to see their deportment; the way in which they behaved in the streets was so very becoming and so very respectable compared with what it had been before. I never had observed, neither had any one else, any improper conduct; but there was not that appearance of order and discipline which is visible now; and I understand that the whole interior organization of the house has been brought to a most perfect standard, and the funds have been much better administered since. In short these superiors devote themselves to it from a charitable motive, and they receive nothing but their maintenance for it."

We have a little more to say. In the first place, it appears abundantly evident that these schools can never, at least in the present condition of the country, be so far multiplied and extended as to meet the wants of the entire people. To such extension there are numerous and insurmountable obstacles;

*"Andrews' Orthodox Journal," August 4th, 1838. (From which the above Report has been copied.)

to some only of them do we wish to allude now. The number of teachers sufficient for this purpose, and at once willing and *qualified* to undertake the serious obligations, and to undergo the perpetual privations, of the religious life, it would be extremely difficult to find. There must be in each house a certain number of brothers, so as to form a community under the government of a resident director; and, as some of the existing establishments, even in wealthy, Catholic and thickly-inhabited localities, are in a struggling condition, the number of communities cannot be so far increased as to suffice for all or most, or even for many, especially of the country districts, and where the Catholic population is all poor, or where the Protestant decidedly preponderates. To see the roots of the institute deeply struck in *all* the cities and large towns, is the most we can at present hope for, and probably more than sober calculation would justify us in expecting. Perhaps in some future season, when the political sky is more serene than it now is, or promises to become for many years, and when affluence and general comfort will have given a reviving impulse to palsied zeal, and abundant resources to pious generosity,—perhaps, in such a season, if it ever come, we may rejoice to see the branches shooting forth on every side and scattering the fruits of wholesome literature whithersoever they extend. Be this as it may, in no other place can these schools be made the instruments of wider and more lasting good, than in populous and flourishing towns; for there are ignorance and destitution accumulated, unrelieved and little known; there are faith and virtue tried by open assaults and wily seductions, numerous, incessant, hard to be resisted; there, if any where, the harvest is rich, and the labourers are few. The spread of this system will serve not as a complete substitute, but as a help, a corrective and a model for other schools. An establishment of the Christian Brothers will, wherever it exists, become the dispenser of sound knowledge to many who would otherwise never receive any education; it will excite a praiseworthy rivalry, by exhibiting a pattern of disciplinary and literary training to the dull stationary schools in all the neighbourhood; and these, in their turn, so far from being deserted, will become more crowded, by becoming more useful.

The establishments of the Christian Brothers are nowhere possessed of funds much more than adequate to present wants. We do not mention this as matter of complaint. Far are we from wishing to see the energies of the young institute encum-

bered by enormous or unnecessary wealth; far are we from wishing to see the cavils of the irreligious scoffer justified, in the indolence, the pride, the luxury of life, which the mammon of iniquity, when hoarded up in religious houses, not for public good, but for private indulgence, so naturally produces. Equally far are we, on the other hand, from joining in the rash declamations of those, who from some abuses—for what good has not been abused?—sweepingly conclude, that superfluous riches possessed by religious *bodies* constituted according to the spirit and laws of the Catholic Church, are always injurious to religion itself. Enough indeed of abuses do we see around us, to have our hearts sickened and our judgments perverted at the sight of so much wealth, originally destined and long administered for the best and holiest purposes, now turned into different channels whence no good flows for the people or the people's religion. But “from the beginning it was not so.” In other times, churches were built, colleges and schools were endowed, the poor were fed and clothed, their children were educated, from revenues no longer devoted to any one of these uses. Now the Catholics of these countries are plundered, persecuted, beggared, compelled to support a Church to which they belong not, and to which they are indebted only for the recollection of many wrongs inflicted upon their properties, upon their liberties, upon their persons, upon their fair fame;—ever ready indeed to bestow the little they have to give, for rebuilding and adorning the ruined temples of their faith, but yet unable to clothe religion with external majesty befitting its dignity, or worthy the unbounded generosity of their own hearts. We cannot however conceal the regret we felt at hearing that, though the other Christian schools through Ireland are sufficiently endowed, those in Dublin, depending altogether upon the benefactions of private individuals, have by no means adequate resources. To supply their wants, it was resolved, at a general meeting of the members, held in August 1838, that a pay school should be opened in Hanover-street and Mill-street, for children of the more respectable classes; thus enabling the brothers to educate a larger number of poorer scholars. The plan was submitted to Dr. Murray, and received not only his sanction, but his warm recommendation. We cannot forbear remarking here, even at the risk of offending the meek and retiring zeal of this truly venerable prelate,—venerable alike for his age, his virtues and his rank,—that, as the Christian Brothers are indebted chiefly to his exertions for their establishment as a religious order in this country, so

has he uniformly manifested the greatest solicitude in protecting and promoting their interests ;—displaying in this, however, only the same spirit which has ever marked his long and illustrious career, in the silent but effective furtherance of every project by which religion is defended, supported and advanced. The pay-schools, besides the immediate end for which they were established, are found also particularly useful in providing education for the children who attend them,—a class who, it might be supposed, needed such new opportunities less, but who are found to be in reality far more destitute than the children of the poor. Nevertheless, we would wish to see other means adopted for supplying the wants of the Dublin schools. *Non omne bonum optimum*: the Christian Brothers are established for the education of poor children, and, though the rich may require their services more, an exclusive attention to the poor would seem to be more in conformity with the primary end of the Institute. We throw out this merely as a doubt or suggestion, leaving it altogether to the consideration of those who are better qualified and authorized to decide on such matters.*

Some reflections yet occur to us that might be added ; but we have said enough for the object of this paper, which is to direct attention to the Christian schools. Of their merits, of the great good which they are capable of effecting, we have ourselves no doubt. Let us have a sufficient number of them in different parts of the kingdom, and with these and the many other schools, conducted perhaps on different plans, but all on the same principle of the moral and intellectual improvement of the young children, soon would we see realised our brightest dreams of the glory that shone forth from the Irish Church a thousand years ago, when the whole land was consecrated ground,—an island of saints ; when our beloved country stood, amid the darkness that hung over the surrounding nations, like a temple in the desert, to which travellers from every clime flocked, and within whose sanctuary was found the light of knowledge and religion ; when our sainted fathers crossed the seas and the mountains, and penetrated into distant lands, into Scotland, and England, and France, and Spain, and Germany, and Italy, and established schools, and monasteries, and churches, and colleges there, and stamped the features of Irish genius and Irish virtue upon the character of

* Since writing the above, we are informed that pay schools are absolutely necessary in Dublin, to enable the Brothers to carry on the schools for the poor.

the people among whom they dwell. Our imagination loves to dwell upon these bright scenes, not as upon barren recollections of things that are passed away, and cannot return, but as upon a garden over which a hurricane of desolation has passed, blighting its fruits and flowers, but leaving the first richness of soil for another spring to revive in all its primitive freshness and fertility. The generation of to-day has all the promise of the generations of old. Let the same means be put into their hands: let them have the same education, the same protection, the same encouragement; and, before the children that now lisp on the mother's knee, shall have sunk into old age, we shall have another chapter in the history of our sages, another page in the calendar of our saints.

ART. IV.—1. *Lélie et Jacques*, by Georges Sand.

2. *Notre Dame de Paris*, by Victor Hugo.

3. *Le Père Godal*, by Balzac.

4. *Les Mémoires du Diable*, by Fred. Soulié.

5. *Zizine*, by Paul de Kock.

WE cannot conceal the disgust we have felt while preparing the materials for this paper. We have been obliged to read, and to read with attention, not only the small number of French novels which we have placed at the head of this paper, but several others, all chosen from those that have of late years obtained the greatest celebrity; and more than once frightened at so much depravity, and disgusted by such trivial absurdities, we have been about to give up our self-imposed task. We thought, before beginning it, that we had nerve sufficient to go through anything. We had looked Maturin full in the face; we had gone fearlessly through the whole Satanic school; we had set at defiance the ravings of German romance, and in a fit of desperation, even trespassed upon the unhallowed ground of German philosophy; and yet, in the course of our wanderings, amidst the nonsense and horrors flitting before us, we had only met with what now appears to us a very ordinary degree of folly and corruption. Vice in its most frightful, naked, and undisguised form, did not in these works receive the name of virtue. The things most sacred amongst men,—the sanctity of the nuptial bed, the right of

property, the ties of family affection, were not in them systematically attacked as being evil in themselves, and the diabolical invention of some great enemy of human happiness. In this respect, then, the last limits of literary guilt were not attained to,—it was possible to go still further. But we defy Lucifer himself, if he could take up a pen, to outdo the French romancers of the present day. All certainly do not deserve an equally strong condemnation, and we hasten, from the beginning, to except a small number of Christians, in their lives, or at least in their writings, who employ their powers of fancy to amuse and not to pervert. Unhappily these are not the most popular; the French public scarcely knows them; like the worn-out gluttons of India, it has no appetite but for the highly seasoned immoralities of a Balzac or a Victor Hugo. Nevertheless, so great is the influence exercised by this portion of French literature in Europe, and it has so many readers in all countries, that we should think we had failed in our duty had we given way to our first impulse. We will therefore surmount our strong repugnance, in order to forewarn the public against the moral cholera, which our Gallic neighbours are spreading far and wide, aided, as they are, by the mercantile avidity of the Belgian booksellers. Scarcely has a novel obnoxious to every feeling of common decency, made its appearance at Paris, than the Brussels publishers reprint it; and as they can sell for sixpence the volume that in France would cost six shillings, they have a monopoly of exportation in this fiendish traffic. They it is, who supply Russia and Spain, Peru and the Brazils; they propagate the moral gangrene engendered in France; and in the sordid hope of a paltry profit, they become the most active and dangerous allies in the modern crusade against all that is good, and all that is holy. Even England has not escaped this commerce, which, on the contrary, has become latterly more extensive; and if a purer sense of national dignity forbids translations, yet those are not wanting who need not such assistance; and we venture to affirm that in the leading ranks of our socialists, the majority are indebted for their present principles to the works we allude to. The fire kindled on the other side of the channel has reached us, nay, it has made progress enough to justify the motives which have at length determined us to bestow a short time upon the critical examination of French romances. ✓

Before the discovery of printing, the high price of manuscripts diminished the number of purchasers, and of course,

in an equal proportion, that of readers: this circumstance was prejudicial to light literature, especially to romances, which, as they seldom bear a second reading, can only multiply under favour of great cheapness. Accordingly this department of literature was almost unknown to the ancients, and nearly as much so to our forefathers of the middle ages; for the popular songs, the national legends, and the traditions of the lives of the saints, which in those days formed the delight of the castle as well as the cottage, were for the most part transmitted in those oral recitations, which were the real romances of the period. But with the knowledge of printing began a new era, and while the knowledge of the alphabet (hitherto confined almost exclusively to the learned), now increased rapidly, a change took place in the situation of authors, which has not perhaps been sufficiently considered. The strictest vigilance cannot prevent a manuscript from being copied by who ever pleases, without leave asked of any one; it is evident therefore that with such means of reproducing books, there can exist no copyright. If Homer died a beggar,—if Virgil and Horace stood in need of a Mæcenas to prevent their suffering the same fate;—it was doubtless because these great men could receive no pecuniary advantage from their labours. Up to the 15th century, the Christian writers lived in the same dependance, unless their private fortune placed them above the reach of want; and they were obliged, for their livelihood, to dispute the good graces of some prince or some great nobleman, with the fool, who was then the necessary appendage of aristocratic splendour. It is true that in the Church, the universities, and the courts of law, there was a market for those who excelled in theology, in civil and canon law, and in some branches of science. But for literature, in the proper sense of the word, there was no other opening, than the courts of kings, the castles of the nobles, or the palaces of the bishops,—the demand being so limited, that authors were at the mercy of their readers; and thus by a cruel necessity, those who were reduced to live by their talents, became the rivals of idiots wearing the cap and bells: and like them were obliged to bend to the caprices of their master, to become the instruments of his pleasures and the slaves of his amusement. The ruin of the copyists was the enfranchisement of writers,—for the printer, when he had bought the privilege of being the only publisher of a literary production, could make that privilege available in its fullest extent; for those who pirated the book, working like himself

on a large scale, were easily detected and punished ; and being personally interested in obtaining a monopoly, he availed himself of the undoubted rights of the authors to their own new works, first to obtain a recognition of these rights from the legislature, and then to purchase them. But during two centuries, the number of readers, although it steadily increased, was not sufficient to make bookmaking a profession, or at least an independant one.

In 1471, the two great German printers established at Rome, Swanheim and Leinarting, would have been ruined had not the Pope come to their assistance : and their petition sufficiently shews how small was then the demand for books, even in the great capital of Christendom, for they ascribe their distress to their having twelve thousand volumes on hand, "a fact that will hardly be credited," say they, "as his holiness is probably not aware that Italy can produce the necessary supply of paper." The librarians could not then pay a high price even for the *chef-d'œuvres* of an Ariosto or a Tasso, and consequently these great men, like their predecessors, were still obliged to have recourse to patronage : but the press obtained for them a more speedy and a wider renown ; and by, in some degree, dividing this fame with the great men to whom they dedicated their immortal productions, they found themselves at length raised above the level of the fool, whose favour they might perhaps formerly have envied. These dedicatory epistles, which were paid for by presents, and sometimes by pensions, mark an important progress in the history of letters, and the names of Johnson and Lord Chesterfield have no doubt already occurred to our readers, as indicating the conclusion of a period during which, thanks to the diffusion of letters for many generations, authors had gradually conquered for themselves an independence, which as yet they had never enjoyed. Pope had already realized a considerable fortune by his books, and the copyright, which until now, had been of merely nominal value except to the publisher, because at last a source of at least comfort to the author. But then, instead of pleasing as formerly the one man by whom he was paid, he was now obliged to please the multitude from whom he received his support, and consequently to consult its taste, humour its prejudices, and flatter its passions. A new servitude succeeded the old one ; and it is because this servitude now exists in its most decided form, that a French writer has laid it down as an incontestable axiom, that in every country literature expresses the true

state of contemporary society. If he is not mistaken, the novels whose titles head this article, afford a sad specimen of the present state of morality in France; and little hope indeed should we entertain of her ever emerging from such a gulph of iniquity, did we not know how large a part of the population are guiltless of contributing to the popularity obtained by those infamous publications. The chivalrous spirit of the sixteenth century, required chivalrous romances, and they were written. Then came pastoral novels, brought into fashion by the *Astrea* of Durfé, which in their turn were succeeded by love stories, heavy and turgid, of which the personages were borrowed from ancient history; such as the *Clelia* of Mlle. de Scudery, and the *Cassandra* of Calprenede. Boccaccio certainly had long before published his licentious *Decameron*, and the Protestant sister of Francis I, her still more licentious tales. But the current of popular favour kept the majority of authors in a better track, and in France as in England, the virtuous mother of a family might read with little danger such works as were daily thrown into circulation by the press. The delightful works of Mme. de la Fayette, by their truer delineation of the female heart; and early in the eighteenth century, Le Sage, with his admirable *Gil Blas*, were illustrations of the practical manner in which the romance could adapt itself to all the details of human life, and of its power to instruct and please more effectually than comedy. Already had Bunyan invented the religious, and Rabelais the satirical novel; Voltaire, who came after them, created the philosophical romance, and by his means a species of literature which seemed least of all adapted for the vehicle of party or sectarian spirit, became a sort of pulpit from whence the "sage" of Fernay dealt out upon gaping crowds the arrows of his wit. Depraving the heart of his readers, that he might more easily prevail over their understandings, he was the first who systematically infused into the most amusing fictions his own bitter hostility against Christianity. Light and elegant under his pen, the philosophical novel rose into eloquence under that of Rousseau; and the two great leaders of modern infidelity were quickly followed by a motley herd of imitators. The higher classes of society smiled complacently upon their future destroyers, assisting them by all their influence, until every seat in the French academies, until every public paper then in existence, fell into their possession. Thus they obtained a monopoly, not only of all the encouragements given by government to literature, but also, and which

was perhaps more important, that of all the habitual organs of criticism; and having thus become the only dispensers of renown, they granted it to those alone, who, belonging to their party, thought and wrote like them.

Under the reign of Louis XVI, their rule was so well established, that men of great talent, Gilbert for instance, and the Abbé Gérard, exerted themselves in vain in defence of the Church and of public morals. The first, in spite of the beauty of his verses, died in the hospital; and the second, the author of the *Count de Calmont*, would not perhaps have found a publisher, if his personal fortune had not procured him one. From this period the provincial readers formed their opinions upon those of Paris, as these in their turn adopted those of the academies and great noblemen; so that an author had no chance of selling his book, except by stamping it with the seal of obscenity and impiety. Such a state of things left all readers at the mercy of the philosophers of the capital, and consequently, those who wished to remain Christians, imbibed an invincible hatred for all new books, especially romances; they ceased gradually to form a part of the purchasers of these books;—the clergy, going perhaps too far in their fears, visited all novels without exception, with one sweeping condemnation; and they were thus left entirely in the possession of beings already corrupted, or quite prepared to become so. The general reprobation of the clergy contributed most powerfully to the increasing depravity of this branch of literature. More happy, in England the novel writer continued to find patrons in the general mass of the population. Fielding, Richardson, Goldsmith, and even Smollett, were not reduced to the shameful necessity of sullyng their pages, either to gratify their own ambition, or to pander to the avarice of a bookseller. Depravity never became a lucrative speculation in this country; and the wide circle of novel readers, increasing with every accession of wealth and population, formed a public well prepared to crown with its merited reward the chaste and splendid genius of a Walter Scott.

The French Revolution extended the formidable power already possessed by the philosophic party: atheism reigned without opposition; and the following fact, as curious as it is little known, will prove that unbelief is as strongly impressed as is the Catholic Church, with the necessity of having recourse to an infallible authority. The impious Condorcet, member of the Convention, and president of the council for public instruction, proposed, in 1793, to give a legal infallibility to the

decisions of the Academy of Sciences, or in other words, that whosoever should not consider these decisions satisfactory, should be liable to legal punishment. This strange notion would probably have been carried into effect, if Robespierre had not already been meditating the ruin of the faction to which its origination belonged; shortly afterwards the fugitive Condorcet destroyed himself; and the Academy, of which he had been the secretary, did not long survive him. On the 27th July, 1795, it was suppressed, and immediately replaced by the present Institute, which the government divided into five distinct Academies, giving to one of them,—perhaps in derision,—the title of *Academy of the Moral Sciences*. The same spirit presided so entirely in the selection then made, that the author of *Paul and Virginia*, Bernardin de St. Pierre, was astonished that he had been chosen. We name this writer because we cannot resist an inclination to give an anecdote, taken from his Life by Aimé Martin. The Academy of Moral Sciences had promised a prize for the best essay upon the following question: "What Institutions are most calculated to form the morals of a people?" Bernardin was entrusted with the duty of examining these essays, and, in his statement, he ventured to express his astonishment, that none of the candidates had made mention of a God.

"The analysis of the essays," says the Biographer, "was heard quietly enough, but at the first lines of the solemn declaration of his religious principles,* a cry of fury arose from all parts of the hall; some turned him into ridicule, asking him where he had seen God, and what was his appearance; others were indignant at his credulity; the most calm addressed him with contempt. From jokes they came to outrages,—they insulted his old age,—they treated him as a weak and superstitious man. They threatened to drive him out of an assembly, of which he had rendered himself unworthy; they carried their madness to such lengths as to challenge him to a duel, that they might prove to him, sword in hand, that there was no God. In vain did he seek to be heard amidst the tumult, they refused to listen to him, and the ideologist Cabanis (he is the only one we shall name), exclaimed in a transport of rage, 'I swear that there is no God, and I demand that his name be never pronounced within these walls.'"

The romances of Pigault le Brun were the delight of the coarse impiety of that period; while those of Mme. de Cottin, more decent without being less immoral, formed a course of preparation for them: by corrupting the minds of those readers who could not yet have borne the sight of vice in all its naked-

* He was simply a Deist.

ness. The novels of Mme. de Stael justified philosophically all the extravagances of love, and invited the lovers who were deceived in their guilty hopes, to self-destruction. Scarcely can a single publication be found during the republican system, which did not harmonize with the moral tone of its rulers, in politics and science. Even M. de Chateaubriand did not escape this baneful influence in his *Genius of Christianity* there are two novels, *Atala* and *Réné*,—*Atala* poisons himself,—and *Réné* first inspires, and then experiences an incestuous passion, which is feebly resisted, and described in the most glowing colours. Napoleon had scarcely attained to power before he felt the necessity of putting a stop to this torrent of published scandals; but he valued purity of morals only in so far as it was useful to the Government; he preferred it as the consequence of a police regulation, rather than as the result of a principle superior to all human power; and he thought he had done enough when he had imposed silence on the blasphemies of his learned men, and the foolish ribaldry of other writers. The restoration gave to all parties the liberty of which they had been deprived under the Imperial Government; and they profited by it, to give free scope to their hatred of the Church and of royalty. For the Bourbons altered nothing in the state of the great scientific institutions of the country; and it must be owned that had they ever so much wished to do it, so little attention had been paid by the Catholic party in France to science or literature, that they would have had much trouble in finding candidates amongst them who could fill the vacant chairs, with any degree of credit. The monopoly of novel writing therefore remained in the hands of the impious, and they still retain it, in spite of some incursions which the Catholics have made into this portion of the domains of literature; and consequently the French public continues still divided into two distinct classes, the one abstaining altogether, on conscientious grounds, from this species of reading, while the other delights in it; and is therefore the only one that can incur our censure. If we may judge by appearances, it is the least numerous; for as the English novels do not, on account of their purer morality, inspire such terror in the minds of the more religious class of readers, it is perfectly well known, that, on this account, the French translations of Walter Scott, for instance, have a circulation at least ten times greater than that of the best French novels. Now so much of their literary value is lost to the French reader, that it is impossible to ascribe this remarkable

fact to any other cause than to their having a double market, the largest of which is closed against the native producer. Nevertheless, the French novel-writers did not, until the revolution of July, overstep the limits within which Voltaire had restrained himself. To render vice amiable, or to justify it by every circumstance of extenuation; to compel the reader to feel an interest in the fate of an adulterous love; to represent religion as an imposture, its ministers as odious hypocrites, and all the believing laity as fools; this they attempted with as much malignity, though with less wit, than their great prototype; but this was as far as the boldest of them durst venture: nay, many of them, comprehending the general want felt for a return to purer morals, or shamed into a sense of common justice by the recent sufferings of the clergy, shrank from going so far; and these, (amongst whom we will mention Mme. de Genlis and Charles Nodier), were not the least dangerous. It is obvious from their writings, that the idea of God has either not entered their minds at all, or that they have represented Him to themselves as a being after their own fashion, and entirely different from Him whom Christians worship. Thus, in the *Last Days of a Condemned*, a work published by Victor Hugo, with a view to obtain the abolition of the punishment of death, the unfortunate culprit describes in heart-piercing terms, minute by minute, the anguish of the last hours of his existence. He does not lay aside his pen till the moment when he leaves the prison to go to the guillotine; yet has he no thought for the supreme tribunal before which he is about to appear. The animal that the butcher drives to the slaughter-house, could not be more insensible to the fears and hopes of a future life; and if he knew where he was going, would probably experience every sorrow, without a single exception, which is felt by the hero whom our author has chosen. The tendency of such books is evident,—they contribute greatly to efface from the human heart every kind of religious faith, and their deleterious influence is all the more baneful from the virtuous acts ascribed to the hero. Insensibly the reader is led to believe that there is no connexion between morals and religion. With a little attention, however, it is easy to make out the ideas of these writers upon morality: they are ardent philanthropists, and carry to excess that sort of silly sensibility which procured so many readers for Auguste Lafontaine. In general, they profess a passionate admiration of filial piety, but conjugal fidelity is almost always turned into ridicule, or represented

as requiring superhuman sacrifices. The most decent of the authors who have written since the restoration, invariably betray themselves upon this point. It was to a public thus prepared, that the St. Simonians proposed their theories respecting property, the rights of woman, and marriage. This strange sect scarcely survived two years, but its doctrines took root in the world of letters, and may be more or less retraced, with the religious tinge which the St. Simonians gave them, in all the novels published since 1830.

It is under this detestable influence that so many French writers have declared themselves openly the champions of what we Christians must call vice: and that they preach without disguise, and as the highest perfection of human reason, a system of morals, which would justify the greatest enormities and acts of the most hideous wickedness: nay more, by which they become duties and are imperiously commanded. That our readers may not accuse us of exaggeration, we will give the plan of the two most celebrated romances of the most celebrated novel writer in France, Georges Sand. Georges Sand, we grieve to say it, is a woman: a member of a rich and noble family; she received a religious education, and married, while still young, a man whose rank equalled her own, M. Du Devant. Two children sprang from this union, in which the young wife found neither happiness nor good example; for the legal proceedings which took place when she demanded and obtained a separation, have acquainted the public with the secrets of this deplorable couple. Neglected in spite of her wit and beauty, and basely treated by a husband who appears to have been himself the first to blame, she forsook him; and finding herself soon in want of money, because M. Du Devant retained her marriage portion, she wrote, jointly with her seducer, two novels, of which one only, entitled *Rose et Blanche*, has any merit. It was then that she adopted the name of Georges Sand, which she has borne ever since in her publications, and by which she is also known in the world, when she appears in it as she frequently does, in a masculine dress. We will not speak of her private life; we will only say that with the dress of our sex, she has embraced many of its habits: it is said, amongst other things, that no one can boast of having better cigars than she has, and few can affirm that they have smoked so many. She was soon separated from her first admirer: but having given proof of talent as a writer, she made use of it, at once to subsist by, and to revenge herself for the slights with which society, implacable

in its justice, visits heavily the guilty wife, whatever may have been the faults of her husband. Her situation was that of the Jew of Venice,—as proud of her beauty and her genius, as he of his wealth; as determined not to repent as he was not to become Christian;—like him, an outcast, and self-condemned to continue one;—she conceived an implacable hatred for the laws, the social institutions, and the religious opinions, which gave to women by whom they had not been outraged, however ugly, however stupid, however miserable, the right “to spit upon her Jewish gaberdine.” But Shylock stood opposed to the whole state of Venice: and it was only by a cunning and an artful abuse of his power, that he could hope to glut his rage against the Christians. More fortunate in this respect, Mme. Du Devant found allies in the most active party in French society, who were already imbued with doctrines entirely in harmony with her conduct, and from whom she borrowed ideas which might assist her in a bold and open attack upon all that she longed to overthrow. Sure of being encouraged and assisted, she published two novels, *Indiana* and *Valentine*, which gave her at once an eminence amongst the irreligious writers of France. The graces of an enchanting style, the charm of a most brilliant imagination, an interesting story, good taste in the details, a broad conception of the plan, equal richness and variety in the descriptions, and last, not least, that chastity of language which conceals the deformity, and shews only the attraction of the most licentious subjects; nothing was wanting in these two formidable attacks upon marriage, to excite the curiosity of the public, and deserve the admiration of the literary critic. In both these works, the heroine is the victim of Christian social institutions; she is sacrificed without compassion to the proprieties of a perverse world, which laughs at her sufferings, or does not comprehend them; and the conclusion is, that happiness must be unattainable here below, except through such a system of morality as will give the married woman all the liberty of conduct, and all the latitude, that the husband invariably assumes to himself;—at least, if we may believe the author, for it appears that whether waking or asleep, she never met with or dreamt of such a thing, as a faithful or a hen-pecked husband. This wilful ignorance of the true state of society, carries Mme. Du Devant far from all truth in her delineations; and the reflecting reader, even if he were not disgusted by the immorality of the subject, must be struck by the mass of improbabilities, so evidently brought together

for no other purpose than to make out a predetermined case. Her works, similar in that respect to the delightful paintings of the early Flemish school, (which while they are so admirable in colouring and expression, are so incorrect in the design), teem with the grossest inconsistencies, for she seems to know as little of the human heart, as Van Eyck and his immediate successors did of the human frame. The same fault, without the same talents, is to be found in all the French novelists. They know by heart the frightful system they wish to establish upon the ruins of Catholicism, but they know not the human heart. It is in consequence of this, that even in the best works of Georges Sand, there are so many characters and sentiments, which, in spite of the splendour of her talent, lose their effect upon a second reading; and appear even more than is really the case, to be false, exaggerated, and sometimes quite ridiculous.

After having published several other novels, which were equally successful, but of which *André* was the most remarkable, she determined to try the effect upon the public of what many have supposed to be the confession of her own inmost feelings; and *Lelia*, the most detestable of all her books, excepting only *Jacques*, burst upon the French public in all its ghastly radiance. Young, beautiful, high-born, and wealthy, Lelia from her earliest youth has placed her ideal of happiness in an absolute and entire personal independence. She has shaken off the yoke of Catholic belief, and has never consented to accept that of marriage, because the Catholic submits his reason to the divinely inspired wisdom of the Church; and the wife, as society exists at present, is obliged to submit her will to that of her husband. Nevertheless, Lelia has felt the deep necessity of loving and of believing: and she begins by loving all things and believing all things, until by the aid of her powerful intelligence, improved by study, she arrives (says the author), at the conclusion, that nothing of what she had loved was worthy of her love, nothing of what she had believed was worthy of her faith. Her early youth has been lost in seeking perfection in men, and truth in opinions; and she has attained the desolating conviction, that neither are to be met with upon earth. The only thing she knows, is, that every thing here below is a lying illusion; and if she could, upon any point, extricate herself from her scepticism, it would be to affirm that the Creator had cast forth our feeble humanity upon earth, in a moment of bitter jesting, that it might be his plaything; and that he might laugh at the

tears shed, and the torments experienced by his creatures. For Lelia is profoundly miserable: if she feels herself above other mortals, it is like Satan among the damned,—because there are more thorns in her crown, more of anguish and misery in her heart; alone in solitude, alone in a crowd, she carries about with her the hell of her doubts, her despair, and her pride. As learned as Manfred, as haughty as Lara, she feels all their sufferings, and these sufferings constitute her glory and her joy; for by them she differs from her fellow-creatures, and where she differs she believes herself their superior. Yet, more than once, she has bent under this load of self-created wretchedness,—more than once she has looked down with envy upon the amusements, nay, the very revels of her fellow-men; and were happiness, such happiness as she can feel, to be obtained under the garb of the meanest courtesan, unhesitatingly would she snatch at it in all its defilement; but, (how can we omit, and how can we otherwise record the most infamous words ever penned by a female hand), she has tried the experiment and it has failed. Such is the woman who is loved by Stenio, a youth scarcely beyond the age of childhood, and who is thus described to us, by one of the chief personages of the romance:

“His soft eyelids, drooping every instant to conceal his modest glance, seem to invite the chaste kisses of those winged virgins whom we behold in our dreams. No one has ever seen a more angelic tranquillity of countenance, or a more heavenly blue than that of his eyes; never was the voice of a young girl more soft or more harmonious than his. His gentle and slow demeanour, his white delicate hands, his slight and graceful form, and his complexion varying like the Autumn sky, all announce a poet, a being sent by God to suffer for awhile amongst us before he becomes an angel.”

If to so many charms, we add that Stenio has never allowed himself to entertain the “insolent” idea of marrying Lelia; we shall not be surprised that she is in despair to find herself unable to feel for him a passion *similar* to his own. Divided between this desire of feeling sincere passion, and the consciousness that what she experiences is only friendship, she attracts him when he is discouraged, repulses him when he grows bolder, and in these alternations of a coquetry which she knows to be inexcusable, she gradually unsettles the faith of the young man, who is an Italian Catholic, of marvellous ignorance, and whose religion lies in the imagination, as the impiety of his mistress does in indomitable pride. Stenio is not her only admirer: Magnus, an Irish priest, who saved her

life, has known and loved her; and this guilty passion, strongly but unsuccessfully resisted, has cost the unhappy man the greater part of his reason and all his repose. The charms or the arguments of Lelia, have drawn him into the abyss of scepticism, and when, distracted by remorse, he implores grace to conquer his guilty desires, in spite of himself, he begins his petition by demanding of God whether really He exists. No wonder, then, that Stenio, whose mind was cast in a softer mould, and who is, or rather whom the author supposes to be, still a Christian, should not at all understand the strange being of whom he has made his idol. Having been present with her at high mass, he writes her the following letter, which is no unfair specimen of Mme. Du Devant's style:—

“Upon what were your thoughts employed yesterday? what had you done with yourself, when you were there, mute and frozen in the temple, standing up like the pharisee, and measuring God without fear, deaf to the holy canticles, insensible to the incense, to the scattered flowers, to the sighs of the organ, to all the poetry of the holy place? and yet how beautiful was that church, impregnated with humid perfume, and palpitating with sacred harmonies! how white and massy rose the flames from the silver lamps, amidst the opal clouds of burning gums: while golden censers sent the perfumed smoke in graceful spirals to the vaulted roof. How the golden rays of the Tabernacle arose, airy and brilliant, in the light of the tapers! and when the priest, that tall and noble-looking Irish priest,—with his raven hair, his majestic form, his austere look, and sonorous tones,—slowly descended the steps of the altar, sweeping its carpets with his long mantle of velvet, when he raised his powerful voice, mournful and penetrating as the winds of his native land,—and pronounced, as he raised his glittering remonstrance, that word so awful on his lips, ‘Adoremus;’ then, Lelia, I felt myself transfixed with holy terror, and falling prostrate upon the pavement, I beat my breast and cast down my eyes.” “But you: you were standing, you had not bent your knee, nor drooped your eyes! your haughty glances, cold and piercing, scrutinized the priest, the host, the prostrate crowd; and none of these things touched you. Alone, entirely alone amongst us all, you refused your prayers to the Lord: are you then a power superior to him? And yet, Lelia, may God forgive it me; there was a moment when I believed it, and half withdrew my homage from him to offer it to you. Alas! I must acknowledge it, I had never seen you so beautiful. Pale as the marble statues that stand beside the tomb, nothing in you seemed terrestrial, a gloomy brightness gleamed in your eyes, and your broad forehead, from whence you had parted off the dark hair, rose sublime with pride and genius, above the crowd, the priest, above God himself. This profound impiety was terrible; and when you seemed to measure with your eye,

all the space that separates us from Heaven, all present felt themselves shrink into littleness. Had Milton seen you, when he gave such beauty and grandeur to the thunder-stricken brow of his rebellious angel? Must I tell you all my fears? I thought that at the moment when the erect priest,* elevating over our bowed heads the symbol of the faith, beheld you before him, erect like him, alone with him, above all the others; yes, I thought that then, when his deep and severe gaze met your steady eye, it quailed before it. I thought the priest grew pale, that his trembling hand scarcely sustained the chalice, and that the voice died in his deep chest. Was this the dream of my troubled imagination? Or was it the feeling of indignation which oppressed the minister of the Most High, when he saw you thus resist the decree that had emanated from his lips? or, tormented like me, by a strange hallucination, did he think he beheld in you something supernatural, a power evoked from the bosom of the abyss, or a revelation sent from Heaven?"

We must premise that what the authoress understands by love, is an absolutely disinterested attachment; in all respects, except its object, similar to the love of God, as it was conceived by the French quietists. Such is the sentiment Lelia wishes to inspire, and that she is indignant at not finding, and that she considers the last effort of perfection in every being capable of loving. One man alone finds favour in her eyes, but he has raised himself above the region of human passions; he is only sensible to friendship, and she has granted him all hers. The true name of this phoenix is unknown to us, but under that of Trenmor he excites the violent jealousy of Stenio; to dissipate which, Lelia tells the young man the story of this sage,—who began his career as a desperate gambler, (on this occasion she gives us a splendid eulogium upon gambling and gamblers); then having ruined himself, that he may continue to play, he commits a forgery; and this act—we dare not say crime, so venial does the offence appear in the eyes of the author, compared with the others that society does not punish,—brings him to the galleys; there he remains seven years, and leaves them purified of his past faults, having got rid of his old desires, and full of admiration for the *mythological recitals* of the founders of Christianity; believing in internal communications between the Divinity and such of his creatures as are purified by long suffering, and enjoy true happiness, that is to say a perfect calm. Honourable industry in foreign lands has enriched him, and having paid his debts, he lives, the quiet, benevolent, and *most indulgent*

* Magnus was the officiating Priest.

spectator of the frailties of the human race. Even he, however, cannot help blaming Lelia's conduct to Stenio. "I believed," so he writes to his friend, "that you possessed only the graces and the adorable qualities of woman; can it be, that you have also her ferocious ingratitude, and her impudent vanity? If you bring upon this young soul the blight of corrosive passions,—if you extinguish it amidst the ice of despair, how shall it find again the road to Heaven! Do not crush this frail child under the weight of your reason; you tell me that you love Stenio:—woman, it is false. You, faded flower, beaten by the winds; you, bark tossed on every sea, and wrecked on every rock; would *you* dare attempt another voyage? You have lived; let others live in their turn; to beings such as us, what is wanting now! rest, and the grave. Let the child grow and live; let not your frozen breath dim the brightness of his days of sunshine and spring.—Send Stenio away from you, or quit him."

But Lelia will neither banish nor fly from Stenio; she continues to invite and to repulse his love, until at length she drives him to despair. He then determines to poison himself, but just as he is about to commit an act, which all novel characters find so marvellously easy, Trenmor comes to summon him to Lelia, herself at the point of death, for the cholera has seized her. Beside her is a young doctor, who will give her no remedies, because he does not himself believe in their efficacy. While he is explaining to her the uselessness of medicine, a convulsion seizes her, and she falls dying into the arms of Stenio.

"'Come, my fine lad,' says the youthful doctor, 'take courage; if you are in the least alarmed at your situation, you are lost; but you are in no greater risk than I am, if you preserve the same coolness.'

"Lelia raised herself upon her elbow, and looking at him with eyes dimmed by suffering, had still the strength to smile with irony.

"'Poor doctor' said she, 'I would fain see you in my place!'

"Many thanks," thought the doctor to himself.

"'You said you did not believe the efficacy of remedies,—you do not then believe in medicine;' said she to the doctor.

"'Pardon me; the study of anatomy, and the knowledge of the human frame, with its infirmities and alterations, is a positive science.'

"'Aye,' said Lelia, 'which you cultivate as a polite accomplishment. My friends,' she continued, turning her back to the medical man, 'go and find me a priest, for the doctor gives me up I think.'

"Trenmor ran for a priest, while Stenio thought of throwing the physician over the balcony.

"'Leave him alone,' said Lélia, 'he amuses me: give him a book,

and take him to my cabinet opposite a looking-glass, that he may employ himself. When I feel my courage forsake me, I will call him, that he may give me counsels in stoicism, and that I may die, laughing at man and at his science."

"The priest arrived : he was the tall, handsome Irish priest, of the Chapel of St. Laura. His calm and meditative aspect, in which heaven seemed reflected, might have been sufficient to give faith. He approached, severe and slow. Lelia, broken down by anguish, had hidden her face in her convulsed arm, wrapped round with her black hair.

"My sister," said the priest, in a full and fervent voice.

"Lelia let fall her arm, and slowly turned her face towards the man of God.

"Again this woman !" he exclaimed, recoiling in his terror.

"Lelia answered him by a fit of laughter.

"Let us see ;" she said, drawing him towards her, with a cold and livid hand ; "draw near priest, and speak to me of God. You know why you have been sent for ; here is a soul about to quit the earth, and which must be sent to Heaven !—Hast thou that power ?

"The priest was silent, and remained terrified.

"Come Magnus," she said, with melancholy irony, and turning towards him her pale face already covered with the shades of death ; "fulfill the mission that the Church has entrusted to you ; save me, and lose no time, for I am dying."

"Lelia," replied the priest, "I cannot save you ; you know it well ; your power is superior to mine."

"What means all this ?" said Lelia, sitting upright in her bed ; "am I already in the land of dreams ? do I no longer belong to the human race, which crawls, and clamours and dies ? Is not the frightened spectre that I see, a man, a priest ? Magnus, have your senses left you ? You are there erect, and living, while I expire ; yet your ideas are troubled, and your spirit fails you, while mine calmly collects strength to take its flight. Man of little faith, invoke God for your dying sister, and leave to children these superstitious terrors, at which you ought to blush. In truth, who are you all ? Here is Trenmore lost in astonishment, here is the young poet, Stenio, who looks down to see if my feet are not cloven ; here is a priest who refuses to absolve and to bury me. Am I already dead ? or do I dream ?"

* * * * *

"Madam," said Kreyssneifetter, "if I had tried to play the physician with you, you would have laughed at me ; I know it well, you are not a common person, you are a philosopher."

"Madam," said Magnus, "have you forgotten our walk in the forest of Grinessel ? If I had tried to act the priest with you, would you not have completed the making me an unbeliever ?"

"See then," said Lelia, in a bitter tone ; "in what consists your strength ? the weakness of others is your power ; but so soon as you are resisted, you draw back, and you own, smiling, that you have

played a false part amongst men,—charlatans and impostors that you are ! Alas, Trenmore, what has become of us ? what has become of the age ? The learned man denies, the priest doubts ; let us see if the poet still exists. Stenio, take your harp, and sing me the verses of Faust, or open the books and repeat to me the sufferings of Aberman, or the transports of St. Preux. Let us see, poet, if you still understand grief ; let us see, young man, if still you believe in love ?

“ ‘Alas, Lelia,’ cried Stenio, wringing his white hands ; ‘you are a woman, and you do not believe in them,—what has become of us ? what has become of the age ?’ ”

Lelia, however, escapes death, to begin again the same course of life which impiety had rendered at once so wretched and so impure. Amidst scenes of the most guilty coquetry, she completes the corruption of the heart of Stenio, who has not been cured by the confessions of Magnus ; or the sight of the furious remorse and too evident madness of this wretched priest. These deplorable triumphs do not console her for the misery of existing, and in language worthy of Byron's Lucifer, she addresses to God perhaps the most eloquent blasphemies that ever insulted Him who made us out of nothing, and redeemed us with his blood. Tired at last of herself and all that surrounds her, she determines to follow, at least in part, the advice of Trenmore, and separate herself for a month from Stenio, who leaves her alone, with a mantle, some dried leaves and some provisions, in a forsaken *châlet*, near Monteverdur in Switzerland. This is a species of hard labour, to which she has condemned herself, in the hope of being as happy as Trenmore, and of recovering, by this means, the peace and tranquillity she has so long lost. But at the end of a week, she grows tired of an experiment that does not succeed, and quitting her retreat, she re-enters the world with all the advantages fortune and beauty can give her. She is invited to a magnificent festival given by the Prince Bambucci.

“The Prince de Bambucci was a man of taste, which is the most eminent as well as the rarest quality a rich man can possess. The only virtue we require from those sort of people, is that they should know how to spend their money properly ; if they have this, we dispense with their having any other merit. But for the most part they are below their vocation, and live vulgarly, without laying aside the pride of their order. Bambucci was the first man in the world for paying the full value of a horse, a woman, or a picture, without bargaining, and without allowing himself to be cheated. He knew the value of things within a scudi. His eye was as practised as that of a thief-taker, or a slave-dealer. His olfactory nerves were so acute,

that he could tell by the mere smell of his wine, not only the latitude and the name of the vineyard, but even the aspect of the hill-side which had produced it. No artifice, no miracle of sentiment or coquetry, could deceive him by six months in the age of an actress,—let him but see her walk across the stage, and he was prepared to make out her baptismal register. Let him but see a horse run at a distance of a hundred paces, and he could point out a splint in its leg, that the finger of the veterinary surgeon had failed to detect. The mere touching the hair of a sporting dog, enabled him to tell exactly how many generations back the breed of the animal had been corrupted; or he could point out, in a painting of the Florentine, or Flemish school, how many of the touches were by the master's hand. In a word, he was a first-rate man, and so fully admitted as such, that he could not entertain any reasonable doubt of it himself."

The democratic, or rather levelling principles, of Georges Sand display themselves here, as in all her works; the festival prepared for the high Italian aristocracy, much resembles in character, those which used to delight Louis XV, the most licentious of French monarchs. The amiable solicitude of the prince has foreseen all that his guests can possibly desire; the liberty of the masquerade allows free entrance to the most degraded creatures; and, amongst them, to the Zinzolina, a famous courtesan, who is no other than Pulcheria, a sister of Lelia's, who has sought her happiness in vice, as Lelia has sought hers in pride. What shall we say of a conversation in which they tell each other their respective histories, since their separation? In what terms can we explain how both of them refuse the palm of virtue to the irreproachable mother of a family, to give it to a courtesan! And it is a woman who writes these abominations,—and the literary critics of France, and the newspapers of that country, with but a small number of exceptions, have dared to mention this infamous book with praise!! Stenio, who did not know that Lelia was to be at the festival, meets her there; and his love revives with increased force. She takes advantage of the resemblance between herself and her sister, in their masks, to bring him into contact with the latter; and the young man, enraged at the mistake she has designedly occasioned, quits her at length, and swears that he will see her no more. But then, forsaking also the pure life he has hitherto led, from the mere feeling that it was eminently poetical, he seeks the society of impious and coarsely libertine young men, and his feeble health soon gives way under the excesses of every kind to which he abandons himself. Even Pulcheria takes pity on him; and when Tremore is sent by Lelia to seek him, she consents to the separa-

tion. We pass over these disgusting scenes ; we leave unnoticed the princess Claudia, a girl of fifteen, shamefully betrayed by her governess,—that we may come to the winding up. Trenmore and Stenio are obliged in the progress of their journey, to have recourse to the hospitality of a convent of Camaldolese, and here Stenio is compelled, by his increasing feebleness, to remain, while his companion returns to fetch Lelia—certain that the wretched boy, now far gone in a consumption, has but a few days to live. Magnus is one of the inhabitants of the monastery, now tranquillized by prayer, which might have cured him, but for the present conjunction of circumstances. Amidst the graves of the monks he meets with Stenio, now no longer a believer in virtue. Having lost all Christian principles, and adopted, in the midst of his debaucheries, all the philosophical ideas and miserable sophistries of Lelia, Stenio takes pleasure in proving to Magnus, that he has no other merit than that of having fled from a danger which cannot be considered to deserve praise, as, at the first appearance of Lelia, he would fall again. Once more the senses of Magnus give way, and those of Stenio are scarcely in a sounder state, for he resumes his project of suicide, and finally accomplishes it, by drowning himself in a lake near the convent, the evening before Lelia and Trenmore arrive. The former comes alone, and finds the body of her young lover stretched upon the water's edge, soon to be buried without prayers or religious rites, in a hole dug amongst the flowers on the bank. As she stoops to give him a last kiss, she is seen by Magnus, who springs upon her in a transport of madness, and strangles her with his rosary.

The consequences of vice are so frightfully depicted in this novel, that it would be easy for a charitable person to suppose it written with very different intentions from those that the author really entertains. It might be said that she meant to describe the present state of anti-Catholic Society,—devoured by ennui, degraded by coarse sensuality, fatigued by tendencies to spiritualism, and by those aspirations after a new system of morality, which announce, it is supposed, the near approach of a new religion. We must add that in a recent edition, Georges Sand has modified some part of her work, and changed the winding up of the story. Trenmore, the model of perfection, is no longer a liberated galley-slave ; and Lelia instead of being killed by Magnus, becomes a nun, is made an abbess, and in the end falls a victim to the ferocity of some monks, who cannot pardon her the *heretical purity* of her doctrine, nor above all the ardour of her charity. Even the

public, for whom Georges Sand writes, had been scandalized, and she felt the necessity of making some concessions,—but she has left *Jacques* as she first wrote it. Jacques, the beau-ideal of a husband, according to the author's notions, (and whom some uncharitable persons have believed to be held up as a model of imitation to her own), Jacques is a distinguished officer of Napoleon's army, possessing a large fortune; he is thirty-five years old, and has retired from the service,—for the story is laid during the first years of the restoration. His father, on his death-bed, had recommended to his care an illegitimate daughter, who had been left years ago in the foundling hospital at Genoa, by her mother Mme. de Theurson: accordingly he has taken care of this child, whose name is Sylvia, and she has grown up an accomplished philosopher,—a sort of Trenmore in petticoats; he has made her the confidant of all his thoughts; and the public, which knows nothing of their relationship, is somewhat disposed to put an evil construction on their attachment. Jacques cannot forgive Mme. de Theurson her forgetfulness of Sylvia, yet he leaves them both in entire ignorance of the connexion between them. Having fallen in love with a great many women, whom in the end he finds out to be unworthy of him; he ends by conceiving a violent passion for Fernande, the young, charming and legitimate daughter of this same Mme. de Theurson. It is not, however, without trembling, that he gives way to this attachment, for he no longer believes in the durability of any human affection, and the certainty of not being always beloved, makes him beforehand very sad and unhappy. Gifted with the most immoderate vanity, he is convinced of his own perfection, and the imperfection of all the world besides, unless it be Sylvia, whom he might be inclined to believe capable of an eternal attachment, if she could be brought to entertain one. But Sylvia is too well acquainted with human weaknesses; she has profited too well by her own experience, to fall sincerely in love with any one; on the contrary, she has just dismissed her lover Octavius, because she feels sure that he will otherwise of his own accord forsake her. As for Fernande, she is a young girl, charmingly graceful and naive; she loves Jacques with all her heart, sincerely and simply, as a young girl should do, who has nothing to blush for in her early affections, since she is about to marry the object of them. The first pages, which are full of the description of her love, are delightful; yet from the first we see that the marriage is not to be happy, and that Jacques is to be the instrument of his

own misfortune. He never ceases telling Fernande of the disproportion of their ages; he repeats, till one is sick of it, that constancy is not a virtue of which humanity is capable; and he acknowledges, that neither is it a duty which should be required of humanity. At length, after endless arguments against the married state, and having thrown out many hints, that but for the *foolish usages* of society, he should never have had the insolence to propose to her the yoke of an indissoluble union,—on the very evening before their marriage, he writes her the following letter:—

“It is well, however, to foresee every thing; love may die away, friendship may become wearisome and vexatious, intimacy may form the torment of one, or perhaps of both of us. It will be then that your esteem will be necessary to me! To have the courage to make me the sacrifice of your liberty, you must be well assured that I will never take advantage of the sacrifice. Do you feel secure of this? poor child! perhaps you have never even thought of it! Well! that I may forestall the terrors that might arise in you, that I may help you to drive them from you; I am about to take an oath which I beg you to register, and to read over this letter, if at any time the language of the world or the appearance of my conduct, shall make you apprehend tyranny on my part. Society is about to dictate to you the formula of an oath; you are to swear that you will be faithful and submissive to me—that is to say, that you will never love any one but me—and that you will obey me in every thing. One of these vows is an absurdity, the other is base. You could not answer for your heart, were I the greatest, and most perfect of men; you ought not to promise to obey me, because to do so, would be a degradation to us both. Therefore, dear child, pronounce boldly the holy words, without which your mother and the world would not suffer you to belong to me. I also will repeat what the priest and the magistrate shall dictate to me, for only on these conditions shall I be allowed to consecrate my life to you. But to the oath of protection which the law prescribes, and which I will religiously keep, I will add another, that men are not wont to consider necessary to the sanctity of marriage, yet without which you ought not to accept me as a husband. I will swear to respect you, and at your feet I will take this oath in the presence of God, on the day when you have chosen me for your lover. But even from to-day I take it, and you may look on it henceforward as irrevocable. Yes, Fernande, I will respect you, because you are weak, because you are pure and holy, because you have a right to happiness, or at least, to repose and to your liberty. If I am not worthy for ever to fill your soul, I am at least incapable of being its torment, or its jailor. If I cannot inspire you with eternal love, I can at least inspire you with an affection which shall survive all others in your heart, and make it impossible that you should ever have a more secure or a more precious friend than myself. Remember, Fernande, that when you find my

heart too old to be a lover, you may still appeal to my white hairs, and claim from me the tenderness of a father. If you fear the authority of an old man, I will endeavour to grow young again, to retrace my life back to your age, that I may better understand you, and may inspire you with the confidence and familiarity you would feel towards a brother. If I succeed in neither of these characters, in spite of my devotion and my care I find myself a burthen to you, I will then fly from you, I will leave you mistress of your actions, and you shall never hear from my lips a syllable of complaint."

Immediately after their marriage, Jacques takes his wife to his estate in Dauphiny, where at first they are perfectly happy, and the birth of twins, a son and a daughter, comes to fulfil all their wishes. Yet Fernande is at times hurt by the evident antipathy her husband entertains against Mme. de Theurson, whom he refuses to invite to his house; and, not unnaturally, she is jealous when Sylvia arrives to take up her abode with them,—her husband continuing obstinately determined not to calm her uneasiness, as he might so easily have done, by owning, (without naming the mother of Sylvia), that she was his sister. It is true that at last her fears give way before the frank and patient friendship of the beautiful stranger; but already there is estrangement between the husband and wife; and Jacques, convinced that his wife will not always love him, and distressed by the conviction, is at pains to ensure the accomplishment of his own prophecy, by his strange conduct. In the meanwhile Octavius arrives in search of Sylvia, and not daring at first to present himself before Jacques, whom he believes his rival, he secretly addresses himself to Fernande, to entreat her to reconcile him with the woman he still loves, in spite of the treatment he has received. The young wife yields to his entreaties, and after several interviews, which are at first concealed from her husband, she obtains permission to invite Octavius to her house. Sylvia is inflexible; this perfect being has never chosen to be the wife, she will no longer continue to be the lover, she will only be the friend of Octavius; who forthwith consoles himself by falling desperately in love with Fernande; and before long she returns his passion. One of their letters falls into the hands of Jacques. Sylvia also is aware of the whole intrigue: nevertheless, the one remaining faithful to his promise, the other to her philosophy, they do absolutely nothing to prevent the young wife from falling into the snare laid for her,—they leave her entire liberty, offer her no advice, nay, rather increase her temptations, by almost forcibly detaining Octavius near his victim. Fernande has

more good sense, she is not yet guilty; and she asks her husband's permission to go to her mother at Tours. He takes her there, and there leaves her, exposed to the seductions of Octavius, who follows her in spite of her express prohibition; and at the conclusion of a ball, her character is so decidedly compromised, that her mother determines to take her back to her home, where she learns the death of her little daughter, and finds Octavius, who, well aware that Jacques *knows all*, arrives almost at the same time as herself; the husband receives him as a friend, and leaves him with the (now) adulterous Fernande, because, says the *generous Jacques*, "he alone can comfort her for the loss of her child." Mme. de Theurson is indignant at conduct which she cannot understand, and after a violent scene, her son-in-law, to render her more indulgent, informs her of the existence of her own illegitimate daughter Sylvia. She leaves the house, and shortly afterwards Jacques does the same, leaving Octavius with Fernande, after the exchange of the two following letters.

FROM JACQUES TO OCTAVIUS.

"I wish to spare you the embarrassment of a verbal explanation, which could only be difficult and disagreeable between us. By writing, we shall come sooner and more coolly to an understanding. I have to put to you several questions, and I hope you will not contest my right to interrogate you upon certain subjects, at the least as interesting to me as to you.

"1st. Do you believe I am ignorant of what has taken place between you and a person whom it is not necessary here to name?"

"2nd. When you returned here within these few days, almost at the same time with her, and boldly presented yourself to me, what was your intention?"

"3rdly. Have you a true attachment for this person? would you take charge of her, and would you undertake to devote your life to her, if her husband forsook her?"

"Answer these three questions, and if you have any regard for the tranquillity or the life of that person, do not betray to her the secret of this letter: by doing so, you would render her future salvation and happiness impossible."

FROM OCTAVIUS TO JACQUES.

"I will answer your questions with the frankness and confidence of a man secure of himself.

"1st. I knew when I quitted Tourraine, that you were aware of what had taken place between her and me.

"2ndly. I came here to offer you my life, in reparation of the outrage and the wrong I had done you. If you are generous towards *her*, I will bare my breast before you, desiring you to fire, or plunge

your sword into my heart, my hands being empty ; but if you are to revenge yourself upon *her*, I will then dispute my life, and try to kill you.

“ 3rdly. I have for *her* so deep, so true an attachment, that if you were to forsake her by death or through resentment, I would make a vow to devote my whole life to her, and thus, as far as possible, repair the evil I have done her.

“ Farewell, Jacques ; I am unhappy, but I will not tell you what I suffer on your account. If you desire vengeance, it must be your wish to find me erect before you. I should be a coward if I implored your mercy ; I should be impudent if I braved you. I ought to wait for you, and I do wait. Decide quickly.”

This reply from Octavius confirms Jacques in the resolution he has taken. He has determined upon suicide, in order to secure the happiness—or what he is pleased to consider the happiness—of Fernande. This we are informed of by his first letter to Sylvia.

FROM JACQUES TO SYLVIA.

“ You weep for me, poor Sylvia ! Forget me, as the dead are forgotten. With me all is over. Let the winding sheet fall between us ; and continue to live with the living. I have accomplished my task, I have lived long enough, and I have suffered enough. Now I may sink down, and roll myself in the dust that I have steeped with my tears. When I quitted you I wept, and for three days the tears have not dried in my eyes. I see that I am an undone man ; for never have I felt my heart so broken, so extinguished within me, as now I do ; I feel it die away within my breast. God has withdrawn from me my strength, because in future it would be useless to me. I have nothing left to do but to suffer ; I have no one to love ; henceforward my part is finished amongst men. * * *

I feel anxious about her health, and shall wait with impatience till I hear from you, that my departure, and her emotion when she bid me farewell, have not done her harm. Perhaps I should have stayed a few days longer, until she had gained strength ; but I could not bear it. I am a man, and not a hero ; and feeling my heart throb with the tortures of jealousy, I feared lest I might be hurried into some odious act of egotism and revenge. Fernande is not guilty of my sufferings ; she is ignorant of them ; she believes me a stranger to all human passions. Even Octavius may, perhaps, fancy that I bear my misfortunes calmly, and that I obey, without difficulty, the dictates of the duty I have imposed upon myself. Well, be it so, and may they be happy ; their compassion would render me furious, and I cannot yet renounce the cruel satisfaction of knowing, that doubt, and the expectation of my revenge, are, like a sword, suspended over the head of this man. I can bear no more ; you will judge whether my soul feels like a stoic ; alas ! how far from it. It is you, Sylvia, who are heroic, and you judge me by yourself ; but for me I am a man like

others ; my passions hurry me away as the wind, and gnaw me as fire. I have not imagined to myself a class of virtue above the reach of nature ; but love has penetrated my heart in all its plenitude, inso-much that I am compelled to sacrifice every thing to it, even my heart when I have nothing else left to offer. I have studied but one thing in this world, and that is love. After repeated and personal experience of all that can irritate or embitter, I at length comprehended the nobleness of this sentiment, and how difficult it is to preserve ; and how many sacrifices, how many acts of self-devotion must be accomplished, before one is entitled to boast of having known it. Had I not loved Fernande, I should not have conducted myself well ; I know not whether I could have controlled my vexation, and the hatred I feel for the man who has, by his imprudences and his egotistical follies, exposed her to the derision of others. But she loves him, and because I am bound to her by the links of an eternal affection, the life of her lover becomes sacred in my eyes. That I may resist the strong temptation to rid myself of him I depart, and God alone knows how much each day spent at a distance from her, will occasion me of torments and despair. * * * *

Were Fernande unworthy of my love, I should cease to feel it. One hour of contempt would suffice to cure me ; but she yields to a passion, which a whole year of struggles and resistance have caused to take deep root in her heart, and I am compelled to admire her. No human being can command love ; no one is guilty for feeling, or for ceasing to feel it. What constitutes adultery is not the hour which a woman grants to her lover, but the love which she afterwards affects for her husband. * * * *

Poor suffering being ! Sensitive plant, that shrinks from the lightest breath of air. How could I have the brutal courage to torment, or the stupid pride to despise thee, because God created thee so highly gifted and so weak ! Oh, I have loved thee ! Simple flower that the wind swayed upon its stem ; for thy pure and delicate beauty I gathered thee, hoping to keep for myself alone thy fragrant perfume, which diffused itself around in solitude and shade ; but the tempest, as it passed, has torn thee from me,—my bosom could not retain thee. Is that a reason why I should hate thee, and trample thee under my feet ? Now I will replace thee softly amongst the dews from whence thou wast taken, and I will bid thee farewell, because my breath can no longer make thee live ; and there is another in thy atmosphere who must now raise and revive thee. Flourish again, then, oh, my fair lily ! I will touch thee no more."

Accident takes him to Tours, and Jacques (who professes a horror of duelling) there kills an officer who has allowed himself, in his presence, some allusions to the notorious misconduct of Fernande. After this deviation from principle on account of an adulterous woman, he takes refuge in Switzerland, where he learns the death of his son. Sylvia writes to him :—

"Take courage, Jacques, and return, and suffer here. You are still wanted; let this idea give you strength. There are around you beings who stand in need of you; and then your life is not concluded. Is love its only object? The friendship which Fernande entertains for you, is stronger than the love she feels for Octavius. All his cares and his devotion, which have really been kept up beyond my hopes, are forgotten by her when you are brought to her mind. And could it be otherwise? Can she venerate any other man as she does you? Return and live amongst us. And am I, then, counted as nothing in your arrangements? Have I not dearly loved you, and what harm have I ever done you? Do you not know that you have been the first—almost the only—affection of my heart? Overcome, then, the horror you feel for Octavius; it will be the work of a day; I too have suffered before I became used to see him in your place. But leave it to him, and assume a better one: be the friend and the father, the consoler and the support of the family. Are you not superior to a vain and coarse jealousy? Resume the heart of thy wife, and leave the rest to this young man. It is possible, that the heart and the senses of Fernande may require a less elevated love than that with which you sought to inspire her. You have resigned yourself to the sacrifice, resign yourself to be the witness of it, and let generosity impose silence upon self-love. Is it a few caresses, more or less, which can keep alive or destroy an affection so holy as yours? This childish jealousy is unworthy your great soul; and the white hairs you carry on your forehead, give you a right to be the father of your wife, without degrading the dignity of your character as husband. You cannot doubt the delicacy with which Fernande will avoid whatever could wound your feelings. Octavius will become more supportable to you; his nature is in some respects noble, and during these three months, so difficult for us all, I have found in him virtues I did not expect."

Jacques obeys her, and is not far from learning to consider very *supportable* the singular situation which Sylvia has represented as so grand, when he discovers a letter from Octavius to Fernande, in which the lover reminds his mistress of the age of her husband, and speaks of the happiness they shall enjoy after his death. This last incident determines Jacques to kill himself. He goes to the mountains of the Tyrol, and from thence writes to Sylvia (who ends by approving his design) the following words:—

"Calm thy grief, beloved sister; it awakens mine, and changes nothing of my resolution. When the life of a man is hurtful to others, burdensome to himself, useless to all, suicide becomes a lawful act, and one that he may commit, if not without the regret of having lost his life, at least without remorse at having terminated it. You believe me far more virtuous and greater than I am; but there is

profound truth in what you say, of the anguish of a soul, conscious of good intentions, become useless; and of self-devotion thrown away, when it is forced to abandon its task unfulfilled. My conscience reproaches me with nothing, and I feel that it may be permitted me to lie down in my grave, and there to rest myself from having lived."

A few days after this he throws himself down a glacier, after having taken all possible precautions that his death may appear the result of accident, lest Fernande should be rendered unhappy by the idea, that he had killed himself to restore her her liberty.

We have, perhaps, dwelt too long upon these two disgusting specimens of the genius of Mme. Du Devant, but they may be considered as prototypes of contemporary French romances, and in this point of view it was necessary that we should make them known with some accuracy to our readers; it is possible, also, that we might have been accused of exaggeration, in saying that our neighbours had attained the last degree of literary guilt, unless we had justified our assertion by showing, that, according to the most celebrated of their novelists, gambling, suicide, adultery, and even prostitution, are acts innocent in themselves, and, under certain circumstances, even meritorious. We cannot refrain from animadverting here upon what, without hesitation, we consider as the worst of literary heresies. Many Germans, and a yet greater number of French writers, captivated by the success, and deceived by the genius of Lord Byron, have invented a theory, in virtue of which they make a complete separation in all works of art, between the artistic execution and the moral tendency; and maintain, that the painter, the sculptor, and the poet, may give undivided attention to the one, without any obligation to trouble themselves about the other. According to them, so long as a picture, or a poem, astonishes, dazzles, and captivates the imagination, whether by a faithful adherence to nature, or by the power of its conception, and the splendour of its details, the author has fulfilled his task; and no one has a right to blame him on account of the means he has made use of, the subject he has treated, or the moral tendency and consequences of his work. "What signify," say they, "the crimes of Conrad, if the stern grandeur of Lara subdues the reason of the reader? What signifies the assassination of Gulnare's first master, if Kaled obtains all our sympathy; and if, above all, the perfection of the style, the beauty of the imagery, and the originality of the ideas, cause us to forget what were once, and still are, the two

fearful beings who are held up to our admiration? The author of *Don Juan*," they continue, "was no preacher; it was not his duty to reform mankind; he was but a poet; and, after all, if there be any truth in the morality which affirms that virtue is beautiful and vice ugly in their own nature, we ought to give him credit for the difficulty he has overcome, when he makes the worse appear the better cause." As it always happens, long before rules were laid down for this new *art of poetry*, whose evident—though not avowed—object is the transfiguration of evil into good, it had been frequently applied, and of this we will give one remarkable example. In the 'mysteries' of the middle ages, the Devil always plays an odious or a ridiculous part; and even Dante and Tasso, who give him a gigantic stature, have only, if we may so express ourselves, looked through a microscope at the Lucifer, who excited at once the laughter and the dread of our forefathers, so completely have they succeeded in representing him as at once hideous and stupid. The reformation was too much indebted to the great tempter, not to take his part against his Catholic aspersers. Luther first began, by showing him off in their celebrated interview as a perfect scholar; Milton transformed him into a complete hero; Goethe lent him all his powers of sarcasm and philosophy; and Byron represented him as a high-bred gentleman; indeed, he now stands so high in the estimation of those who have strayed beyond the pale of Christianity, that most of them, we verily believe, would feel not a little proud of a personal acquaintance with the fallen one. Many of M^{re}. Du Devant's faults originate, we hope, in this most erroneous view of the nature of art in general. We say erroneous, because if the poet and the novelist have an incontestable right to portray the worst passions of the human heart, it is equally certain that they are bound to describe only what is true, and that for them the limit of truth should be that of possibility. Now, if there are vices, and still more if there are weaknesses, which are compatible with certain virtues, and which even lend to them, by their alliance, a kind of charm, arising from an air of reality, which is wanting in any description of earthly perfection; it is also true, that some virtues and qualities of the soul, cannot by possibility exist together with vices and weaknesses of a certain description; and the author who loses sight of this great law of the human heart, creates monsters which may excite the momentary curiosity of contemporaries, but from which posterity will turn with contempt. What, for instance,

can be further from the *true*, than the mysterious sadness and the fainting fit of Lara, whom we know to be as incapable of fear as of remorse, and destitute of any religious belief; or again, how can we believe in the powerful reason and love of Jacques, when we see him kill himself to enable his wife to marry a young man whom he knows to be contemptible, and certain to leave her, in spite of his fine promises, even sooner than he forsook Sylvia. Moreover, and by virtue of the same principle, if the poet and the novelist are not bound to select and comment upon a text of Scripture, it is certainly still less their mission to preach the extreme of immorality, to corrupt hearts, and cause them to love vice and hate virtue; for there is genuine morality in nature itself, without which no society could exist, and which can never be separated from the *beautiful*.

The better to illustrate our meaning, we will quote the admirable character of Iago, compared with whom Goethe's Mephistophiles is but a child in iniquity. Here we have man as he is in the extreme of depravity,—false, artificial, implacable, and hypocritical; yet, with all this, Iago is brave, and full of intelligence, because the detestable feelings which actuate him neither exclude personal courage nor great talents. But Shakspeare is careful not to excite our sympathies for the infamous friend of Othello; he does not represent him, though in the days of chivalry, as animated by chivalrous sentiments; he does not place him under the influence of a passion supposed to be irresistible, which could justify by enslaving him. We hate Iago—we see that Shakspeare also hates him;—and our admiration for the prince of poets is all the more fervent, because he has respected true morality, and that, in his delineation of human wickedness, he has, at least, not outraged the laws of our nature;—at the same time we love Othello, and we pity him, he, the murderer of the gentle Desdemona;—Why? Because the credulous jealousy of the Moor is compatible with the most generous sentiments; because he would have given his life a thousand times to save that of his wife, had he believed her faithful; because he is the victim of the depravity of another, and not of his own; and, finally, because it is not the crime of which he is guilty, but the virtues he possesses which are held up to our respect.

Georges Sand has followed another plan. Her personages unite vices and virtues which have never been found to combine together, and it is for their vices chiefly that she endea-

vours to obtain sympathy. This detestable purpose tends, in the first place, to incapacitate her for describing truth; and, in the next, to draw her into interminable discussions, which having, as far as they are able, corrupted the reader, end by wearying him to death. This same defect is found in all the French writers of the present day; under the name of dramas, novels, and poems, their works are, in fact, theses composed in support of the anti-social principles they have adopted, and consequently their characters speak and act wholly on behalf of the author's favourite theory. Generally speaking, one may apply to them all, the words of a distinguished Belgian writer, when speaking of the dramas of Victor Hugo, one of the most eminent amongst them:—"His personages," observes M. Devaux, "are remarkably like puppets; without life or free will of their own, but acted upon by the showman according to his fancy. You may suppose it Punch that walks, talks, laughs, or puts himself in a passion, but you soon perceive the hand and recognize the voice of Hugo; and as it is always the same hand which puts the wooden heroes into motion, whether friends or foes, and the same voice which expresses their ideas, so in these works you see before you only trumpery puppets, and leave them in pure weariness of the author's eternal monologue." To this just criticism, M. Devaux might have added, that the French writers act in the most impudent opposition to their own theories. "Art for the sake of art" is their cant phrase, by which, as we have seen, they understand, that literary productions should have no moral or religious object whatsoever; whereas, all their writings are directed to the establishment of a new system of ethics, and a complete renovation of all religious opinions, by the substitution of fatalism for the free and responsible will of man, and of pantheism for Christianity. Georges Sand is one of the most active labourers in this work of darkness,—one of the most indefatigable combatants in this crusade against all that is good, and all that is social. But even as a writer her crime has turned against her. Endowed with the most elevated talents, entitled to rank amongst the first prose writers of France, very superior to Mme. de Stael, and perhaps equal to Jean Jacques Rousseau, her writings are, nevertheless, far from having as much literary merit as they would have had if she had chosen another path,—had she believed in true morality,—had she, in short, not persisted in seeking for human nature in the world of her own philosophical chimeras. These causes have deprived her characters of life, animation, and variety;

it is thus that with all her genius, she wants the naiveté and gentle serenity which charms us in Walter Scott, and which are the ordinary and loveliest attendants upon sterling greatness. Devoid of all humour, she scoffs when she attempts to smile, and her laughter is the merriment of a fiend.

If it is true, that the French novelists since 1830 have always had a case to make out, it is equally so that with few exceptions, one party amongst them endeavour to demonstrate that the married state, without the security of unlimited liberty of divorce, is a degradation to the female sex ; and the other, that women are all so detestable, that men in their senses would not think of marrying at all. It is evident, that between them the two great divisions of the human race are treated with equal contempt. No class, no profession, can escape their biting sarcasms, excepting only *the people* ; that is to say, the lowest ranks of society, from which they seldom select their characters, without endowing them with the fine feelings that are, without mercy, refused to all their superiors. They have also a marked predilection for natural children, whom they invariably represent as amiable and handsome. In both cases they have yielded to the democratic instinct of that portion of the public which is their patron, and pays them ; and which will not endure, in its own ranks, any hierarchical preeminence, even that of the lawfully-begotten child over the bastard. Victor Hugo, who has over Georges Sand the advantage of not being systematically depraved, and who is her only rival as a novelist, has yielded to this double necessity. But we will speak of him as a poet, before making mention of his chef-d'œuvre, *Notre Dame de Paris* ; and we do this in order that we may reprobate that kind of slander, not the less atrocious for being directed against the dead ; and which, from its general prevalence on the part of the French press, must, in the end, generate amongst the people the most erroneous ideas as to the plainest facts recorded in history. Will it be believed, that in a tragedy, entitled *Mary Tudor*, he has dared to represent the chaste daughter of Henry VIII as a sort of amorous courtesan, who puts to death an Italian, her lover, because she believes him unfaithful to her ? We could quote innumerable instances of falsehoods not less flagrant ; and certainly, setting aside the peculiar odiousness of thus inscribing calumnies upon the grave, it is not in this manner that a people are enlightened. We a thousand times prefer the most apocryphal legends of the ages of darkness : fictions for fictions, the latter had, at least, a moral object, and pre-disposed the soul to the fulfilment of the social duties.

We shall pass rapidly over the *Nôtre Dame de Paris*, which appeared in 1830, because it is pretty generally known in this country. Esmeralda, a fair gipsy, is full of grace and freshness; we follow her with interest through all her wanderings; and the character of Quasimodo—a child forsaken, and laid upon the pavement of Nôtre Dame, deformed, deaf, blind of one eye, and almost foolish, who would have loved nothing but the bells of which he had become the guardian, had he not seen Esmeralda—is most happily designed. But the brutal carelessness of the handsome Phebus is unnatural; and we cannot comprehend how the archdeacon, Claude Frollo, at once the lover and the persecutor of Esmeralda, could, in the fifteenth century, and under the reign of Louis XI, have shown himself, even to the end, so profoundly indifferent to every idea of religion. But, indeed, with the exception of king Louis himself, whose superstition is cleverly derided, every person in the novel is equally indifferent upon this subject. Quasimodo himself, brought up in a church, seems not to know that there is a God; and the author has thereby deprived himself of an element for heightening the dramatic effect of his work. Instead of representing a struggle between crime and remorse, in an age when the very excess of credulity would not have suffered a guilty conscience to slumber in repose, he has subjected all his characters to the influence of an imperious fatalism. This is his faith—his thesis: and that his readers may not mistake him, he has headed one of his chapters *ANATKH*. Setting aside these two serious faults, (but which, unhappily, pervade the whole work), *Nôtre Dame de Paris* is unquestionably not an ordinary performance. The author has entered the lists with Walter Scott in his description of the low mobs of Paris, and where he brings Louis XI upon the scene; and we are bound to say, that he has come off with honour in his bold attempt. His style, too, (a singular merit in a French romance writer), is not too poetical; admirably strong and flexible, it is sometimes picturesque in the highest degree. We have not room to quote the fine chapter entitled “Paris vu à vol d’oiseau,” but we are sure the reader will derive pleasure from the following extract, from what ought to have been the concluding chapter. While Esmeralda, betrayed by Claude Frollo, is executed as guilty of a murder which he had himself committed in a fit of jealousy, Quasimodo, standing with the archdeacon upon one of the towers of Nôtre Dame, suddenly throws him over the balustrade,

upon which he leant to behold the execution of the poor Bohemian.

"The priest exclaimed, 'Damnation !' and fell.

"The gutter below him stopped him in his fall, and, with despairing hands, he fastened himself to it; but at the very moment when he opened his mouth to utter a second cry, he saw the formidable and vengeful head of Quasimodo pass along the edge of the balustrade immediately above him, and he was silent. The abyss was below him, a fall of more than two hundred feet, to alight upon the pavement. In this dreadful situation, no word—no groan escaped the archdeacon, only he clutched at the gutter with incredible exertion to regain a footing; but his hands had no hold upon the granite, his feet slipped against the blackened wall without supporting him. Persons who have stood upon the towers of Notre Dame, are aware that the stone wall bulges outwards at the top, immediately below the balustrade; it was upon the angle thus formed that the miserable archdeacon exhausted his strength; he did not even cling to a perpendicular wall, but to one that receded from under him. To have dragged him from the gulf, Quasimodo need but have reached out his hand to him, but he did not so much as look towards him. He looked at the Grève, he looked at the gibbet, he looked at the gipsy girl. The deaf man was leaning on his elbows upon the balustrade, on the very spot where a moment before the archdeacon had stood; and there, not for an instant withdrawing his look from the only object earth now contained for him, he was motionless and dumb, like a man thunderstruck; and a long stream of tears flowed silently from that eye, which up to this time had shed but one tear. But now the archdeacon's breath grew short, his bald forehead was bathed in sweat, his nails bled upon the stones, and the skin was torn from his knees by the walls; he heard his cassock, which had caught upon the gutter, crack, and the seams give way at every stress he laid upon it. To increase the difficulty, this gutter terminated in a leaden pipe, which bent under the weight of his body; the archdeacon felt this pipe giving way slowly. The miserable creature said to himself, that when his hands were broken with weariness, when his cassock was rent, and when this lead was broken, he must fall, and terror seized upon his entrails. From time to time he looked bewilderedly at a narrow ledge, ten feet lower down, formed by some ornaments in the sculpture, and he besought of Heaven, from the bottom of his distressed soul, that he might finish his life on that space of two feet wide, were it even to last a hundred years. Once he ventured to cast his eyes below him into the street, into the abyss, and when he raised his head, the eyes were closed, the hair stood upright.

"There was something terrible in the silence of these two men. While the archdeacon, but a few feet below him, was agonizing in this dreadful manner, Quasimodo wept, and looked at the Grève. The archdeacon, seeing that his convulsive springs served only to

shake the frail support that was left to him, determined not to move. There he remained, embracing the gutter, scarcely breathing, stirring not, without any other motion, than that mechanical convulsion of the body, which men feel in dreams when they fancy themselves falling. His fixed eyes were open in a staring and unnatural manner. But by little and little he lost ground; his fingers slipped upon the gutter; he felt the weakness of his arms, and the weight of his body increased; the bending lead which supported him, was gradually declining more and more towards the abyss. He saw below him, frightful thing! the roof of the Saint Jean le Rond, as small as in a map; one after another he fixed his eyes upon the impassive sculptures of the tower, like him suspended over the precipice, but without terror for themselves, or pity for him. All around him was of stone; before his eyes were open-mouthed monsters; far, far below him, the pavement of the Place de la Grève; above his head, Quasimodo, who wept. There were in the square before the church, some groups of curious grave people, quietly endeavouring to guess who could be the madman who had found out so singular an amusement, and the priest could hear them say, for the sound of their voices rose sharp and thin even up to him, 'But he will break his neck.' Quasimodo wept.

"At length the archdeacon, foaming with rage and terror, felt that all was useless, yet he collected his remaining strength for a last effort. He clung more forcibly to the gutter, making an effort with his knees, and forcing his fingers into a crevice between the stones; and thus succeeded in climbing up, perhaps, a foot. But this struggle made the leaden pipe on which he depended bend lower down, and at the same instant his cassock split; then feeling every thing give way from under him, while only his stiff, failing fingers still held to any thing, the miserable man closed his eyes, and loosed his hold upon the gutter. He fell."

There are so many beauties scattered through this book, that we could be half inclined, upon account of them, to forgive its evident tendency, if in the last chapter the author had not gone beyond all that an ordinary imagination can conceive of disgusting.

Victor Hugo has published but few novels. He is far—and we are thankful for it—from having the prodigious fecundity of Georges Sand, and the many other novelists, who, with inferior abilities, feel an equal ardour in labouring, like her, to destroy the social edifice. Amongst these writers Balzac is the most popular. His style is unregulated, and often incorrect, but it is not wanting in a sort of brilliancy, and he excels in painting the details of domestic life in certain ranks of society; for when he attempts to describe the private life of the higher orders, he immediately exhibits the grossest ignorance of their manners, habits, and even lan-

guage, and his sketches become so many failures. *Le Père Goriot* is one of his best novels.

Jean Goriot begins by being a mere workman in the trade of making vermicelli. By dint of labour and economy, he has bought the shop of his master, who had perished on the scaffold in 1793, and continuing to live with the same frugality, he in the end accumulates a fortune of 60,000fr. a year.

"His trade in grain seemed to have absorbed all his intelligence. If the point was to buy corn, flour, or other grain; to test their goodness, the profit to be derived from them; to prophesy the abundance or dearth of the ensuing harvest; to obtain bargains at a cheap rate; he was then unequalled. But take him out of his especial province, his simple and obscure shop, upon the steps of which he spent his idle hours, leaning his shoulders against the door-post, and he became again the stupid workman, a man incapable of following an argument, insensible to mental pleasures; such a one as would go to sleep at the theatre; one of those Parisian Calibans who are strong only in stupidity. These natures are all alike; almost all of them you will find are actuated by some sublime feeling of the heart."

The feeling which predominates over all the faculties of Jean Goriot (who has been for years a widower), is an exaggerated, exclusive, and passionate love for his two daughters, Anastasia and Delphine. He has given them a brilliant education, and lavishes upon them all the enjoyments of the most expensive luxury; and when the eldest marries a man of high birth, the Baron de Restaud, and the second a rich banker, M. de Nucingen, he gives up to them all his fortune, reserving for himself only his shop. But at the restoration, his two sons-in-law, the one representing the landed aristocracy of the Faubourg St. Germain, and the other the moneyed aristocracy of the Chaussée d'Antin, require him to give up his trade, of which they are ashamed; and as both are equally annoyed by the plebeian manners of the poor merchant of vermicelli, they allow him to visit them but seldom, and only in the morning, and when they are alone. Goriot takes refuge in a boarding-house, kept by Mme. de Vanguer, near the Pantheon, in what is called the Latin quarter. Here he lives with his usual parsimony; but his daughters have lovers who want money, and husbands who are satisfied to let them do what they please, provided that their expenses do not exceed their large allowances. They then turn to their feeble father, who, knowing the use they make of his money, approving and not blaming it, strips himself of all the remains

of his past opulence, and gives them even his last farthing. His reward is a caress from his daughters, and then he is happy, because he has been allowed to press to his heart Anastasia or Delphine, whichever of the two adulterous wives he has last been able to assist in the pursuit of her criminal pleasures. What shall we say of the author, who, after describing one of these scenes, dares to compare this foolish father with the son of the living God?

"And the old man strained his daughter to his heart with so vehement, so wild a pressure, that she said, 'Ah, you hurt me!'

" 'I have hurt you!' he cried, growing pale with alarm, and he looked at her with a superhuman expression of grief; for to paint the countenance of this Christ (!!!) of paternity, it would be necessary to compare it with those figures which the princes of the easel have invented, to pourtray the passion which the Saviour of the world endured for the sake of mankind." !!!

But in this respect Balzac only follows the example of Georges Sand and the other French novelists, who constantly introduce the name of God into their most licentious descriptions, as if the most obscene immorality wanted savour unless it was seasoned by blasphemy.

The conclusion of the story is, that poor Goriot, while his daughters are at a ball, dies of misery, and almost of hunger. We will not, however, dismiss this novel without doing justice to the talent the author has shown in the scenes in the boarding-house, in which he displays a degree of humour rarely to be met with in a French publication. His delineation of the escaped galley-slave, Jaques Collin, who owes to his hair-breadth escapes the surname "Cheat the gallows," is truly capital. Coarse and refined, vulgar and gentlemanly, Vautrin has lived in all ranks of society during the course of his perilous profession, and he entertains for his fellow-creatures a cold and sarcastic contempt, which in his own eyes justifies his excesses; he believes himself better than them, and whatever may be the opinion of the law and the courts of justice, he is himself firmly convinced that he has the right on his side, in the constant war which he wages against their persons and property; yet he is influenced by one noble passion—that of friendship. Although guilty of many thefts and many assassinations, he is yet innocent of the forgery for which he has been condemned to twenty years of hard labour, and of which he has allowed himself to be convicted through a desire to spare his friend Franchessite, a colonel of the old guard, and the favoured lover of lady Brandon, who has left her husband

to live with him ; and they are represented as being now the handsomest, the most admired, and the most fashionable couple in the French capital. Jaques Collin, under the name of Vautrin, is one of the inmates in the house of Mme. Vanguer, from whence he directs the operations of the society "of the ten thousand," a formidable association of robbers, so called because they only take the field when there are at least ten thousand francs to be gained by it. Betrayed by an old Mlle. Michonneau, a lodger in the house, he is arrested by the police, who are fully determined upon killing him if he makes any resistance, so well are they aware of his dangerous character.

" 'In the name of the law and of the king,' said one of the officers, whose words were partly lost in the murmur of astonishment.

" There was soon deep silence in the dining room, and the boarders fell back to make way for three of these men, who all held their hands in their side pockets, where each grasped a loaded pistol. Two gendarmes, who followed the police, stood in the doorway of the dining-room, while two others occupied that which opened upon the stairs, and the steps and arms of several soldiers were heard on the pebbly pavement of the street below. There was no hope of flight for 'Cheat the gallows,' upon whom all eyes were now rivetted. The chief of the party commenced operations, by going straight up to him, and giving him so sharp a rap upon the head, that it caused his wig to fly off, and discover the head of Collin in all its deformity. His short hair, of a brick-dust red, gave a frightful character of strength, mingled with cunning, to his head and face, which were in harmony with the bust, and were so illuminated by a sinister intelligence, that it seemed as if the fires of hell had lighted them up. The man and his whole character stood revealed to the comprehension of every one :—Vautrin ; his past, present, and future life ; his implacable doctrines ; his religion, found in his own good pleasure ; the royalty which he derived from the cynicism of his thoughts and acts, and from the strength of an organization which was equal to every thing. The blood rushed to his face, his eyes shone like those of the wild cat ; he sprang up with a motion of such ferocious energy, and with a roar so frightful, that he drew cries of terror from the inmates of the house. At sight of this lion's gesture, and supported by the general clamour, the police constables drew out their pistols. Collin saw the muzzles of the pistols, he understood his danger, and at once gave proof of the highest human power. It was a horrible and majestic spectacle ! His countenance presented a phenomenon, which could only be compared to that of the cauldron, filled with that smoking vapour that would overthrow mountains, yet which a drop of cold water can instantly dissolve. The drop of water which cooled his rage was a reflection, rapid as lightning. He smiled, and looked at his wig.

" ' This is not one of your civil days,' said he to the chief of the police.

" He summoned the gendarmes by a nod, and held out his hands to them.

" ' Come, gentlemen, put me on the fetters. I take all present to witness that I offer no resistance.' "

" There was a murmur of admiration through the hall, excited by the promptness with which lava and fire had appeared, and had returned into this human volcano. * * * *

" He paused, and looked fixedly at the boarders.

" ' And you,' he said, ' are you fools ? have you never before seen a criminal ? A criminal of the stamp of Collin, who is now before you, is a man who is less base than his fellows, and who protests against the deep deceptions of the social contract ; those are the words of Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose pupil I am proud to be. I am alone against the government, with all its heap of tribunals, gendarmes, and budgets, and I can match them all.' "

' When you find in a French reading-room, a volume which is worn out and dirty, while still new ; bearing, when you open it, the marks of unwashed fingers upon its stained and crumpled leaves,—you may be sure at once that it is part of a novel of Paul de Kock's. His works are the joy of ladies-maids, the customary amusement of the grisettes, the consolation of hackney-coach-men in their hours of idleness ; he knows their passions and their prejudices ; he writes for them : and most certainly, if the talent of a writer were to be measured by the number of his readers, or even by the admiration they entertain for him, Paul de Kock would be the first novelist in France. Without, however, accepting this criterion, it is impossible not to acknowledge in him a high degree of merit, but which would be more deserving of admiration, if he wrote with less negligence : but little does he care for literary fame, if he can make his reader weep or smile at his pleasure, if he can excite his curiosity, and draw him on through all the improbabilities of the story, without giving him time to look about him. There is a naiveté in his style, which frequently reminds one of La Fontaine, and which pleases every one,—people of taste, as well as the lower orders, of whom he is the delight. Unhappily, in the use of his great powers, he is as careless of morality as of every thing else ; and if he has not the premeditated corruption of Georges Sand, it is still certain that his novels must have a deplorable effect upon the minds of those for whom they are principally written. As it is their good will he seeks to gain, it is always from amongst their orders that he chuses his heroes, and nothing can more strongly

prove the progress which ideas of equality are now making in France, than the nature of most of his plots. Thus in *Zizine*, his principal personage, Jerome, is a water-carrier, who has adopted a little girl (of course a bastard, or how could she be so perfect!) and given her the name of *Zizine*: the mother, who died in giving her birth, has been seduced by a rich young man, who courted her under a false name, carried her off, and then forsook her. She left in Jerome's possession, only a letter without any address, which she had not strength to finish, but which she had begun to write to her father, M. de Guerreville, a rich man, who is inconsolable for the loss of his daughter, of whose fate he is ignorant. He has for many years sought her in vain, as also her seducer, whom he only knows under his assumed name,—when accident brings him into contact with Jerome, and *Zizine*, who passes for his daughter. There can be nothing more gracefully pleasing than the description of this child and the important part she plays in the novel. M. de Guerreville has rendered many services to Jerome, when through the intervention of *Zizine*, he meets Delaberge, her father, and the betrayer of his daughter, at the moment when the young man is about to be married. The marriage is broken off, and a duel takes place in which M. de Guerreville is dangerously wounded. He is waiting impatiently for his cure, that he may fight him again; but Jerome, the water-carrier, spares him that trouble. After long watching Emile Delaberge, and following him into the country, he meets him alone, and in a solitary place.

“ ‘ One word, sir,’ said Jerome, placing himself before Emile, and stopping up the narrow pathway.

“ ‘ What do you want with me?’ said the young man, secretly alarmed at the sudden apparition of this man, towards night, and in a lonely road.

“ ‘ Oh, in the first place, set your mind at rest, I am not a robber, and want nothing with your purse.’

“ ‘ What is it you do want, then?’

“ ‘ You are M. Emile Delaberge, are you not?’

“ ‘ Certainly.’

“ ‘ Then I wish to fight with you.’

“ ‘ Fight with me!’ replied Emile, smiling scornfully; ‘ in the first place, I don’t fight with every one!’

“ ‘ May be so: but you will fight with me.’

“ ‘ Why? on what account? I do not know you,—I never even saw you.’

“ ‘ Oh well, I am Jerome, my station is that of a water-carrier, and I am an honest man, I flatter myself. I know you; I know you fought

some time ago with M. de Guerreville, I do not know how you have wronged him, but I know that he says you are a wretch; and when a man of honour says that, it must be true,—and besides you have given him a severe wound of which he nearly died. This M. de Guerreville is my benefactor, and I come to avenge him. Do you now understand?"

"Ah! M. de Guerreville has chosen you as his defender."

"M. de Guerreville has not chosen me; M. de Guerreville does not even suspect what I am doing to-day, or he would perhaps have forbidden it, for he hopes to fight with you again himself, as soon as he is strong enough. But it is I who have determined to find you out, and to win of you the match which a brave man has lost. Come, I hope I have given you reasons enough,—now let us fight."

"No, I will not fight with you—of whom I know nothing: and so, once more let me pass."

"Ah, no nonsense,—you shall not pass from here."

"Learn that a man of my rank is not expected to fight with no one knows who!"

"With a nobody knows who! . . . a nobody knows who!" cried Jerome, coming up to Emile and looking closely at him. "Oh, very true, I am, to be sure, a nobody knows who, because I wear a jacket, and lodge in a garret, and gain my bread with the sweat of my brow! But you,—oh you are not a nobody knows who,—you are rich—you make a sensation, and what is more, you are an insolent, a shabby fellow, and a coward besides, so far as I see!"

"Villain!" cried Emile furiously; "ah, you shall pay dearly for this insolence."

"Ah, that is well,—you are growing warm at last,—that is fortunate,—now to our business—quick!"

According to the rules of poetical justice Delaberge is killed, and, soon after, the mystery of Zizine's birth is unravelled, and Jerome restores her to M. de Guerreville, who lavishes upon her all the affection he had felt for his daughter. The people, represented by Jerome, are flattered to the end.

"Excellent Jerome," said M. de Guerreville, when he regained strength to speak, "I am indebted to you for all my happiness . . . Ah my friend, do not leave me again! you shall give up your business and pass the remainder of your days in rest and opulence."

"I take my rest?" said Jerome, "why should I? I am not ill. Give up my business? Oh no, M. de Guerreville, allow me to continue still a water-carrier,—and nothing but a water-carrier. You will not receive me with less pleasure on that account, and to me it will give more satisfaction. Ah, when I am no longer strong enough to carry my buckets, I won't say then,—I will come and ask you for a shelter in some corner; you will allow me still to embrace my Zizinette, and I want nothing more to make me happy."

"M. de Guerreville's only answer was, to press the Auvergnart in his arms, and the little girl jumped about his neck."

Paul de Kock has no rivals in his line, but Balzac has many: amongst whom, we will only mention, Frederic Soulie, Eugène Sue, La Touche and Alphonse Karr. The first has written, amongst many other novels, all tending to the same conclusions, the *Memoirs of the Devil*, in eight volumes.—Satan, bound by a compact, is obliged in all things to obey the young Baron de Luizzi, who, tormented by insatiable curiosity, commands him to give the secret history of all the persons with whom he has any connexion. To his great astonishment, he learns that there is not one of them whose life is not a tissue of abominations. He is himself the issue of a double incest, and of the numerous women who are passed in review, all are guilty; and those the most so, whose reputation for virtue is best established. Eugène Sue professes the same contempt for the present state of society; and in a long romance called *Attur Gull*, he has taken the trouble to justify his opinion, by choosing for his hero a negro, stained with the most odious crimes,—and who, after having assassinated the master who had given him liberty, obtains by dint of hypocrisy the prize for virtue, which is annually adjudged by the French Academy. La Touche is mad at once with pride and with materialism: and Alphonse Karr, who is evidently progressing, even in a moral point of view, has not yet explicitly separated himself from that phalanx of novelists, who reckon amongst their number the celebrated reviewer Jules Janin; and in the name of each of whom Auguste Suchet seems to have written the greater part of the following lines at the commencement of his novel of the *Brother and Sister*.

“As for the object of this book, since certain critics make it a point that every writer should have a device upon his shield, the author declares that in respect to the form of the work, he has endeavoured to interest and affect the feelings without love,—and as to its essential groundwork, he has intended to make a formal attack upon the family,—because the greater part of the evils which desolate society, appear to him to arise from the monstrous vices of this despotic institution. He is firmly persuaded, that all amelioration of the human race is impossible, until a state democratically organized, shall take upon itself the charge of the young citizens, from the moment when the cares of the woman have become useless to them, to bring them up in common, following, in each of them, the direction indicated by his cerebral faculties taken in general. Until then, according to the author's views, every attempt made to bring men to a love and respect for their fellows, will be rendered abortive by the hereditary privileges and by the selfishness of castes.”

We want space to carry any further our examination of French novelists, but we have already mentioned those which are best known, and have said enough of them to give an idea of the present state of this branch of literature amongst our neighbours. As we wish to do them justice, we will admit, without hesitation, that much native talent, abilities which, better directed, would do credit to any country, are there uselessly lavished,—ingloriously thrown away. From what these writers do, and from the rapidity with which they do it,—in general, too, during the course of a most dissipated life,—it would be unjust to deny that they would be capable of doing better, if they were not wanting in two things,—a perception of moral truth and leisure. Enslaved by the only portion of the French public, which takes pleasure in their disgusting fictions, they are obliged by the great competition amongst themselves, to make them more and more disgusting; and as, after all, they only obtain a small remuneration for their labour, they are again compelled to multiply them as much as possible in order to subsist. We have before us a plan prepared by M. Emile de Girardin, in 1835, for remedying the decay of French commerce in the bookselling line: and we take it for granted his facts are correct, as his sources of information appear to have been excellent. According to him the sale of the works of three of these novelists only,—Georges Sand, Victor Hugo, and Paul de Kock, is from two, to two thousand five hundred copies: and the price of their copyright, is from 3,000 to 4,000 francs, (£125 to £140) a volume. Eight or nine other novelists receive from the bookseller from 1,000 to 1,760 fcs. a volume, according as he expects a sale of the lowest number, one thousand, or the highest, one thousand five hundred copies. About a dozen at the utmost of the others, who sell upwards of five hundred, and fewer than one thousand copies, receive from 500 to 800 fcs. (£20 to £32) a volume. And finally, the plebeians of the dramatic Parnassus, whose number bids defiance to all calculation, do not receive more than from 100 to 300 fcs. (from £4 to £12) for their copyright. This important document bears us out fully in the opinion we have expressed, not only that the French Catholics, (those we mean that are really so), forbear to read these odious productions; but also that they are incomparably more numerous than is supposed: for otherwise, and in spite of the assistance afforded by the circulating libraries, how shall we explain the fact of such a limited sale of even the most celebrated publications of this kind? We must

add, however, that during about the last two years, the writers we are speaking of, have found a new resource for the sale of the poisonous trash in which they deal. The daily papers have lent them their columns, and the prints formerly dedicated to literary and scientific disquisitions, are now changed into an interminable series of novels, published as it were in numbers, that come out daily with fatal regularity. This manner of forcing them upon the notice of every subscriber to a newspaper, must in the end be attended with baneful consequences. The trial of Courvoisier has practically shewn the influence of immoral books; and perhaps on a future occasion, on enquiring into the administration of justice in France, we may take an opportunity of shewing in how many cases the novelists of that unhappy country have led their readers to the scaffold.

ART. V.—1. *The Impossibility of Civil or Religious Liberty under the Papal Supremacy.—Popery the Enemy of God and Man.* Tracts by the Protestant Association. 1840.

2. *Popery as opposed to Knowledge, the Morals, the Wealth, and the Liberty of Mankind*—"A prodigious structure of imposture and wickedness." London: 1838.

3. *The Homilies appointed to be read in Churches; to which are added, the Articles of Religion, Constitutions, and Canons Ecclesiastical.* Printed for the London Prayer Book and Homily Society. 1833.

WE now proceed to redeem the pledge given in the closing paragraph of the first article in our February number. For the determination of the question which we have undertaken to consider, it is obviously unnecessary to enter into any antiquarian researches as to the means by which the government of England was brought to that state, in which it was found at the *Reformation*. All we have to do is to compare it as it was then, and had been for many years before, with what it subsequently became. For the sake of precision, and for the purpose of determining the question at issue, on authority to which no exception can be taken, we shall commence with the period since which we find the rolls of parliament preserved with some regularity—the early part of the reign of Edward III. Before, however, entering on the character of

the constitution in Catholic and Protestant times, we may be allowed to make a few observations on the opinions which commonly prevail, as to the influence of the Reformation in promoting civil and religious liberty, and of Catholicism in retarding it.

One of the principal grounds advanced by ingenious writers for supposing England to enjoy more freedom since, than it did before, the Reformation, is the comparative amount of ignorance prior to, and of learning or "enlightenment" since, that event. Admitting for a moment the correctness of this latter assumption, does it necessarily follow that liberty has been better understood and more securely enjoyed? We fear that the history of the human race does not teach us to regard learning and liberty as twin sisters. From the earliest ages the East has been remarkable for the learning of its sages, and the general civilization and enlightenment, and abject thralldom of its people. It was when they were in a state of comparative "ignorance and barbarism," the Athenians performed those wonders in defence of their liberties which have rendered them immortal. When they advanced in "enlightenment" to such a degree that the lowest mob would hiss an orator or actor for a false accent, they were utterly unfit for freedom or self-government, and became the slaves of the first marauder who thought it worth while to attack them. There were more men employed in that city under the sway of a Roman despot in resolving philological quibbles, than were sufficient to protect it from all the power of Persia. The Spartans were remarkable for their disregard of learning and the arts, and yet they retained their freedom many ages after their neighbours had become well-bred slaves. What connexion can be traced between learning and philosophy, and the defence of Thermopylæ? Alexander, who wept when he had no more countries to subjugate, was the pupil of "the philosopher"—was a most munificent patron of letters, and always slept with some volumes of epic poetry under his pillow. The Ptolemies were the greatest patrons of literature in ancient times, and had perhaps the most accomplished set of slaves in the world. It was only when liberty began to decline in Rome that literature sprung up; her first emperor was its first great patron; and one of her ablest and honestest writers in the days of her degeneracy and enlightenment, notices as a recipe for making slaves of the Britons, the giving their young gentlemen a sprinkling of the liberal arts, and a taste for learning, eloquence, refinement, and luxury, all

which he observes are looked upon as symptoms of civilization by the inexperienced, though they are really a portion of slavery.* In the Greek empire, literature and the arts were most sedulously cultivated under the patronage of the emperors, while liberty was utterly unknown. The Saracens have been celebrated for their extraordinary attainments in arts and letters, yet they had no idea of setting any restraints on the power of their sovereigns. Letters and the arts could not have more liberal patrons than the Medici, and the various other paltry little despots who overthrew the freedom of the Italian republics. Never were they encouraged in France so much as by the most eminent enemies of its civil liberties. Look to Germany at the present moment, swarming with poets, philosophers, and scholars, enthusiastically ranting on every earthly subject but the liberty of their country, and liberally patronised as a sort of police by its different princes. Look to England since "the dawn of enlightenment." Henry VIII, the most absolute and most uncontrolled despot under whom she had groaned since the days of the Conqueror, was the first of her sovereigns who, in that period, got the name of writing a book; Edward VI was a sort of literary phenomenon for his years; Elizabeth was the most learned woman of her age; James I had such "loads of learned lumber" that he seemed more qualified for a pedagogue than a king; Charles I was an accomplished scholar; and Charles II an *homme de lettres* and a wit. What was the character of our literature in that period? was it favourable to liberty? From the Reformation to the Revolution, with the exception of the reign of Charles I, and the Protectorate, our republic of letters seems to have been in a conspiracy against national liberty. All our poets were mere venal sycophants of the court. Of Shakspeare it has been observed, that in all his works there is not a single passage in favour of English liberty, and, to his honour, that neither is there any in behalf of despotism. He was a shrewd, sensible, high-spirited fellow, who having imbibed a regard for Popery and liberty, with his mother's milk, and seeing both in a state of transition, and Protestantism and slavery in the ascendant, resolved to steer

* "Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga, paullatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum porticus et balnea et convivorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servisset." Jac. Agricola. c. 21.

clear of all hazards and say nothing of one or the other; though unquestionably a sneer against either of the former, or a florid trope in favour of either of the latter, would be the most acceptable sacrifice he could offer to Elizabeth. He, however, stands alone among the dramatists, of whose degrading sycophancy and king-worship no words but their own can convey an impression. Look at her philosophers—at Bacon, whose glory was servility to James, and who sought and exercised his several offices only to promote his own selfish ends, by betraying the legal rights of his country to the prerogative fancies of that royal pedant. Look at Raleigh—the gallant, the accomplished, the romantic Raleigh—degraded into a crawling, craven libeller of popular liberty, and eulogist of despotism. Look at Hobbes, prostituting his talents to the same odious object. Look at the Universities and the Church, propagating slavery as an article of faith. Look at her historians, belying their fathers to enslave their contemporaries—her best political writers floundering about between the orthodoxy of despotism and the damnable heresy of civil liberty—and, as the consequence of all, her whole people “selling their birthright for porridge which was their own.”

But why seek to connect learning and liberty at all? Liberty is the first and most important right of human nature, and God in His beneficence has bestowed sufficient natural light on His creatures to qualify them for its enjoyment, without borrowing rushlights from each other. Is it by learning, or men of learning, that nations have been ever saved from thralldom, or governed in liberty, equality, and justice? Is it by men of learning that all the great business of life is transacted? If this learning be a thing so calculated to exalt and magnify those who are blessed with it, why since the Reformation have those very persons been remarkable among us for the absence of all those other qualities, which enable men to take high stations among their fellows, and for the want of all those comforts which make life tolerable? Is not “a poor author” a bye-word? Many deem these circumstances undeserving of attention; but what, we ask, can be the use of learning or any other pursuit to those engaged in it, except to secure them independence and happiness here, and qualify them for happiness hereafter? For the attainment of these objects, it has hitherto been pre-eminently worse than useless. Are our merchants, tradesmen, manufacturers, agriculturists, country gentlemen, soldiers, seamen, and statesmen, men of

learning? Is not a devotion to literature a lawyer's or physician's high road to ruin? Literature is a very good thing in its way for those who have no other employment, but with the stirring real business of life it has little concern. Natural talent, aided by the experience necessary in each department, is what settles the affairs of mankind. Have the greatest persons of modern times, to omit all the ancients, been scholars of unfathomable profundity? Was Cromwell? Peter the Great could not write his own name. Washington had only enough of ciphering and trigonometry to qualify him for his original profession of a country surveyor. The men who proposed the Declaration of Independence were not remarkable for their erudition--the most enlightened among them were mere lawyers, a profession on which men of letters and genius look down with superlative contempt. It would be easy, but it is needless, to swell the catalogue. Nine-tenths of the greatest men of modern times had little more to rely on than their "mother wit." Look to the very question of liberty in all ages. In the ancient world, all the most illustrious lovers of freedom, were men buried, according to modern phraseology, "in darkness and ignorance." Could there be a more perfect state of freedom than that described by Cæsar and Tacitus as existing among the ancient Germans? Look to the American Indians, and see how just are their notions of liberty, and to what an extent and with what correctness of judgment they carry out their first principles of it. Europe is now admiring the gallantry of the Circassians and Syrians in defence of their mountain freedom. When the barbarians overran the Roman Empire, they brought with them a spirit of liberty and equality, to which its subjects, in all their light and learning, and civilization, had been strangers for ages. This spirit, embodied in the feudal laws and institutions, and inculcated in Parliaments, Cortes, Diets, universities, colleges, monasteries, and confessionals, preserved mankind from thralldom up to the sixteenth century, when--strange--light, learning, civilization, and slavery, again acquired the ascendant. And what and who saved England from the general doom? The Popish clergy--those sots and slaves and boobies--were the first to deny Henry VIII's right of taxing by royal prerogative. An alderman of London, Read, was the first who suffered impressment, rather than acknowledge its legality by paying a sixpence; and it was only the threat of an insurrection by the whole mass of the people, that made that monster withdraw the warrants, and falsely declare that they had been

issued without his authority. To the last, Hallam attributes all the merit of our being saved from an avowed despotism under that Reformer. "Nothing," says he, "but the courage and love of freedom natural to the English Commons, speaking in the hoarse voice of tumult, though very ill supported by their superiors, preserved us in so great a peril."* What made Coke, Selden, Cotton, St. John, and the other lawyers of the popular party, such towers of strength against the enemies of the national liberty, but their knowledge of the laws and customs, and assertions of the right of those, whom we are taught to regard as illiterate barbarians? What was the profession most obnoxious to the Tudors and Stuarts? Perhaps the wits, philosophers, and *hommes de lettres*? No: the common-law practitioners—those shallow-minded, ignorant wretches, who had not one enlarged or enlightened idea, whose very trade "narrows the understanding and corrupts the heart"—at least a great philosopher has said so; who never looked into any book but their old musty statutes, and Popish digests, and year-books; who would not learn prerogative law from the Scriptures or the Homilies, or the writings of poets, statesmen, or philosophers, but "monopolised all to be governed by their year-books," and were in the habit of hanging "their noses over the flowers of the crown, and blowing and snuffing upon them, till they had taken both scent and beauty off them."† Was it for lending out scraps of polite literature to his party, that Cotton's library was shut up,—an affliction, by which his heart was broken? No: it was merely for giving them precedents of the practices of their Popish and barbarian fathers. Was it by exhibitions of Greek, Latin, Scriptural, metaphysical, and philosophical lore, that the Petition of Right was obtained? or, was it not by collecting and insisting on those rights, which their Popish fathers had enjoyed without question, and which, if questioned, they would have "died to save"? The popular party did not demand a single privilege of Charles, which had not been enjoyed without any manner of doubt or disputation prior to the dawn of enlightenment. Was Hampden a mighty luminary of literature? Who offered the sturdiest resistance to Cromwell when in the meridian of his power? A merchant of London, and the common jury who would not convict Lilburne. To whom principally is it said that we are indebted for the Revolution? The jury who tried the seven bishops,

* C. H. vol. i. p. 23. † See *Strafford's Lett. & Disp.* vol. i. p. 130, 201.
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and a lawyer of the name of Somers. Did not the tea-drinking housewives of Boston exhibit a more correct estimate of the doctrine of taxation without representation, than that walking dictionary of literature, Dr. Samuel Johnson? Who, is it said, preserved the last remnant of English liberty from George III and his ministers? A lawyer of the name of Erskine, and the juries who tried Horne Tooke, Hardy, and Thelwall. Who contributed most to the passing of the Reform Bill?—the mechanics of Birmingham, or the scholars of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin?

Never was there a system which required less learning or intelligence to understand or recollect it, than the leading principles of the English constitution. These were the plainest and most obvious dictates of natural equity, and must have forced themselves on the attention of every man of common sense and common honesty. The meeting of the entire community in a general council for general government and defence, and the trying of each member for offences against the laws by the entire community so met, or a select number of impartial honest persons, are the rudest elements of civil society, and are to be seen in continual operation in all simple, natural, unenlightened communities; as among the ancient Germans—the barbarians, who overthrew the Roman empire—the free Tartars, American Indians, and South Sea Islanders of the present day. The process by which parliaments and juries in England were derived from these principles, required no great depth of philosophy or learning. The trial of a peer at this day, by his peers, is a remnant of the earliest mode of administering justice; the selecting of twelve commoners to try a commoner was a mere conventional regulation, forced on the people by the great increase of their numbers, and diffusion over a large expanse of country. From a similar necessity arose the practice of selecting delegates to the common-council. When an English freeman was asked for any money by way of tax, his first inquiry was, has this been voted by the majority of the community, and is my share greater in proportion to my means than that required from my neighbours? And when he was accused of any offence, or “impleaded in point of property,” his first consolation was that the matter of fact would be settled by twelve honest indifferent neighbours, the law be such as the entire country had made for general regulation, and be expounded by judges whom the entire country had approved or selected. These were the fundamental principles of the constitution; and surely the people who could not understand or recollect them

without the assistance of "the schoolmaster" must have been dolts. The various laws passed from time to time to preserve these fundamental principles from abuse in practice, and to regulate the enjoyment of private property and the minor relations of society, were equally simple, and were very few in number. At the present time no one can have any conception, without reading the Parliament Rolls, of the extreme jealousy with which they guarded against making any alterations in the common law, or overloading the Statute Book with many long and cumbersome enactments. All the statutes, passed up to the end of Henry VII, do not occupy two volumes of the authorised edition;* while those from that period to the end of Charles II, fill no less than four. The brevity, simplicity, and expressiveness of the ancient statutes are the admiration of all persons. There are in them no unmeaning verbiage, no needless repetitions, no contradictory clauses. They were drawn up by men—the judges most commonly—who understood the law perfectly, knew the grievance complained of, the remedy desired, and the exact meaning of every phrase they used, and who, therefore, had no occasion to attempt to veil their ignorance in a cloud of words. With all our enlightenment, those amongst us who have turned their attention to this subject only seek to restore this system. Sir Edward Coke passes the highest eulogies on the early jealousy against statutory innovations on the common law; from which he says most of the doubts and questions which continually occur are derived, "*either when an ancient pillar of the common law is taken out of it, or when new remedies are added to it; by the first arise dangers and difficulties, and by the second the common law rightly understood is not bettered, but in many cases so fettered that it is thereby very much weakened.*"† In reference therefore to the mere excellence of the laws, the wisdom of this course is settled by the highest legal authority: and as to its propriety in reference to their adaptation to the capacities of the people, Sir Thomas More's opinion may be deserving of some attention: "They (the Utopians) have but few laws, for to people, to instruct, and constitute, very few do suffice. Yea,

* The notes, introduction, and different copies of the Charters occupy nearly one-third of the first volume. The French and Latin originals occupy half of the remainder of the two volumes. "The statutes passed in the reign of George III, comprehend" says Crabbe, "nineteen thick quarto volumes, while those from Henry III, to William III, are included in three comparatively small quarto volumes."—*History of England*, 565.

† 9 Rep. pref. xii.

this thing they chiefly reprove among other nations, that innumerable books of laws and expositions upon the same be not sufficient. But they think it against all right and justice that men should be bound to those laws, which either be in number more than be able to be read, or else blinder and darker than that any man can well understand them..... In Utopia every man is a cunning lawyer; for, as I said, they have very few laws, and the plainer and grosser that any interpretation is, that they allow as most just; for all laws, they say, be made and published only to the intent that by them every man shall be put in remembrance of his duty. But the crafty and subtle interpretation of them, forasmuch as few can attain thereto, can put very few in that remembrance, whereas the simple, plain, and gross meaning of the law is open to every man. Else as touching the vulgar sort of the people, which be most in number, and have most need to know their duties, were it not as good for them that no law were made at all, as when it is made, to bring so blind an interpretation upon it, that without great wit and long arguing no man can discuss it, and to the finding out whereof neither the gross judgment of the people can attain, nor the whole life of them that be occupied in working for their livings can suffice thereto.* Thus few, plain, simple, and adapted to the "gross judgment of the vulgar," did the laws remain to the time of Henry VIII. That "the vulgar" did comprehend and admire them, and were ready to peril their lives in defence of them, is a matter too notorious to be questioned by any one who does not look on all English history as a fiction.

But admitting that we are wrong in all this, and that a considerable degree of enlightenment is necessary to secure civil liberty in advanced stages of civilization, where is the evidence of there having been any want of really "useful knowledge" before the Reformation, or of any superior degree of "enlightenment" between it and the Revolution,—the epoch of the perfection of the constitution according to Protestants? On this question there can be no higher authority than Mr. Hallam's comment on Hume's expression of surprise at the *accuracy* with which the parliament made some provisions respecting the levying of a subsidy in the reign of Richard II,—“Those rude times,” Mr. Hallam says, “in this epithet we see the foundation of his mistakes. The age of Richard might perhaps be called rude in some respects.

* Utopia, B. 2, c. 9.

But in prudent and circumspect perception of consequences, and an accurate use of language, there could be no reason why it should be deemed inferior to our own. If Mr. Hume had ever deigned to glance at the legal decisions reported in the year-books of those times, he would have been surprised, not only at the utmost accuracy, but a subtle refinement in verbal logic, which none of his own metaphysical treatises could surpass.* He might have referred also to their digests, pleadings, statutes, proceedings in parliament, treaties, conveyances, and all other documents, which leave no room for improvement by modern enlightenment. If we only reflect on the great rewards then held out to proficiency in learning, we cannot adopt for a second the "vulgar errors" on this subject. The century which produced Roger Bacon, and his illustrious fellow-Oxonians, Anthony Wood regards as the proudest era in the annals of Oxford. In two years that philosopher was enabled to lay out 2,000*l.* at that university, in buying books and making experiments,—a sum equal to nearly 30,000*l.* at the present day.† The spread of the art of printing, after the Reformation, is supposed to have afforded such facilities for acquiring learning, as to give the men of the interval between the Reformation and Revolution a decided superiority over those of the preceding two centuries. But were the other means of instruction in those periods exactly equal? Were there not more schools and colleges in Catholic times? Was not education more encouraged? Was it not afforded at a cheaper rate? Was it not pressed on the acceptance of the poor? If the commonly received notions respecting the paucity of inhabitants in the former period be correct, we must arrive at the conclusion, from the immense multitude of schools and colleges in that time, and of the numbers who attended them, that the proportion of the population receiving "a college education" then, was as 100 to 1 of those receiving it at the Revolution. At Oxford, in those "dark ages," there were 1000 scholars annually educated gratis—one of whose places, we are told, neither easily could, nor ought, nor used to be vacant for more than a month or two.‡ One writer informs us, that there were above 15,000 scholars there in 1264, "of those only whose names were entered on

* "Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 365, note.

† We here follow Mr. Hallam's opinion as to the difference in the value of money in those and the present times.

‡ "Et nullus locus vacare debebat, nec solebat, nec facile poterat ad unum vel alterum mensem." Pitsei De Reb. Anglicis tom. prim. 32.

the matriculation book ;”—that Henry III, on making that city his rendezvous, expelled them ;—that many of them thereupon went to the barons at Northampton ; and that when Henry attacked that town “ *the students of Oxford had a banner by themselves, advanced right against the king, and they did more harm to him in the fight than the rest of the barons.**” We are told that the number there in 1300 was 30,000—which is also said to have been the number in 1340.† The other university was also crowded to a degree almost incredible at the present time. At the Reformation all these things were altered. A great part of the houses of both universities went to ruin ; all the schools attached to the monasteries were destroyed ; most of the cathedral schools and colleges were converted to private purposes ; education was discouraged in every possible manner—was allowed only to the rich, and positively forbidden to the poor, as a most dangerous and pernicious article. Then, as to the extension of printing, was not its utility utterly neutralised, or rather, was it not rendered pernicious, by the censorship of the press, which existed by statute or prerogative from the time of Henry VIII till after the Revolution, and was exercised with a strictness and severity quite in character with the principles of the Established Church ? Nobody pretends to deny that at the Revolution, the mass of the people were buried in the grossest ignorance : even long after, when the Wesleys first started, they talked in almost the same style of the ignorance of the people of Cornwall—nay, of the people in the very heart of London—as they would of the South-Sea Islanders ; and the correctness of their description was allowed to be but too faithful. For two centuries after the Reformation, the gross ignorance or contemptible acquirements of the body of the Established clergy themselves, used to be continually alleged as partly the cause of their not being treated or regarded with the respect due to the clerical character. If they did not supply useful knowledge, who else did ? All writers concur as to the paucity, or rather total absence, of liberal political

* Speed, 737. The passage is marked in italics by Speed.

† Anderson, citing Speed, as to this being the usual number at that time, adds, “ Indeed there is nothing improbable in that account, when we consider the great number of monasteries then in England.”—*History of Commerce*, vol. i. 314. At the University of Bologna there were no fewer than 10,000 law-students in 1262. In the fourteenth century 10,000 graduates voted on a question agitated in the University of Paris.—Robertson’s “ Charles V.” vol. i. 824 The numbers there in the twelfth century exceeded, we are told, the number of the citizens.—*Hist. Litt. de la France*, ix. 78.

works within the above period—excepting, of course, the troubled reign of Charles I, and the Commonwealth, when for awhile the ancient free-trade in thoughts was restored. Hume could not meet an English writer of the reign of Elizabeth who spoke “of England as a limited but as an absolute monarchy, where the people had many privileges;”* and he insists on the silence of Camden and other writers, as to several notorious acts of despotic authority by her, as a proof that these were in accordance with the law and usage of that day.† Hallam complains of the barrenness of all constitutional information in the chroniclers of the same reign, and says it is more to be suspected, after the use of printing and the Reformation, “than in the ages when the monks compiled annals in their convents, reckless of the censures of courts, because independent of their permission. Grosser ignorance of public transactions is undoubtedly found in the chronicles of the middle ages, but far less of that deliberate mendacity, or of that insidious suppression, by which fear and flattery, and hatred, and thirst of gain, have, since the invention of printing, corrupted so much of the historical literature throughout Europe.”‡ Petyt, writing immediately after the Revolution, is compelled to denounce almost all the writers since the Reformation, as “libellers of our ancient constitution;” and speaking of the early records, says, they run “counter to the rhapsodies of the hasty and luddled thoughts of most, if not all, our historians who have writ since the Reformation. Nay, indeed, many of the notions and principles they have published to the world, touching the absoluteness of our old English monarchy, are so palpably inconsistent with these authorities, that they may be very well taken for downright audacious affronts to the truth of all antiquity.”§ So scarce was political knowledge of a liberal character, and in such utter ignorance were the people kept of all their ancient rights, and of all notions of freedom, that Locke was regarded as a sort of political Newton when he published his work upon government, though the only feasible and valuable part of it was the exposition (without acknowledgment, of course) of doctrines which had been taught and practised in Catholic England “from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary;” and for the repromulgation of which, the jesuits had been scouted as firebrands through Europe.

* Hist. of Eng. vol. vi. p. 568.

† Id. vol. v. p. 193.

‡ Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 268.

§ Jus. Parliam. Introd. p. xiv.

Now, the very reverse of all this, was the case prior to the Reformation. The political instruction then administered was of "the right sort;" and the remaining species of secular instruction, of that very character to which modern enlightenment, after all its vagaries, has reverted, "more attentive to wisdom than to science and art—to forming the judgment properly, and by consequence the will and the conscience, than to stuffing the memory and heating the imagination."* Of this sort of instruction there was then no scarcity. The parochial clergy alone—leaving out of consideration the schools, colleges, and universities—were sufficient to afford it in abundance. The parishes were very small, the clergy very numerous, and the inculcation of religious, moral, and political knowledge the only thing with which they gave themselves much trouble. Besides, so great was the number of monks and other religious, that the whole country was said to be swarming with them. There was then, in short, no pretence about "spiritual destitution;" the great complaint of the Reformers was, that the people were too deeply dyed with, and too much attached to, "the abominations of the Papal apostacy." We have already shown what the political tendencies of those Popish clergymen were. About their attachment to civil liberty there never yet has been a second opinion. Even Protestantism, amidst all its pious inventions, has never summoned up audacity enough to accuse them of the slightest leaning to despotism. Their glorious conduct was the theme of eulogy with all the learned Protestants of the 17th century, in their struggles with arbitrary power, and of degrading contrast with their Reformed successors. "The priests and confessors," says Petyt, "were strictly commanded to form and direct the consciences of the people to the observation and obedience of the great charter, and they did so; not like the Sibthorps and Manwarings of later times, who by their flatteries of prerogative for their own promotion, seek to ruin the subjects' property."† In all their writings there is not a single sentence in favour of despotism. On the contrary, the most ardent love of liberty, and the fiercest denunciations of its enemies in every shape, breathe through all their pages. Accustomed as Englishmen have been since the Reformation to

* "Plus tendre à la sagesse qu'à la science et à l'art; plus à bien former le jugement, et par conséquent la volonté et la conscience, qu'à remplir la mémoire et rechauffer l'imagination."—Cited from Charron by Mr. Wyse, as the motto to one of his chapters on education.

† Rights of the Commons of England asserted, p. 107.

the fawning king-worship of churchmen, they can have no conception, without actually reading the works of our monkish writers, of the zeal with which they were animated in behalf of the rights of mankind. We only wish that every Englishman had a copy of their works side by side with the Homilies, the Canons, and the sermons of "the true Protestant Church"-men. They were the men who could not be bribed, cajoled, or bullied into concealing, misrepresenting, or justifying—justifying, indeed!—the crimes of tyrants against their people. Feeling some higher obligation than that of pandering to the whims of despots, they never feared or refused to warn kings of their duties; and never desecrated their holy office to culling or perverting scraps of Scripture to overthrow the freedom of their country. Their ignorant obstinacy on this point was probably, as we have already hinted, the fundamental error on account of which our sovereigns so greedily longed for a REFORMATION. Looking upon the Ten Commandments as binding upon kings and their ministers as well as others; conceiving every wrong done to any man under what authority soever, as an offence against God's laws; and imagining that the more kings and subjects were restrained by secular contrivances from committing such offences, the more they would approve themselves worthy children of heaven; they felt bound, by their allegiance to their Divine Master, to aid in the promotion and maintenance of every institution that might secure His creatures from violating His laws. We need not thank them, therefore, for being such zealots in behalf of civil liberty. Their conduct was the consequence of this error in their faith, which, with the other multitudinous abominations that marked the apostacy of their Church, was exploded at the Reformation; when it was discovered, by a more careful perusal of the Scriptures, that murder, robbery, torture, and all the crimes—we mean in the eyes of the carnal and ungodly—which could be perpetrated by one human being on another, were praiseworthy and meritorious actions, provided they were sanctioned by the authority of—Heaven's deputy. Their conduct with regard to villeins alone is the best evidence of their devotion to freedom. Immediately after the Conquest, the number of villeins was equal to that of all the other inhabitants of the kingdom. Thanks to the conduct of a bishop and abbot, the very fact of a man's being born in Kent was a bar to the claim of villeinage against him.* By the ingenious contrivances invented in the

* Hallam's *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 391, citing Fitz. Nat. B.

courts of law over which they had presided, it was next to impossible to prove any man a villein.* In the confessional they "convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was for one Christian man to hold another in bondage; so that temporal men, by little and little, by reason of that terror in their consciences, were glad to manumit all their villeins;† and to complete their detestation of the system, they raised villeins to the priesthood in such numbers, that the legislature was more than once obliged to interfere.‡ Such was their zeal, and so great was their success in this cause, that there was little more than a trace of villenage at the Reformation, so that the last unequivocal testimony of its existence occurs in the reign of Elizabeth, in a charter of manumission which she granted to some villeins on some of her manors.§ Not only on this, but on every other subject, they proved their zealous devotion to the civil liberties of England. They were, as we have already shown, the foremost in every measure of reform;—the first to resist the encroachments of the prerogative—the real sacred missionaries of freedom, who carried the great charter to the confessional and the altar, and so ingrained the love of liberty in the hearts of Englishmen, that centuries of Protestant instruction were not able to erase it.

Looking at the history of the Church of England as established in these kingdoms—(by-the-by, always recollecting, as in duty bound, that it is the best possible specimen of Protestantism the world can afford)—we cannot but regard it as one of those great religio-political heresies which in every age and clime have tended so much to enslave and debase mankind.

* See 20 St. Tr. Somerset's case. The fundamental principle on which every presumption was made in favour of liberty, is thus laid down by that old Popish slave, Fortescue: "That must needs be judged to be a hard and unjust law, which tends to increase the servitude and lessen the liberty of mankind. For *human nature is evermore the advocate for liberty*. God Almighty has declared himself the God of liberty: this being the gift of God to man in his creation, the other is introduced into the world by means of his own sin and folly; whence it is that everything in nature is so desirous of liberty, as being a sort of restitution to its primitive state. So that to go about to lessen this, is to touch men in the tenderest point; it is upon such considerations as these *that the laws of England in all cases declare in favour of liberty*."—De Laud. Leg. Ang. c. 42.

† Sir Thomas Smith, Commonwealth, b. iii. c. 10—cited in Blackstone, vol. ii. c. 6. There is a sneer against churchmen, intimating that they themselves did not manumit, though they thus induced others to do so. The simple fact that they had about one-fourth of the kingdom, including bishop's lands, and that villenage was almost extinct, is the answer.

‡ It is one of the Constitutions of Clarendon that villeins should not be ordained without the consent of their lords (M. Paris. 101). The Commons petition in 1391, that no villein should put his children to school to advance them by way of the church.—R. P. 15, Ric. II, 394. See as to manumission by becoming a monk, friar &c. Co. Litt. Sec. 200-2.

§ Hallam, Mid. Ages, vol. ii. 393.

Nowhere, in ancient or modern history, can you find the ecclesiastical and civil administration united in one supreme head, that you do not also find civil thralldom the consequence. The one is the inevitable result of the other. Allow a king through his creatures to make your religion, and he is a botch at his trade if he do not make you a slave. Look, for instance, to the various nations of the east, in past and present times—to all Mahomedan countries—to Russia and the other countries where the Greek schism prevails—to Prussia and the other Protestant kingdoms of the Continent—to England, admittedly and avowedly from the Reformation to the Revolution—and to other countries, “too numerous to be mentioned.”

It further belongs to that class of political heresies, which, by vesting all the civil, and especially all the educational patronage of a state in the hands of one person, enable him to form the whole nation pliant as wax to his purposes. Thus in all those countries which we have mentioned in an earlier part of this paper, notwithstanding all their learning, light, and so forth, they never dreamed of recovering their liberty, merely because their rulers, being the sole sources of all educational and other civil patronage, so corrupted all those whose duty, amusement, or trade it was to contribute to the instruction of the people, that they inculcated those doctrines only which suited the interests of their patrons. What else could be the result? Make all the instructors of a nation depend for their bread and other worldly interests on the pleasure of one man, and his pleasure must be “the law and gospel” of that nation ere many years pass away. Thus did James I understand the Protestant constitution. On being told by his English courtiers at his accession, that he could make the judges and bishops, he exclaimed with great glee—“Then, God wawns, I mak what likes me, law and gospel.” But to return: those several nations would have continued to enjoy their original liberty, had they never received any light or civilization from such teachers; just as men in a state of nature continue to enjoy good health till they come under the influence of some of the contagious attendant on civilized society, or put themselves under the care of ignorant quacks, or regularly educated but corrupted physicians. For in truth, as we have fallen into a metaphor, liberty is like every other natural blessing—it is forced on our acceptance, and we cannot get rid of it but by gross abuse or some of the expedients or incidents of a vicious civilization.

From both those heresies, England before the Reformation was completely free. Over the bishops, the inferior clergy, the monasteries, and other religious houses, the schools, colleges, and universities, the king had no control or influence. From him they expected nothing. They were, with regard to him, so many independent republics—or, as philosophers have profoundly expressed it, *imperia in imperio*—abominable nuisances, we admit, in a state where a uniformity of despotism was required to be established. They taught what doctrines they deemed right, without any reference to his wishes. Their great patrons were the people—with the people they were united by all the natural and artificial ties which usually cement friendships amongst mankind; and we are not, therefore, to wonder that in their instruction of the people they were ever unswerving, fearless, and incorruptible in infusing into them those principles only which were calculated to promote their real interests. Thus, independently of the natural tendencies of the clergy in those days, their very position in the organization of society with regard to the king and the people, inevitably led them to be the advocates of the rights of the latter.

Theories, however plausible, if inconsistent with human experience, are sure to be fallacies. Look at England from the Reformation to the latter part of the last century—to the commencement of the troubles with America—and are not the views we have just propounded the plainest deductions from its history? Was there a single notion put forward during that period, except in times of anarchy and revolution, that was unacceptable to the source of all power and all patronage? and did not the Established Church produce exactly the same results as the classes of political heresies, to which it belongs, invariably produced elsewhere? So completely had its clergy become identified with hostility to popular privileges (and the remark, we regret, may be extended to the clergy of some of the Catholic countries of Europe, where the like causes produced like results) that Christianity and civil liberty were considered incompatible, and few could advocate the latter without being branded as infidels or as employing arguments hostile to the truths of Revelation. Take up any account of the people in those days, by persons making pretensions to liberal principles, and you will find them to have been sunk in the grossest ignorance, totally unacquainted with their civil rights, more devoid of any ideas of freedom than they had been ever before, utterly unqualified for self-government,

and fitted only to be slaves. And what was it that rescued them from this degraded state? The springing up of a new race of instructors, analogous to the Catholic clergy before the Reformation; like them patronised by the people, having the same interests as the people, inseparably connected with the people, and giving the people an education independent of the will of those whose interest it was to keep them in thralldom. Need we name the newspaper and periodical press? or remind our readers of the various "ingenious devices" invented by the advocates of "the Church and Constitution" to crush it, till at length it rose to that independent position in which it was able to defy all their assaults, and teach the people those elements of their rights, of which "the true Protestant Church"-men had so long and so carefully kept them in ignorance? To which then do we owe the present proud and improving aspect of society—the press, or the Thirty-nine Articles?

"Happy it were for mankind, if all travellers would, instead of characterising a people in general terms, lead us into a detail of those minute circumstances which first influenced their opinion: the genius of a country should be investigated with a kind of experimental enquiry."* Let us apply this experimental enquiry to ancient England, and employ professional men only in each department. Ask an architect what is his opinion of the state of his profession prior to the Reformation, and he will tell you that they had then arrived at perfection, and that modern science cannot account for the construction of some of those monuments of their skill which still survive the wrecks of time and "enlightened" Vandalism. Ask an artist, and he will tell you they have never been surpassed; a trader, and he will answer that they understood, and what is much better, carried into practice, the true principles of commerce; a mitigator of the criminal code, and he will tell you his highest aim is to restore their mild and merciful system of punishment; a soldier, and he will feel proud at the recollection of their chivalry; a lawyer, and he will tell you their judges were models of perfection, their pleadings were brought to perfection, and their common law was the very "absolute perfection of reason;" a lover of liberty and justice, and he will dwell in raptures on their zeal in behalf of both, and tell you that the world cannot produce any such proof of steady rational attachment to those principles, as is

* Citizen of the World.

presented by their reports, digests, and statutes; a lover of the poor, and he will tell you they did more good in one year than the moderns in twenty; an antiquarian, and he will dilate on their noble, manly attachment to the ancient institutions of their country; a scholar, and he will tell you they did more for literature than all the believers in the Thirty-nine Articles the world has ever seen; a metaphysician—but we have had his opinion; a divine—do not mind him just now; in short, ask any one but a smatterer in philosophy, for he is sure to overwhelm you with a flood of rhodomontade about “the slavery of the human mind under the Papal supremacy,” “its disenthralment by the great German Reformer,” and all such sorts of rubbish.

However clear and pregnant may be the evidence in favour of the claims of antiquity, there are thousands in these kingdoms who cannot believe that any thing went right before the Reformation; or that mankind were not all slaves and fools till the Rev. Mr. Martin Luther came to their rescue; and who look upon that reverend gentleman with feelings somewhat similar to those with which Aristotle was regarded by his enthusiastic disciples during the middle ages. According to these modest gentry, Heaven had endowed man with reason, but left it to “the philosopher” to teach him the use of it. But, after the lapse of some centuries, “the philosopher” was found out, as others will be. Were we “philosophers,” we might trace a great resemblance between the Aristotelian and Lutheran systems, in the nice, subtile, but useless, quibbles with which they occupied the human mind, the absurdities into which they led their respective disciples, and their rapid decline when men began to make use of their common-sense, and look to facts and experience rather than remain any longer, like children, toying with terms. But as we are not “philosophers,” we must be satisfied with directing attention to the extraordinary resemblance between them, in the facilities which they afforded to their respective followers to pass for adepts in philosophy by the use of a few common-places. This is the great attraction of Protestantism, and the source of the delusions which pretenders of all sorts continue to propagate respecting it. It is “*so philosophical*.” With such persons “the slavery of the human mind under the Papal supremacy,” its “disenthralment and mighty impulse forward in the cause of truth, learning, liberty, and justice, by the great German Reformer,” &c. &c., are sufficient to solve all questions in ethics and politics. “All very fine,

but" where is the evidence of the slavery, the disenthralment, or the impulse? If unity of faith and submission, where submission was due, to one supreme ecclesiastical head, be evidence of slavery, we of course give up the contest. But where do you find greater freedom of discussion on all points, in which these essential principles were not concerned, than in the middle ages? The schoolmen have been notorious for pushing their disquisitions to the extreme verge to which they could push them, without going beyond the pale of the Church. Numbers of them, we have reason to believe, even passed the rubicon. Civil liberty has never been so forcibly, plainly, and vigorously vindicated as it was by all classes in those ages. Men would be now in dread of being ridiculed as enthusiasts, or prosecuted as incendiaries, if they put forth the doctrines which were then in every one's mouth "familiar as household words." But abandoning this ground, where, we ask again, is the evidence of the disenthralment and the impulse? The cry of "private judgment" was merely a decoy to seduce men from their attachment to the Catholic Church; but when a Protestant Church was established instead of it, the notion was ridiculed as an absurdity; just as a rebel adventurer holds out lures to a nation to abandon their lawful sovereign, but when he himself is enthroned will hang them for a repetition of the same conduct; or as an army encourages deserters from its enemies, but hangs those from itself. In what Protestant state, by what Protestant "Church triumphant," was the doctrine recognised? But as we are now concerned solely with the mere worldly consequences of Protestantism, we ask what temporal advantages did the human race derive from it. Did it establish civil liberty? Every continental country that embraced it, with the exception of some of the Swiss republics, lost its liberty simultaneously with, or a few years after, that embrace. Did it revive literature? Literature had been revived many years before its invention. Did it then promote literature? or public virtue? or private morality? or commerce? or the arts, sciences, or manufactures? Did it improve the administration of justice? or produce one single advantage of any kind, about which carnal-minded people care a straw? If it did, say when, where, and how. The delusions in favour of it arise principally from men comparing the present state of society with the accounts given of that immediately preceding the Reformation, without considering the gigantic strides which mankind had been making for some centuries before that event towards what is

called civilisation; the sudden check given in all countries, that strayed from the pale of the Church, to the improvement of the people; the fact that it is only very lately those countries have paid the slightest attention to any thing that would promote aught but ignorance, fanaticism, and slavery; and that in the march of real "enlightenment" they were some centuries behind those nations that clung to the darkness and abominations of Popery. Were we for a moment to assume the cap of a philosopher, we should say, looking to the actual results of Protestantism, that it was a very excellent contrivance indeed for destroying the liberty and checking the improvement of the human race, by setting them all by the ears, causing them to neglect their real temporal interests, destroying the universal sympathy which unity of faith had produced, and, instead of making them protect each other from domestic or other tyrants, inciting them to cut each others' throats and rejoice in each others' crimes and misfortunes—on account of some unintelligible differences in the metaphysical complexion of their creeds, of which not more than one in 100,000 had even a faint comprehension.

Let us test it for the present by its results in England. What did it do there for liberty? The history of the country, from the invention of Protestantism, has been little more than a history of the crusades of the "true Protestant Church,"* its head, and its advocates, against the civil liberties of the nation. What did it do for the arts? Only destroyed them completely. What for literature? By suppressing the monasterial schools—converting the cathedral and other charitable foundations to "pious" personal uses—neglecting, or perhaps "taking too much care" of the parochial schools—letting a great part of the universities go to ruin—increasing the expense of obtaining an academical degree to a most exorbitant extent—making it penal to obtain instruction except from legally orthodox teachers—prohibiting the importation, or sale, of foreign books—establishing for the first time in English history, the censorship of the press—destroying, in Vandal fashion, all ancient manuscripts—forbidding education among the masses as a positive evil—and by a thousand ingenious devices, in the ecclesiastical department, for the promotion of ignorance, and through it a hatred

* See the Church of England so described, in contradistinction to the Church of Scotland, in the oath required of Prince Albert as Regent.

of the creed which "true Protestant" churchmen had not the patience and honesty to endeavour to understand, or the learning and ability to refute,—Protestantism brought England to the very lowest ebb among European nations; and if any portion of learning survived, we may say of it as of our liberty, that it survived not by the aid, but in spite, of "the true Protestant Church." What names from the Reformation to the Revolution give an indication of the mighty influence of Protestantism on the mind of England? Of the few names that appear in that long interval, how very few belong to the Established Church! Look at the Catholic states of the continent during the same period, and then summon up impudence, if you can, to talk about the marvellous consequences of the "disenthralment" and "impulse."

What did Protestantism do for the drama? Playwrights will tell you, that Shakspeare's genius was developed ere Protestantism had yet invented a patent monopoly for the mouthing of tragedies; and that this invention of Protestant prerogative is, and has been, the cause of the low state of the drama amongst us.

What did Protestantism do for agriculture? Invented new systems of tillage, and exploded the old ones? It did with a vengeance. Through the reigns of Henry VIII and his children, we read of nothing but the depopulation of the country, just the very system which "enlightened" Protestant landlords are now pursuing towards the unfortunate peasantry of Ireland. The ordinary official language of the time describes the cruel effects of this system to be such, that in places where there were formerly two hundred people living by their lawful labours, there were now only sheep and bullocks, and one or two poor shepherds, "so that the realm was thereby brought into marvellous desolation."* In vain were acts of parliament passed, and proclamations fulminated against it; the ancient "prejudices" against oppressing the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the orphan, having been exploded by the advance of enlightenment, it was impossible to restore them to practical operation by decrees of the senate or sovereign. Elizabeth contributed considerably to this depopulating system, by prohibiting the exportation of corn, thus inducing the proprietors of lands to

* See proclamation of Edward VI, in Campbell's "Phil. Survey," p. 291; 7 Hen VIII, c. 1; 28 Hen VIII, c. 13; 5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 5; 2 & 3 Philip & Mary, c. 2; 5 Eliz. c. 2. This system seems to have commenced in Hen. VII's reign: see 1 Hen. VII, c. 19.

convert them from tillage to pasture.* Perhaps all this was an improvement?

Did it improve the material condition of the masses of the people? Cobbett's *History of the Reformation* contains ample evidence on this point. The Reformers did not pretend to say, that anything more was wanting, than a supply of Gospel light; and to balance the account for so notable a benefaction, they robbed the people of all their influence in the state,—of all their worldly comforts, and innumerable "carnal" advantages, to which, in their benighted ignorance, they felt so attached, that nothing less than the sword, the gallows, martial law, and penal laws, could reconcile them to the exchange.

Did it improve trade, manufactures, and commerce? All these had been progressing most rapidly in Catholic times.† Henry VIII and Edward VI are not remarkable for their attention to this department; Mary did more for it in her very short reign, than both together; Elizabeth's reign was peculiarly ruinous to it. The free importation of foreign manufactures, destroyed those which had been fostered, with the utmost care, in the days of darkness; the long apprenticeships to the meanest trades—then introduced for the first time—were considered a great injury to them; and, above all, the monopolies granted by her "absolute majesty," of almost every article that could be bought or sold, completed the measure of Protestant devotion to manufactures, trade, and commerce. Of one of these patents Hume observes, that it was "contrived for the profit of four courtiers, and was attended with the ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects."‡ Did our commerce make such mighty strides under the two first Stuarts? Was it not after the death of Charles I that some life was infused into it? During the convulsive period of the commonwealth, it made greater progress than in all the intervening time from the death of Mary. The impulse then received, carried it on careeringly till after the revolution,§ when, by a variety of ingenious con-

* Hume, vol. v. 514. See as to the misery of the agricultural population at that period,—Turner's *Hist. of Edw. VI, Mary, and Eliz.* 160-1-2, &c.; Brodie's *Brit. Emp. Introd.* 25-6, &c., and authorities there collected. 72,000 "rogues, great and small," were hanged in the reign of Henry VIII; and "thieves were trussed up apace," at the rate of 300 or 400 a-year, during the reign of Elizabeth, Brod. *Ib.* 41.

† See Hallam. *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. 468-9.

‡ *Hist.* vol. v. 190.

§ Anderson, after observing that England was considered by some authors to

trivances, which it would require a volume to elucidate, "the wisdom and piety of our ancestors" transferred to France the greater part of our woollen manufactures; by degrees enabled her to undersell us in every market of the world, and gave the Dutch almost a monopoly of the entire of all the other trade of Europe. Consult any work on this subject, from the revolution to the middle of the last century, and you will be struck with amazement at the wonders which Protestantism effected in this way. What connexion can Protestant ingenuity trace between our present prosperity in manufactures and commerce, and a belief in the Thirty-nine Articles? Perhaps the discoveries of Watt, Arkwright, and Fulton, are mere corollaries from these essential doctrines of true Protestantism? Is it not notorious, that of all the places in England, the manufacturing towns are those where the established Church has, or ever has had, the least possible influence? Are not her lamentations over the spiritual destitution of their benighted populations ever ringing in our ears? Does she not denounce them as the plague-spots of the empire; and has she not, this very year, modestly asked for twenty millions to endeavour to reclaim them from the hands of the ———? Are we, then, to allow her to claim to herself, and her "disenthralment," and her "impulse," the merit of our manufacturing and commercial prosperity with one breath, and with the next to denounce those engaged in both, as imps of darkness and wickedness? "The authority of a sect," says an able writer, "and much more of a state, is able to inspire, and habit to confirm the most absurd opinions. Passion or interest can create zeal; but nothing can give stability and durable uniformity to error."* May we ask, in conclusion, have "pious Protestants" ever heard of the Venetians, the Pisans, the Genoese, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, or the Hanseatic League?

What did it do for the navy? From the earliest times England had paid great attention to her navy, as a means for securing her commerce. According to the traditional character of the king's ships, they seem to have been, among those of other nations, as "lions amongst silly beasts, or as falcons amongst fearful fowl." Are Henry VIII or Edward VI remarkable for their efforts to create, revive, or strengthen the

have been in 1688 "*at the zenith of commercial prosperity*," adds, "it must needs be acknowledged, that this same year we were arrived at a very great degree of commercial prosperity in all the before-mentioned respects." *Hist of Com.* vol. ii. p. 579.

* Bolingbroke Dissert. p. 45.

navy? Did Mary neglect it? The Spanish armada and the other necessities and events of her time made Elizabeth attend to these traditional bulwarks of her realm. Did they flourish particularly under her two successors? Under the commonwealth, this, like many other of our ancient institutions, was restored to its pristine vigour; but after the accession of Charles II, when "the true Protestant Church" was reinstated in all its glory, was not the navy swept from the ocean in the first Dutch war, and the Thames a highway for the fleets of our enemies? James II did more for the navy than all the Protestant sovereigns who preceded him and the four who immediately followed him.* Yet one would suppose, from the assumptions of "pious Protestants," that the navy was the offspring exclusively of the Thirty-nine Articles, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Homilies.

Did it improve the administration of justice? To this subject we may devote at another time a separate chapter; but in the meanwhile we beg of our Protestant readers to say in what precedent period of English history had all the decencies of administrative justice been so openly set at defiance, and the courts of law regarded as "little better than the caverns of murderers,"† as from the adoption of Protestantism till the commencement of its decline in the middle of the last century?

Did it raise the character of England for war or diplomacy, or any thing which makes one nation respectable in the eyes of another? Need we compare the conquerors with the pensioners of France? When, from the Conquest to the reign of Elizabeth, had any foreigner dared to hope that he could subjugate England? When, till the time of James I, had she become a by-word among the nations? In what period of her darkness had she been involved in a war with France to give a knight-errant prime-minister an opportunity of debauching a queen of that country? Was it not Cromwell

* "Nor does it appear that the essential and lasting service which James rendered this country, in compacting, and, as it were, building up its naval power, has been sufficiently weighed. It is not generally known that the naval regulations now in force are taken almost verbatim from those which he established; or that, when lately the Board of Naval Revision wished to add to and improve the naval regulations, they sent for the papers of Pepys, the marine secretary of James, as being the best materials whence they could obtain the object they had in view." Pepys says he "raised the navy of England from the *lowest state of impotence* to the most advanced step towards a lasting and solid prosperity, that, all circumstances considered, this nation had ever seen it at."—Clarke's *Life of James*, pref. p. 26-28.

† Hallam, *Cons. Hist.* vol. i. p. 248.

who first restored her to her rank among the nations? Look at her, after the Revolution, thrust into every squabble on the Continent, to divert her from restoring the Stuarts;—after two short wars groaning under a debt of fifty millions, the only contrivance her statesmen could devise for securing the allegiance of her people to *the settlement*, or peaceful submission to their oppressions—distracted at home, despised abroad—her diplomatists and ministers of all ranks the ridicule of Europe—without power to excite fear, or any one quality to excite respect—and say then if this be evidence of the “disenthralment” and “impulse.” Suppose we had been writing a century since, when she had just two hundred years’ experience of Protestantism—when, without colonies or commerce, the channel swept by the fleets of Europe, with an obsolete military and naval reputation, ere yet “the cornet of dragoons” had come to her rescue, she stood menaced with apparently inevitable ruin—could we have been conscious of the mighty advantages she derived from believing in the Thirty-nine Articles? Pitt accidentally developed qualities which were accidentally employed to save her. Her next piece of good luck was the acquisition of India. What had her Protestantism to do with this? A French soldier of fortune had previously acquired sovereignty over an immense extent of that country, while our merchants had only a few factories here and there on the coast, and were tolerated only on very abject terms. In resisting an assault on one of these factories, a merchant’s clerk suddenly exhibits high military qualities—is employed and promoted—attacks the French and Indians—overthrows the French authority, replaces it by that of England, and, in short, performs all those feats which will ever be associated with the fame of Lord Clive. What, we again ask, had the Thirty-nine Articles to do with all this? She then plunges into a war of legitimacy—which she would not have been able to support, had not the inventive genius of Watt developed new sources of industry. Thus, a cornet of dragoons, a merchant’s clerk, and a mathematical instrument maker, unexpectedly come to raise or preserve her at most critical moments; and the philosophers throw these accidents into the scale of the “disenthralment” and “impulse.” Look at her at the close of the war, and say what she had gained by it beyond restoring to a throne a man totally unfit for it, and crushing the spirits and securing the allegiance of her people with a debt of 900 millions—and whether these were objects which Protestantism may parade as evidences of the advantages it has conferred on the empire?

Did Protestantism give England an immediate pre-eminence over Catholic nations in those arts and refinements, which are commonly taken as tests of high civilization? Did it not, on the contrary, brutalize the great mass of the nation, and force all who desired to qualify themselves for decent society, to go through their noviciate on the continent—nay, in the Catholic countries of the continent? In what independent Catholic country is there one-tenth of the aggregate amount of misery, in proportion to its population, endured as in England? Does the mass of the people of England enjoy one-tenth of the sports, amusements, and pleasures of various kinds, enjoyed by the people of every independent Catholic country? In short, we ask again, what single earthly advantage has Protestantism conferred on the people of England, for which the worldly-minded care a straw?

But there is no subject on which Protestantism has of late assumed such airs, as that of civil liberty. Of the pretensions of “the true Protestant Church” we have already disposed, so far as its theories are concerned. The fact that Divine right is the doctrine of all other Protestant Churches also, ought to be conclusive on this question; but such are the prejudices in favour of the “disenthraling,” &c. influences of Protestantism, that all pretenders to philosophy—and these include all who write for the enlightenment of the public—shut their eyes to its plain palpable results, and grope away in the dark, singing of some latent virtues which they imagine it possesses, or at least ought to possess. We are told that the *free* study of the Scriptures necessarily produces a love of civil liberty. But we ask where, when, or how has it produced such results? The chances are many in favour of the doctrine of Divine right being the consequence of the Protestant mode of viewing the Protestant canon of Scripture.—The only portion of the Scriptures from which the lawfulness of resisting oppression may be clearly inferred, is the Books of the Machabees. These Protestantism struck out of its canon. Looking, then, upon the remainder of the sacred volume, and particularly looking upon it, as Protestants did, as the only rule of faith, of morals, of politics; in short, as the only guide in all the relations of life; and regarding everything not mentioned there as an abomination before the face of the Lord, how could we support those free principles and institutions which Protestantism found spread over Europe at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and which it so speedily and zealously overthrew? From the early portion of the Old Testament the patriarchal theory of Divine

right was deduced. Throughout the whole of it you find no safeguards for civil liberty, nor even mention of the existence of such a thing;—but are continually dwelling on the various phases of oriental despotism. Then look to the New Testament. Where there do you find any exhortations to assert “the rights of man”? Take even the answer “Give unto Cæsar,” &c. &c. Here no inquiry is suggested as to whether the tax was imposed by authority of parliament; and an intimation seems to be given that Cæsar’s edict was the only guide on such subjects. Take these and a thousand other passages—you will find them all in the Homilies—put them into the hands of ignorant men as “the only rule of faith” and of politics, and ask them, “Where here do you find mention of parliament, Habeas Corpus, original contract, taxation without representation, trial by jury,” &c.? and will they not shout, with all the vehemence of pious zealots, “avaunt, ye pagan and Popish abominations”? But if, in addition to this, you paid five or six millions a year to a body of Churchmen for believing and confirming such notions, what but a miracle could save the freest nation under the face of heaven from sinking to a level with those Egyptian, Persian, Assyrian, and other slaves and sycophants, whose conduct, as recorded in the sacred volume, was to be the model for all men? We are too well aware of the harpy-like zeal, with which any observations of ours on the study of the Scriptures would be seized on by our opponents, to hazard any statement which cannot be borne out by the most unquestionable evidence; and we therefore appeal with confidence to the history of England from the Reformation to the civil wars, for proofs of the debasing and enslaving influence of Protestantism. No one, without minutely examining our history during that period, can have any conception of the rapidity with this system succeeded in changing the ancient government of England to the model of an oriental despotism; and English freemen—English gentlemen—the members of the Lords and the members of the Commons, into canting, crouching, fawning slaves. Everything was to be done after the fashion of Judea, Egypt, Persia, and Assyria; and the examples of Saul, Pharaoh, Darius, and Nebuchadnezzar, substituted for those of our Henrys and Edwards. Even in the Commons, where one would expect to see the folly and fanaticism of the mob filtered into some sort of sense and decency, not a stretch of prerogative, not an exertion of arbitrary power, not an assault on their own privileges, not a violation

of the rights of the people is brought under their notice, that you do not find fools and knaves rising to support it with passages or precedents from Scripture.* We will by and bye give proofs, which shall stagger the most romantic philosophers.

But though it must be admitted that the knowledge thus actually derived from the study of the Scriptures, was ruinous to civil liberty, we shall be told that the throwing off of the papal yoke—the defying of an authority so venerable and ancient,—and the very excitement created by the search after new modes of salvation, gave a tone, a vigour, and an erection to the human mind, which it could never have otherwise attained, and unfitted it to bend under a civil oppressor. Had the first principle of Protestantism been worked out,—had every person been allowed to think for himself,—had every segment or district of believers been summoned together once a week, once a month, or at any other stated period, to hear and consider proposals for such amendments of their common creed, as were called for by the necessities and “growing intelligence of the times,”—had the people been even once consulted as to the choice of their faith, we should be inclined to admit some of the merits assigned to it. But see how different the romance of Protestantism is from the reality. How ennobling, how disenthraling it must have been to the people of England, to be compelled to receive the articles of their faith out of royal proclamations?† to be forced to abandon a creed endeared to them by the hallowed recollections of ages,—a creed cherished amidst every suffering by all the learned, the wise, and the worthy among them—for the varying whims of such persons as our first Reformers? To have such crudities crammed down their throats by the sword, the halter, the rack, and the various other contrivances, by which the apostles of Reform worked out their notions of the right of private judgment? Is it not wonderful that under such disenthraling influences, the people did not consume themselves into mere mental entities? But in seriousness could there be anything more degrading and debasing than the mode in which Protestantism was forced on the people of England? They had not been then callous to oppression, and their innumerable insurrections proved how deeply they felt the wrongs and indignities heaped on them.

* See D'Ewes' Journ. and Com. Journ. passim.

† Hallam, Con. Hist. vol. i. p. 38.

Let us turn next to the advantages conferred by Protestantism on the constitution, by the changes it effected in the material composition of the different branches of the legislature.

All Protestant writers regard the confiscation and redistribution of the lands of the monasteries as a mighty element of popular power; and even the earliest among them date the origin of the influence of the House of Commons from this source. Mr. Hallam expresses these views in the following manner: "If the participation of so many persons in the spoils of ecclesiastical property, gave stability to the new religion by pledging them to its support, it was also of no slight advantage to our civil constitution, strengthening, and as it were, infusing new blood into the territorial aristocracy, who were to withstand the enormous prerogative of the crown. For if it be true, as surely it is, that wealth is power, the distribution of so large a portion of the kingdom among the nobles and gentry, the elevation of so many new families, and the increased opulence of the more ancient, must have sensibly affected their weight in the balance."^{*} We really wonder how any men could so pervert their reasoning faculties, as to see in this proceeding an increase of strength to our civil constitution. Why did they not see a similar result from the transferring of the appointment of bishops to the king? The monasteries held one-fifth of the land of the entire kingdom; but through easy leases, did not probably enjoy more than one-tenth in value.† Their tenants by the bye, were remarkable for being the most comfortable and independent in the kingdom. The number of abbots and priors sitting for those monasteries in the House of Lords, was twenty-nine, who, joined to the twenty-one bishops, always formed a majority over the temporal peers.‡ Before we admit that the Reformation made an improvement in the very material of the legislature, we must enquire who those monks and bishops were, and what principles they supported. We have already shewn that they were sprung from the lower classes of the people, and that their principles were directly the reverse of those of their Protestant successors. Now we ask how much better was it for the people to have such men forming the majority of the Lords, than the creatures of the royal breath? To have one-fifth of the lands of the kingdom in the hands of

^{*} Con. Hist. vol. i. 84-5.

† Idem. p. 74. We here follow Mr. Hallam, to shew how obvious are the true conclusions from the facts which he himself states.

‡ Id. p. 79. Middle Ages, vol. ii. p. 331.

their sons, brothers, nephews, cousins, and other relatives, than to have it conveyed to the favourites of the crown. To have the majority of the House of Lords taken bodily from among themselves, than to be excluded from all influence, and deprived of all their protectors, in the legislature? It was this extreme democratic complexion of that house, which, in a great measure, kept both houses on such friendly terms. Most Protestant writers express their amazement at the harmony and unanimity which prevailed between them. There was then no attempt on the part of the Lords to curtail the liberties of the Commons, or the rights of the people, or to play off any other of those fantastic tricks, which they have learned since "the dawn of enlightenment." Yet, destroying the democratic portion and character of that house, and enabling the king to swamp the ancient independent peerage of the land with his minions and parasites, was the first "advantage to our civil constitution" derived from the glorious Reformation. Charles V overthrew the power of the Castilian Cortes by excluding the lords and bishops altogether. Was not this a much more manly and honest course (making the fight between king and commons a single-handed one) than that pursued by Henry VIII?*

But the attachment of the Reformers to civil liberty, as indicated by their confiscation of the monasteries, does not end here. Had not their own and their master's rapacity outrun their zeal for the establishment of a permanent despotism, the complete overthrow of British liberty would have been simultaneous with the overthrow of Catholicism. The grounds on which the parliament was informed that the property of the monasteries ought to be vested in the king, were, that he might be able "*to live of his own*," to defend the kingdom on any sudden invasion or insurrection, to aid his confederates, reward his well deserving servants, maintain continually a standing army of 40,000 men, and never again ask any aids or subsidies of the people.† Thus the suppression of the monasteries was intended to serve as the means for establishing a despotism, and dispensing at once with Lords and Commons. Enabling Henry to make law and religion by proclamation was only a part of the bye-play in this "disenthraling" drama.

* How singular that the two enemies of Clement should be the first to overthrow the privileges of their people? Very strange; especially when we consider that the opponents of Popes and Popery must be necessarily "out and out" devotees of freedom.

Others writers say, that our sovereigns at and after the Reformation, by assuming almost despotic authority, and crushing the power of the nobles, relieved the mass of the people from numerous oppressors, and that this was the reason why the people submitted so quietly to the royal pretensions.* A very pretty theory, indeed, but unfortunately it merely goes directly in the teeth of all history. From the time of Henry I, the nobles and people had been continually united in opposition to the crown. Not a single instance occurs of their appearing in arms against each other. Mr. Hallam may be a fair witness on this point. He says, that in all the contentions against the crown, the clergy and people side with the nobles, and “*no individuals are so popular with the monkish annalists, who speak the language of the populace, as Simon Earl of Leicester, &c. &c., all turbulent opponents of the royal authority.*”† The Rolls of Parliament, the Statute Book, or any other of our records, give no hint of this supposed hostility of the people to the nobility. It would be strange if they did. The clergy were foremost in every movement with the lords, and their objects were, not to establish an oligarchy—a protectorate or “the kingdom of saints”—but to prevent the abuses of the royal authority, and to secure the enjoyment of liberty, equality, and justice, on the broadest and plainest foundations. This mode, therefore, of accounting for the rise of despotic tendencies at the Reformation, is very ingenious, and would do well for a romance.

Other writers admit the laws for the security of life and liberty to have been as perfect in *ancient* times as they are now; remind their readers that our present superior security is far less owing to positive law, than to the control which is exercised over government by public opinion through the general use of printing, and to the diffusion of liberal principles through the same means‡—insinuate and assert that there was no real protection under those laws for private persons against the crown,§ as judges and juries were bribed or intimidated—and that the contrast was great between the law as laid down in the statutes and other authorities, and its practice in the courts of justice, which rendered them, “in cases of treason, little better than the caverns of murderers;”|| but when you come to examine the instances adduced as proofs of the correctness of this description, you find them all,

* See Brodie—Introd.

† Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 374.

‡ *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 367.

§ *Const. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 252.

|| *Ibid.* p. 45; 218-249.

without a single exception, to have occurred since the Reformation.* Most modern writers seem to consider themselves bound never to stop short at the Reformation for the origin of any abuse, but to deduce it by all means from a remote antiquity. The practice is very attractive; it gives scope to the imagination—saves the trouble of research—throws an air of philosophical profundity and erudition over shallowness and ignorance—and, which is best of all, coincides with the general tendency of Protestantism to indulge in all sorts of presumptions against Popery and the people. When such a literary giant as Hallam falls without consideration into the train of thought pursued by men with whom such temptations have influence, what can we expect from any other Protestant writer? If there were, before the Reformation, so little real security for life or liberty, why are we not presented with catalogues of excessive fines, long imprisonments, cruel punishments, executions without legal trial, laws made by proclamation, and those various other symptoms of despotism where-with England has been blessed since the invention of Protestantism? Why should the character of a nation, more than of individuals, be sacrificed on loose, vague, unsupported verbiage?

If any one will consider the position of our kings for the two centuries prior to the Reformation, they will see that, whatever might have been their tendencies to despotism, they had not the appliances necessary to carry their wishes into execution. They had no standing army,† or police. Their revenues were not sufficient for their ordinary expenses. During the reign of Edward III the Commons established on a secure basis the principle of giving subsidies for a year or two only, so as to render frequent sessions necessary. Henry V was the first who got a grant of a permanent revenue for life. At the close of Henry VI's reign, the ordinary revenue had dwindled to 5,000*l.* a year, while his debts had risen to 372,000*l.*‡ In that reign the Commons declare 4,000*l.* a-year a sufficient allowance for the king's "livelihood," and complain that the actual expenditure exceeded

* See Const. Hist. *supra*; also Index to State Trials, *Jury*, and instances there referred to. The proceedings against the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope, and against Sir John Mortimer, have been objected to by Hume as irregular, but even Mr. Hallam answers his objections, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. p. 367. See also p. 410 as to cases of the landlord of the *crown*, and the proprietor of the stag killed by Edward IV.

† Henry VII first established a band of fifty archers to wait on him, but soon dismissed them in consequence of the expense. Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 50.

‡ Lingard, vol. v. p. 170.

that sum by 19,000*l*.* Henry VII was the first, since the accession of Henry III, who lived within his income.† The amount of their patronage was exceedingly limited. Over the appointment of all persons employed in the administration of justice the parliament exercised so vigilant a control, that the appointments could scarcely be said to rest with the king. The same may be observed of the various officers employed in the executive government. They could not interfere with the administration of justice,‡ levy taxes, enrol soldiers, dispense with or swamp the parliament, or, in short, do anything but what they were strictly authorised by law to do, and that only through a responsible officer. By what miracle, then, could they perform those feats of statesmanship by which their Protestant successors have been distinguished? But, even if they could, how does it appear that they were “enlightened” enough to have no other object of ambition than to make slaves and paupers of their subjects?

But, dismissing for the present all further preliminary considerations, let us come to the matter, to which they are (with us just now) merely subservient. To understand the constitution as it stood prior to the Reformation, it is absolutely necessary to divest the mind of all the high notions of prerogative propagated by the advocates of despotism since the glare of “gospel light” enabled mankind to discover the right divine of kingship. If we do not comply with this preliminary, all that we meet with in the Rolls of Parliament, the Year Books, the older historians and text writers, on the relative rights and duties of the crown and the people, will be looked upon only as seditious and revolutionary romance. We can never enter into its spirit, or dare to comprehend its application. But having once removed these “evangelical” delusions, and recollecting the democratical principles of government which prevailed up to the commencement of the 16th century in all the Catholic states of Europe—with the exception of France since the time of Louis XI—we find all constitutional and regular; no treason, revolution, or sedition; nothing inconsistent with the then known rights of sovereign and subject.

There are few who will now have the “pious” hardihood to assert that the king had, at the period of the Reformation, any powers but such as were conferred on him by statute,

* Rot. Parl. 26 Hen. VI. p. 183.

† Lingard, *supra*, p. 338.

‡ See the crowd of authorities on this point in 2 Inst. 36.

or by ancient well-known usage. So strictly circumscribed were these, that he could not make a testamentary disposition of his chattels,* nor re-enter on his own lands let to farm for non-payment of rent†, till he was authorised by parliament. In early times he was regarded in the eye of the law only as an ordinary person; he could be sued like such,‡ and his grants were construed in exactly the same manner, till a statute was passed to limit their construction.§ The prerogative which in “enlightened” times became a synonyme for arbitrary power, was then so admeasured that it could not prejudice the inheritance of any person,|| and was as much under the control of the law as the powers of a sheriff, constable, or any other officer. The House of Commons complain to Richard II of the withholding of writs of *scire facias*, to try the legality of his presentations to benefices, under the pretence of prerogative, as a great offence to God, and against law and reason; for, say they, nothing can be a prerogative of the crown, which is derogative to the execution of right and justice.¶ One of the charges against him at his deposition, was, that he frequently said “that his laws were in his own mouth, and sometimes in his own breast, and that he alone could make and change the laws of his realm.”** What a pity that he was so far in advance of his age in “enlightenment.” Had he lived a few centuries later, he would be for ever immortalised in Reformed liturgies as a saint and a martyr. The parliament allow him and Henry IV†† to be as free as any of their predecessors,‡‡ and make the abuse of this favour another of the charges against him. By the coronation oath, Fortescue says, our kings were obliged “to the observance of the laws, which some of them have not been well able to digest, because thereby they are deprived of that free exercise of dominion over

* Rot. Parl. 16 Ric. II, p. 301.

† Id. 2 Hen. IV, 460. The Commons allowed him to re-enter only when three half-year's rent should be due, and recommended that thenceforth a clause of re-entry should be inserted in all his leases.

‡ Year Book, 43 Edward III, f. 22.

§ De Prærogativa Regis.

¶ Law Maxim, Co., 2 Inst. p. 63.

¶ “En grant offense de Dieu et encontre reson et ley, pur ce qe tiel fait ne poet mye estre prerogatif a nostre seigneur le Roi, q'est derogatif a l'exécution de droit et justice.”—Rot. P. 13, Ric. II, 273.

** “Dixit expresse vultu austero et protervo quod leges suæ erant in ore suo et aliquotiens in pectore suo, et quod ipse solus posset mutare et condere leges regni sui.”—Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. 419.

†† Id. 434; 13 Hen. IV, 658.

‡‡ “Quod posset esse adeo liber sicut aliquis progenitorum suorum extitit ante eum.”—Id. 419 supra.

their subjects in that full extensive manner as those kings that preside and govern by an absolute regal power, who in pursuance of the laws of their respective kingdoms, in particular the civil law and the aforesaid maxim,* govern their subjects, change laws, enact new ones, inflict punishments, and impose taxes at their mere will and pleasure, and determine suits at law in such manner, when and as they think fit. For which reason your ancestors endeavoured to shake off this political frame of government, in order to exercise the same absolute regal dominion, too, over their subjects, or rather to be at their full swing to act as they list.”† By the first clause of this coronation oath, the king swore “to confirm to the people of England the laws and customs granted to them by ancient kings of England, rightful men, and devout to God; and especially the laws, and customs, and franchises granted to the clergy and people by the glorious king Edward;” and by another “to keep and guard the laws and rightful customs which the Commonalty of your realm shall choose, and to defend them and strengthen them to the honour of God, according to your power.”‡ This was a particularly indigestible *morceau* to our Reformed monarchs. Henry VIII metamorphosed the whole of the oath to suit his views of his new “jurisdiction and dignity royal.” “He shall grant to hold the laws and approved customs of the realme, and *lawful and not prejudicial to his crown and imperial jurisdiction*, to his power to keep them, and to affirme them, which the nobles and people have made and chosen with his consent.”§ By the oath of Edward VI, legislation was no longer to originate with the people, but with the crown:—“Doe you graunt to make no new laws, but such as shall be to the honour and glory of God, and to the good of the commonwealth, and that the same shall be made by consent of your people, as hath been accustomed?” Mary restored the old abomination. In

* “Quod principi placet legis habet vigorem.”—That which pleases the prince has the force of law.

† De Laud. Leg. Angl. c. 34.

‡ Thus the clause stands in the coronation oaths of Edward II and Edward III:—“Sire, grantez vous a tenir et garder les leys et les coustumes droiturelles les quicls la communaulte de vostre royaume *aura eslu* et les defenderer et afforcerer al honneur de Dieu a vostre poare?” If the king was a man of letters—“si literatus fuerit”—the oath was in Latin, and the words *aura eslu* were rendered by *elegerit*. The advocates of Protestantism and arbitrary power pretended that this ought to be translated “have chosen.” In the abridgment of the oath given in the old Abridgment of the Statutes, first printed about 1481, this part of the clause stands thus—“*Que les gentes de peuple avera faitz et eslies.*”—See Stat. of Realm, 5 Ed. II, note.

§ Book of Oaths.

the Book of Oaths the clause appears thus in the oaths of Charles I, Charles II, and James II:—"Will you grant to hold and keep the laws and rightful customs which the Commonalty of this your kingdom *have*, and will you defend, &c.* At the Revolution they at length got rid of the Commonalty, the sovereign ever since merely swearing to govern the realm "according to the statutes agreed upon in parliament, and the laws and customs of the same."†

There being, however, no doubt now entertained as to the ancient limitations on the power of the crown, it is needless to pursue this part of our subject further. Let us therefore see what were the powers of Parliament in those days. Our ancient Parliaments, and especially our ancient Houses of Commons, have been long rescued from most of the misrepresentations of the advocates of "the true Protestant Church;" but the able writers who have so rescued them, have made many admissions against them without due consideration or authority, and even, in defending them, have deferred so much to the force of Protestant prejudices that, when they notice a remonstrance of the Commons against the abuse or violation of any practice or privilege, they date the origin of the practice or privilege itself from the time of the remonstrance.‡ Notwithstanding all that they have done in this cause, it still continues the fashion with most of our modern essayists to talk of the parliaments of early times as if they were as servile, as powerless, as corrupt and contemptible as those with which England was cursed for some centuries after the Reformation. We are continually told that they had no right to interfere in the management of any public business; that their sole duty was—not even to discuss the propriety of making grants of money to the sovereign—but to arrange the manner in which it was to be levied;§ that it was in the reign of Henry VII they first began to acquire power and importance, and that from that time down, they have been gradually acquiring fresh accessions to both, till at length they stand in their pre-

* Book of Oaths.

† 1 Wm. and M., c. vi. s. 1.

‡ Thus the Committee who prepared the Report on the dignity of a Peer. Mr. Hallam, and other writers, treat the remonstrance of the Commons against the conduct of Henry IV, *postea, et sic de similibus*.

§ Sacheverel, the last convicted champion of the Church, says, that parliaments were not ordained "to contribute any right to kings whereby they may challenge tributary aids and subsidiary helps, but for the more equal imposing and more easy exacting of that which unto kings doth appertain by natural and original law and justice as their proper inheritance, annexed to their imperial crowns from their birth."—*First Sermon*, p. 26, 7.

sent proud pre-eminence. But, instead of crowding our pages with a recapitulation of the multitudinous misrepresentations which prevail on this subject, we shall proceed at once to prove that parliament, and especially the House of Commons, exercised, prior to the Reformation, greater powers than they exercise at the present moment; that it was from the very time, from which philosophers date the rise of parliamentary power and authority, they really declined, till, in the meridian of Protestantism, parliament became a cipher; and that it is since Protestantism began to wane, parliament has been gradually recovering its former position.

Prior to the Reformation, the notion of setting any limits to the power of parliament, or to the subjects of discussion before the Lords or Commons, was never seriously entertained. The people being called together annually to consider the state of affairs touching the king and the kingdom*—a periphrasis for their own national business—had a right to discuss every possible subject, and with the utmost latitude and freedom. Let those who adopt the notions of our Protestant sovereigns on this question, find a single authority of the Catholic days of England conveying even a hint as to any restrictions on the subjects or the mode of parliamentary discussions. From time immemorial, it had been a principle of universal application in England, that whatever concerned all or any portion of the people, should be determined by the advice of all, or that particular portion.† This is traceable through all the institutions of the state, from wardmotes, folk-motes, common councils, hundred courts, county courts, &c., up to that court in which the whole nation assembled by their delegates, to transact that business which was common to them all. Whatever, therefore, concerned the interests of the entire nation, was the proper subject of discussion in parliament; and no one, except Richard II, and his adherents, had the temerity to lay down any exceptions to the universality of their jurisdiction. The clergy, indeed—and this very exception is another proof of the unlimited extent of the jurisdiction of parliaments—were forbidden by the very writ of summons to deal with any matter in their convocations that

* “De quibusdam arduis negotiis nos et statum regni nostri tangentibus.”—The words of the writ of summons or election.

† “Sicut lex justissima provida circumspectione stabilita hortatur et statuit ut quod omnes tangit ab omnibus approbetur. Sic et innuit evidenter ut pro communibus periculis per remedia provisum communiter obviatur.” Writ of summons to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the 23rd year of Edward I.

concerned the king's person, or the state of his crown or his kingdom, or his council;* and lest they should act contrary to this inhibition, the king frequently appointed commissioners by writ to sit with them in convocation, to have cognisance of what they were about to establish, and prevent them from entering on those forbidden subjects. These were the very subjects on which parliament was commonly summoned to consult, and yet persons have been found hardy enough to assert that till the Reformation these were topics, which neither house dared to name without the express permission of the sovereign. Where are their proofs? In their own ingenious and enlightened fancies. For plain, simple people, the proofs lie all in heaps the other way. Edward II, in the beginning of his reign, granted a commission to certain persons chosen by parliament to make what laws they should deem necessary for the realm. In the fifteenth year of his reign, the laws thus made were repealed by the entire parliament as being injurious to the king's prerogatives; and it was provided "that for ever hereafter all manner of ordinances or provisions made by the subjects of our lord the king, or of his heirs, by any power or commission† whatever," concerning the royal power of the king, or against his estate or the estate of the crown, should be "of no avail or force whatever. But the matters which are to be established for the estate of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm, shall be treated, accorded, and established in parliament by our lord the king and by the assent of the prelates, earls and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as it hath been heretofore accustomed."‡ We might rely on this statutory declaration alone, but we deem it more satisfactory to adduce distinct palpable proofs from the rolls of parliament, and other authentic sources, that there was not one earthly question which they were not enabled to discuss, and that there was not a single officer in the state, from the king to his butler, whose appointment, services, and removal, they did not control.

To commence with the latter division of the subject. The parliament deposed Edward II, and were thanked by him for

* See Co. 4. Inst. 322-3, and authorities there cited, &c. D'Ewes' Journal, p. 24.—M. Paris, 447.

† In all the editions of this statute, even in the authorised one, where the original is given side by side with the translation, this word is perverted to "authority." The difference is not great, but "commission" defines more distinctly what was meant.

‡ Revocation of the Ordinances. , Statutes at Large.

electing his son in preference to a stranger.* They deposed Richard II, and elected Henry IV out of the regular order of succession, and entailed the crown, as they would any other office, to him and his heirs; first in tail special,† and subsequently in tail general.‡ They tried the titles of Henry VI and the Duke of York, as they would an action of ejectment between Messrs. John Doe and Richard Roe; and finding York's the better title, declared him the next heir to the throne, allowing Henry, for the sake of peace and quietness, to enjoy it to the end of his days, and binding both to certain conditions, by the breach of which they were to forfeit the advantages derivable from the settlement.§ By a breach of these conditions Henry VI is declared to have forfeited, and Edward IV to have succeeded to, the crown.|| They declared Richard III “very undoubted king, as well by inheritance as by *lawful election*;”¶ and entailed the crown on Henry VII, who could claim no hereditary right to it, and “the heirs of his body lawfully coming.”**

The guardian, regent, or protector of the realm, stands next in power and dignity to the sovereign. We find Henry III appointing one in 1242, by the advice of all his earls, barons, and lieges;†† the ordainers providing, in the reign of Edward II, that the king should appoint him, by “the common consent of his baronage, and that in parliament;”‡‡ the parliament in the commencement of Henry VI's reign confirming the late king's appointment of the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester to the office of protector, settling and determining their power and authority§§—expressly declaring that the king had no right to dispose by will of his sovereign power|||—appointing, or confirming, or repealing the appointment of, all the protectors in that reign by the common consent of the three estates;¶¶ the Commons originating motions for the appointment of protectors,*** and on one occasion causing it to be understood that they would not proceed with any other business “till they had answer of their desire and request.”†††

* Speed, 666. † Cotton's Exact Abridgment, p. 454. ‡ 7 Hen. IV, cap. 2.

§ See the entire proceedings in the Rolls of Parliament for that year, p. 375, &c.

|| Id. 1 Edward IV, p. 466. ¶ Id. 1 Ric. III, p. 241-242. ** 1 Hen. VII, c. i.

†† Rymer, t. i. p. 409, cited by Hallam, Mid. Ages, vol. ii. 184.

‡‡ 5 Ed. II, c. 9. §§ Cotton's Ex. Abridg., 564, 568, 589, 592.

||| R. P. 6, H. VI, 326. ¶¶ Ibid. and 31-2 H. VI, 242.

*** 31 H. VI, 285-6—33 H. VI, 285, 321.

††† 31 H. VI, *antea*. See also as to its being “the surest way to have him made,” in Parliament, 4 Inst. 58.

Next take the subject of appointing and controlling the ministers of state, the judges, and other officers. The principle that the people should not be bound in anything without their consent first had and obtained, extended, of course, not only to the making of laws, but to the administering of them, and to the conduct of the government of the realm in every department. The notion that the appointment of judges, generals, ambassadors, and other officers—the making of peace or war, of leagues, commercial or military—and the performance of those other functions of (in modern constitutional phraseology) the executive government—should be left solely to the omniscient wisdom of kings and their favourites, had not been discovered in those “barbarous” times. The people in their simplicity imagined then that there would have been little use in their making laws unless they had some control over those who were to carry them into execution; or in being active and industrious, or cultivating commercial pursuits, if a royal favourite, in a fit of folly or knavery, could, without their consent, deprive them of the benefit of all their exertions, exclude them from the field of commercial enterprise, or involve them in wars hazarding the security of all their possessions. In illustrating the conduct of parliament on those several topics, we are compelled to go back beyond the reign of Edward III, for many reasons; of which the principal is, a desire to show that the proceedings of the Commons in that period, with which we are more immediately concerned, were not wild, revolutionary, precipitous encroachments on the executive government, but were in strict accordance with the course pursued by the great council of the kingdom from time immemorial. The highest and latest authorities on this subject thus sum up the results of their researches:—“It is manifest from various documents stated in this report, that the great council of the kingdom of England was at all times considered as *the great legislative power under the crown, and the superior counsel of the crown in the administration of the executive government**; that that great council was composed of persons being or representing all the landholders of the kingdom (except certain inferior immediate tenants of the crown), and representing, also, in effect, the great body of the population of the kingdom, in whose welfare they were interested, and who were, as in some degree their dependents, entitled to their protection. In this view of the

* The passage appears thus in *italics* in the Report.

subject, the *spirit* of the constitution of the government of England appears to have been at all times the same; for, though the form of parliament—the division of the great council into two bodies, the Lords and Commons, as now established—the attribution to the Lords of judicature, and of a distinct right as councillors of the crown, at all times, separately and collectively, and whether convened as members of a legislative assembly or not—and the attribution to the Commons of the right of originating grants to the crown, and of the right of impeachment, and the constitution of their body by election and delegation, and therefore by more obvious representation—have probably been the result of time and circumstances, yet the substance has always remained the same.* Let us see, then, their practice in early times.

William Longchamp, chancellor and justiciary of Richard I, is deposed for many offences, after a conference in St. Paul's Cathedral between John, the bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom, and the citizens of London, and another chosen in his place.† In 1221, Hubert de Burgh was "made governor of the king's person, and chief justiciary of England, with the general allowance of all the states."‡ In the following year, Ralph Neville is mentioned as having been made chancellor, by the assent of the whole kingdom, and on condition that he should not be removed without the consent of the whole kingdom also.§ In 1236, Henry offers to take from him the great seal, but he refuses to deliver it, saying that he had received it from the common council of the kingdom, and that without the assent of the same he would not resign it.|| This excellent chancellor dying in 1244, the parliament assembled at London complained that for want of a

* Rep. on Dignity of a Peer, vol. i, 467.

† "Placuit ergo Johanni fratri regis, et omnibus episcopis, et comitibus, et baronibus regni, et civibus Londoniarum, quod cancellarius ille deponeretur, et deponerunt eum et instituerunt Rhothomagensem Archiepiscopum," &c.—Hoveden, 702. The bishop of Coventry, in his account of the transaction, says—"Factoque consilio coram omni populo, totius civitatis, presentibus que justitiariis domini regis et approbantibus, *de consilio universorum* statuimus ne talis de cætero in regno Angliæ dominetur per quem ecclesia Dei ad ignominiam et populus ad inopiam erat reductus."—Id. 704.

‡ Speed, p. 579.

§ "Itaque silect ut non deponeretur ab ejus sigilli custodia nisi totius regni ordinante consensu et consilio."—M. Paris, p. 316. We cannot help giving the following extract respecting this chancellor's character:—"Erat regis fidelissimus cancellarius, et inconcussa columna veritatis, singulis jura sua, precipue pauperibus singulis justo reddens et indilate. In multis regni perturbationibus stans directe non arundo quolibet vento agitata nec declinans ad dextram vel sinistram."—Id. 370.

|| Id. 430.

chancellor many writs had been granted contrary to justice, and therefore prayed that a chancellor and chief-justice might be appointed, as they had chosen them, by whom the estate of the realm might be settled according to custom.* These demands not being at once conceded, they require that, to prevent the infringement of the charters and liberties of the people, four of the most discreet nobles should be chosen by *common assent* to be of the king's council, and sworn faithfully to manage the affairs of the king and kingdom, and to do justice to all without respect of persons; that they should see that the money given by all the nation should be expended for the advantage of the king and realm; and that they should not be removed except by common assent and election; also that the chief-justice and chancellor should be elected by all; that if the king should, in the interval of parliament, take the seal from the chancellor, it should be restored to him at the next session, and everything done in the meantime held null and void;† that no chief-justice or chancellor should be appointed except by the *solemn and universal assembly, and free assent of all*;‡ and that two justices of the bench, two barons of the Exchequer, and a justice of the Jews, should be appointed; and that this time "all the aforesaid officers be made and constituted by the common, universal, and free election of all; *that as they are to handle the businesses of all, so the assent of all may concur in their election.*"§ In 1248, they complain that he had not, like his predecessors, appointed, by the common council of the kingdom, a chief-justice, chancellor, and treasurer, as was becoming and expedient, but such persons as would now appear to have been very well qualified for Stuart judges.|| In 1255, they renew the demand for appointing these officers in parliament, as being

* "Petitum fuit ut secundum quod elegerant justitarius et cancellarius fierent per quos status regni solidaretur ut solebat."—Id. 639.

† "Quicquid fuerit interim sigillatum, initum habeatur et inane."—Id. 641.

‡ "Nullus substituatur cancellarius vel justitarius nisi solummodo per solemnem et universalem omnium convocationem, et liberum assensum."—Id.

§ "Hac vice autem per communem universalem liberamque omnium electionem fiant, et constituentur omnes officarii prædicti; ut quemadmodum omnium negotia sint tractaturi, sicutiam, in eorum electione concurrat assensus singulorum."—Id.

|| "Calumniatur itaque dominus rex graviter à singulis et universis non mediocriter conquerentibus eo quod sicut magnifici reges prædecessores sui habuerunt, justitiarum nec cancellarium habet, nec thesaurarium, per commune consilium regni, prout deceret et expediret; sed tales qui suam qualemcumque dummodo sibi quæstuosam sequuntur voluntatem nec qui rei publicæ sed singularem querunt promotionem, pecuniam colligendo custodias et redditus sibi primitus procurando."—Id. 744.

according to ancient custom and justice.* At the celebrated parliament of Oxford in 1258, they compel the king to allow the chief justice, chancellor, and treasurer, to be "ordayned by public choice,"† and the twelve or twenty-four conservators of the kingdom to provide from year to year, for the due election of justices, chancellors, treasurers, and other officers.‡ They elect as chief justice Hugh Bigod, whose many accomplishments Matthew Paris sums up, telling us that he, while in that office, "would by no means suffer the law of the kingdom to voullate,"§ and displace the king's treasurer and several other officers. In 1260, they make Hugh Spencer chief justice, the abbot of Burgh king's treasurer, and the bishop of Ely lord chancellor. In the following year they remove Spencer, and substitute Sir Philip Bassett, without the king's assent.|| The king this year appointing justices in Eyre without the consent of the barons, contrary to the provisions of Oxford, the people refuse to answer before them; the sheriffs appointed by him are also resisted, and the barons appoint their own sheriffs and justices.¶ The king at length removing the chancellor and chief justice appointed by them, they take up arms, and he is obliged to confirm the Oxford provisions. In 1265, the prelates, earls, and barons assemble at London, and provide, among other things, that two earls and one bishop, elected by the "communitas," should elect nine other persons, three of whom should assist the king, and that by their advice all things, both in the palace and the kingdom, should be regulated, and that nothing should be done by the king without the assent of three at least of them.** To these terms they forced him to submit by the threat of electing another sovereign.†† The fortunes of Piers Gaveston, and the Spencers, are well known. In consequence of the misgovernment of the realm in the commencement of Edward II's reign, he was compelled to grant the commission to which we have already referred. The ordinances then made open with this bold and plain preamble:—"Forasmuch as by bad and deceitful counsel, our lord the king and all his subjects are dishonoured in all lands; and moreover, the crown

* "Exigebant insuper ut de communi consilio regni sibi justitiarum, cancellarium, et thesaurarium, eligerent sicut ab antiquo consuetum et justum."—Id. p. 904.

† Daniel, p. 148.

‡ Hollingshed, p. 269.

§ "Qui officium justitiarie strenue peragens nullatenus permittat jus regni vacillare."—p. 971.

|| Hollingshed, p. 263.

¶ Id.

** M. Paris, p. 993.

†† M. Westm., 336.

hath been in many points abased and dismembered, and his lands of Gascony, Ireland, and Scotland on the point of being lost, if God do not give amendment; *and his realm of England upon the point of rising on account of oppressions, prises, and destructions.*"* By these ordinances, all evil councillors and improper persons were to be removed from the offices which they held in the household and elsewhere about the king, and he was thenceforth to appoint the chancellor, chief justices, chief baron, the keepers of the privy seal and of the wardrobe, the steward of the household, the chief wardens of the ports and castles on the sea coast, the ministers for Gascony, Scotland, and Ireland, and various other officers, "by the counsel and assent of his baronage, and that in parliament." After the repeal of these ordinances, we find the practice nearly the same as before. By 15 Edward III, st. 1, c. 3 and 4, it was provided that "the chancellor, treasurer, barons, and chancellor of the exchequer, the justices of the one bench and of the other, justices assigned in the county, steward and chamberlain of the king's house, keeper of the privy seal, treasurer of the wardrobe, controller, and they that be chief deputed to abide nigh the king's son, Duke of Cornwall, shall be now sworn in this parliament, and so from henceforth at all times that they shall be put in office to keep and maintain the privileges and franchises of holy church, and the points of the great charter, and the charter of the forest, and all other statutes, without breaking any point"—that when "any of the officers aforesaid, or chief clerk of the common bench or king's bench, by death or other cause, be out of his office," the king should appoint another convenient "by the accord of the great men which shall be found nighest in the county," and "the good counsel which he shall have about him;" and that in every parliament, at the third day of the said parliament, the king shall take to his hands the offices of all the said ministers, and so they shall abide four or five days, except the offices of justices of the one place and of the other, justices assigned, barons of the exchequer; so always that they and all other ministers be put to answer to every complaint; and if default be found in any of the said ministers by complaint, or other manner, and of that he be attainted in parliament, he shall be punished by judgment of his peers, and put out of his office, and another convenient put in his

* "It is," says Fortescue, "only lacke of harte and cowardise that kepyth the Frenchmen from rysyng ageyn their soveryng lord."—To this theme he devotes a whole chapter, upbraiding the French with their want of "pluck" in submitting to oppression.—Absolute and Limited Monarchy, c. 13.

place. And upon the same our said sovereign lord the king shall do to be pronounced and made execution without delay, according to the judgment of the said peers in parliament."

It does not appear that there was any very great contrast between these "paper provisions" and the practice of parliament. We find the Commons recommending that certain justices should be elected by them and the Lords at that parliament, and there sworn to the execution of their duty, and that their commissions should not be sealed or used till they should be shown to and approved of by them and the Lords;* requesting that the judges should be charged in that parliament, not to delay the common law, at the command of the kings or others†—that ten or twelve persons should be appointed to attend continually with the king's council, and that no great business should be transacted without the assent of all, and no minor business without the assent of four at least of them;‡ demanding, among other things, before taking the supplies into consideration, that all the great officers of the realm, and the household, and all those employed in the administration of the laws, should be sworn before them to the due discharge of their duties, "so that every person thenceforth should feel that right and reason was done him;"§ requesting that a mild, discreet, and able baron should be appointed tutor to the king||—that the king's council should be discharged¶—that the lord treasurer, barons of the exchequer, the judges of both benches, and other officers, should be selected from among the most sage, discreet, and able men to be found in the realm, and that commissioners should be appointed to make a thorough reform in the chancery and law courts**—that, as different men were differently qualified, those should be appointed to each office who were best qualified for it, without favour or affection—that their names should be declared in parliament, and that they should not be removed without reasonable cause††—that the king should ordain in that parliament the most valiant, sage, and discreet lords of his realm to be of his council—that they and the judges should be openly sworn in parliament to acquit

* Rot. P. 17, Ed. III, 136.

+ Id., 45 Ed. III, 308.

‡ Id. 50 Ed. III, 322. See also Walsingham, 197.

§ Id. 1 Ric. II, 14.

|| "In quo regni communitas petiit aliquem ex baronibus ordinari ad tutelam regiam, qui sciret forensis prudenter dare responsa, &c. &c. . . . Electus est ergo communi sententia dominus Thomas Beauchamp, comes Warwici ut jugiter cum rege moram traheret."—Walsingham, 213.

¶ Rot. P. 3 Ric. II, 73.

** Rot. P. 5 Ric. II, 101.

†† Id. 6 Ric. II, 147.

‡‡ Id. 11 H. IV, 623-4, 634.

themselves properly and impartially in their offices, and that he should command them in the presence of all the estates of parliament, on their faith and allegiance, to do full justice to every person without delay, notwithstanding the commands of any one to the contrary; desiring some days afterwards to know the names of the council, and—when these are named to them, and accept office on condition that before the last day of the session something should be granted to defray their charges—coming again on that day, and requiring that they should be then charged anew, and sworn without any condition;* and succeeding in each and every of these strange requests almost as if they were matters of course. We find Sir R. Scrope resigning the chancellorship in parliament in 1380, and another appointed to it†—Scrope re-appointed in the following year, at the request of lords and commons, as being a man who for eminent knowledge and inflexible justice had not his equal in the kingdom‡—in 1383 deprived of the great seal by Richard, for refusing to put it to some inconsiderate grants, and the whole nation thereupon indignant “that the king, *contrary to the custom of the kingdom, should have captiously deposed the chancellor, whom all the nobility of the kingdom, with the suffrages of all the people, had chosen*”;§ in 1386, De la Pole degraded from the chancellorship on the prosecution of the commons;|| and lords and commons taking virtually to themselves the entire government of the kingdom by the celebrated commission of that year, and appointing the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal;¶ in 1387, several of the king’s favourites tried and condemned in parliament; in 1389, the chancellor, treasurer, and all the lords of the council, except the clerk of the privy seal, resigning their offices in parliament, and openly requiring that if any one had anything to say against them for their conduct in office, he should then complain—the commons, after diligently inquiring into the matter, thanking them heartily for their deserts—the lords also approving of their conduct—the king then restoring them to their offices, with a protestation that he wished to change his officers at pleasure—and all of them resworn “in full parliament, to act and advise well and lawfully in the offices aforesaid;”**—in the

* Id. 2 H. IV, 623-4, 634.

+ Walsing. 243.

† Id. 301.

§ “Audientes igitur non solum magnates regni sed et ipsa communitas, regem contra regni consuetudinem cancellarium deposuisse captiose, quem tota regni nobilitas cum suffragio totius vulgi delegerat, indignati sunt valde.”—Id. 312.

|| Rot. P. 10 Ric. II, 216-17, &c. ¶ See the Commission in Statutes at Large.

** Rot. P. 13 Ric. II, 258.

first year of Henry VI, the chancellors of England and Normandy giving an account in parliament of their surrenders of their respective seals, and praying to be discharged of such surrenders;* the Commons requesting to be informed what persons were to be appointed to the offices of chancellor, treasurer, and privy seal; the king thereupon re-appointing those whom his father had in these offices—sending some of the lords to inform the commons thereof, and in their patents declaring their appointments to be by the advice and assent of all his council present in that parliament;† and finally the commons expressing their manifold thanks for the appointments, and the mode in which they were notified to them.‡ After the Duke of Gloucester had been made protector in that session, we learn that, “at the request of the commons, and by the advice and assent of the lords aforesaid, there were named and elected certain persons of estate, as well spiritual as temporal, for councillors assistant to the government,”§ whose names were then openly read in parliament, and who accepted the office under certain conditions contained in a schedule which they presented. Of these the Commons approve, but add a clause by way of purview. To the entire the Lords then agree.|| So little was “state mystery” then known, and so fully did those officers consider themselves bound to answer for their conduct to parliament, that one of those conditions was, that the clerks of the council should be sworn to enter the names of all sitting at the transaction of any business, with an account of the way they should severally vote.¶

The appointment of the various members of the royal household, and the regulation of its expenses, seem to have been standing topics for the consideration of our early parliaments. We find the great council repeatedly requiring that suspected and unnecessary persons should be removed from the king’s court,** and all foreigners driven from the kingdom,†† “except such as by a general consent should be held faithful and profitable for the same;”‡‡ the king arguing against such demands on one occasion, in a manner worthy of a more “enlightened” age, that it was lawful to every householder to appoint what persons he pleased to any office in his household; that ser-

* Id. 1 H. VI, 171, “Quittez et descharges de la dite deliverance.”

† “Sciatis quod de avisamento et assensu totius consilii nostri in presenti parlamento nostro existen.”—Id.

‡ Id. 175.

|| Id. 176.

¶ Id. See also Id 2 H. VI, 201; 5 H. VI, 407; 8 H. VI, 243, &c., &c.

** M. Paris, p. 641. †† Id. p. 171. ‡‡ Daniel, p. 151.

vants ought not to judge their lord, nor vassals their prince, nor restrain him with their conditions; and that therefore if he submitted to such demands, he would not be their king but their servant:* a minister's removing the officers of the household at his pleasure and replacing them by his own creatures, who were to be spies on the king's conduct, made one of the articles of impeachment against him;† the Commons prosecuting Alice Ferrers and the other favourites of Edward III;‡ complaining in 1381, of the mismanagement of the household, and of "the outrageous number of familiars"§ in it; in consequence of their remonstrance, certain persons assigned to examine into it, the lords themselves declaring that it appeared to them "that if a reform of government was to be made in the realm, it ought to commence with the principal member, which was the king himself, and to proceed from person to person, even holy Church as well as others, and from place to place, from the highest to the lowest, sparing no person, degree, nor place;"|| and after many days' consideration, the king's confessor expelled, and a thorough reform effected in every part of the administration.¶ In 1385 they pray that the household might be examined once every year, or oftener if necessary, by the chancellor, treasurer, and clerk of the privy seal, and amended if necessary; and that the old statutes on this head should be observed. To the latter request he of course agrees, but the former he treats very cavalierly:** he was however brought to his senses at the following session, and compelled to grant the well-known commission for reforming every part of the administration in the household, the courts of justice, and all quarters of the kingdom, as the price of a subsidy, the lords and commons expressly providing, that if the commissioners should be impeded in the execution of their duty, so much of the subsidy as should be then unpaid should not be exacted, and that writs should at once issue to countermand the levying of it.†† Haxey's proposal was impudent enough, to remove the great number of bishops and ladies who were living in the king's palace and at his expense.‡‡ In 1303-4, Henry IV, at the request of the

* M. Paris, p. 749. † Rot. Parl. 4 Edw. III, p. 52. ‡ Speed, p. 706.

§ "Outrageouse nombre des familiers estantz eu dit hostiel." Rot. Parl. 5 Ric. II, 100.

|| Ib.

¶ Id. pp. 101-2-3.

** He would grant it—*quant lui plerra*. Id. 9 Ric. II, pp. 213.

+ Id. 10 Ric. II, p. 221.

†† Id. 20 Ric. II, pp. 339, 406.

Commons, dismisses his confessor, and three other persons from his household, though he declares that he cannot discover what objection there was to them; and at the same time he professes his readiness to remove any other person who may be disliked by his people.* On the same day, they request that persons of honesty, virtue, and good fame, should be placed in the royal household, and that the appointments should be notified to them and the lords in this parliament.† In the same session, at their request, the lords are charged to frame an ordinance respecting the household, which is agreed to by the king as very expedient and necessary. By one of the articles in this, all foreigners are to be removed out of the household of the king and the household of the queen, except the queen's daughters and some other persons specially named; and by another it is provided that "the royal household shall be put under such good and moderate regulations, that the expenses of it may be supported out of the revenues of the realm with other necessary charges."‡ So moderate was Henry, that he declared himself anxious for such a reform; and even as to his chamber and wardrobe, would be content with as much as would pay the debts due for them.§ We find the speaker mentioning in 1406, along with the loss of castles, towns, and provinces, the many charges occurring from day to day in the royal household, more than has been known in preceding times; "and how it is *less honourable and more costly* than it was wont to be, and there is no supply of valiant and able persons in it if they should be necessary, BUT RASCALS FOR THE GREATEST PART.||—And in 1451, requesting that several persons who had "been of misbehaving about your royal person and in other places," should be removed by act of parliament from the king's presence during the remainder of their lives. The king agreed to banish all for a year, except the lords named in the bill, and certain persons "right fewe in nombre" who had been accustomed to wait on his person, though he knew no cause why any should be removed.¶ The Commons,

* Id. 5 Hen. IV, p. 525.

† "Y serroient nommez et faites persones honestes et vertueuses et bien renommez desqueux notice se purra faire a ditez Seigneurs et Communes en cet Parlement." Ib.

‡ Id. p. 527-8. Ib. See also 6 Ric. II, p. 147.

§ Id. See a return of the royal revenue and expenses, 11 Hen. VI, p. 433; 28 Hen. VI, p. 183.

|| "Et coment il est meyns honorable et plus de charge qe ne soloit estre et unquore y ne ad null substance de persones vaillantz et suffisantz si busoigne y serroit, mes de rascalle pur la greindre part." Id. 7 & 8 Hen. IV, p. 577.

¶ Id. 29 Hen. VI, p. 216.

on the petition of Thomas Chaucer, request that letters patent of Henry IV, granting him the office of chief butler for life, should be confirmed in parliament, which is accordingly done with all due form.* One of the causes of summoning the parliament in 1455, was "to establish an ordinate and substantial rule for the kings honourable houshold."†

But with the army or navy, or the officers of either, the parliament could not interfere. Of course not. In 1339, we find provisions made, in full parliament, for the protection of Southampton, Berwick, the Isles of Wight and Jersey, and the different counties considered in most danger—the commanders of the fortresses appointed—the particular individuals, who were to array the counties, commissioned‡—the strength and station of the fleets determined, and the period when they should be ready for service—their admirals named—all necessary orders issued—and, in short, every thing done which would be now committed to the care of the army and navy offices.§ Thirty years afterwards, the commons make it their first request, that the castles on the coasts, and near the enemy, should be hastily surveyed, and put into a state of defence.|| In 1371, they set forth the causes by which the navy was almost destroyed, and the king promises to remedy them.¶ They complain, in 1376, that Nottingham castle is confided to a stranger.** In the following year, in consequence of their request that all those captains who had lost any towns or castles, should answer in parliament before them and the lords, William Weston is tried and executed for the surrender of a castle, with the command of which he had been entrusted.†† In the same session, they (the commons) request that all those who had the command of any castles, towns, or fortresses, should give security for the proper discharge of the duty.‡‡ Two years afterwards, they request that sufficient commanders and garrisons should be placed in Berwick, Rocksburgh, and Carlisle; that all the lords who had lands in the northern

* 1 Hen. VI, p. 178.

† Id. 33 Hen. VI, p. 279. See Edward IV's promise "to live upon my nowne," 7 Edw. IV, p. 572.

‡ See the Commons settling the clauses of the commissions of array; 5 Hen. IV, p. 526-7: and naming the commissioners; 6 Hen. IV, p. 552.

§ Id. 13 Edw. III, 105, 8, 9, 10, 11.

|| Id. 43 Edw. III, 300.

¶ Id. 50 Edw. III, 351.

** Id. 45 Edw. III, 307. See a similar complaint respecting Manlyon Castle, and a request that it should be entrusted to Englishmen and other lieges; Id. 7 & 8 Hen. IV, p. 579.

†† Id. 1 Ric. II, 10, 11, 14, 17.

‡‡ Ib. 17 a.

counties, should be charged, on their allegiance, to remain there continually, and that the same course should be pursued with regard to the towns and castles belonging to the king.* Such requests were quite common.† We find them making several demands for restraining and regulating the powers and jurisdictions of the admirals, which are complied with.‡ In 1382, the admiral of the north is appointed at their request.§ In 1383, they grant a subsidy specially for the safeguard of the coasts, with a provision, that it should be “paid to the admirals now named, in case they wished, in this present parliament, to take on them the safeguard of the said sea;”|| they make it one of the conditions for a subsidy in 1385, that the names of the chieftains in the marches of Scotland and elsewhere, and the admirals, should be declared to them, and entered on the parliament roll;¶ they make it one of the charges against the earl of Suffolk the following year, that the money thus granted had been otherwise expended, and that the sea was not guarded in the manner ordained.** In 1397, they, with the other estates of parliament, are informed, that the office of admiral has been entrusted to the marquis of Dorset;†† in 1410, they request that the admiral should appoint a deputy, with sufficient force, to protect the coasts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Cumberland;§§ and in 1442, they fix the number of ships and men necessary for the defence of the realm, name the very vessels that are to be employed, and in short make all the regulations respecting them, except that they allow the king to appoint the chief captain from among eight worthy knights and squires selected by them from the west, south, and north, and such other “as the king liketh him of the said viii. for to attende the said chief captayne.”||| We might add proofs to almost any extent of their interference with the services and appointments not only of the preceding, but of all other officers; but would it not be “extravagant excess” to adduce more?¶¶

* Id. 3 Ric. II, pp. 81-86.

† Id. 6 Ric. II, pp. 86-146; 7 Ric. II, p. 161; 8 Ric. II, p. 200; 9 Ric. II, p. 213; 11 Ric. II, p. 251; 1 Hen. IV, p. 434; 2 Hen. IV, p. 476; 5 Hen. IV, p. 523; 6 Hen. IV, p. 552; 7 & 8 Hen. IV, p. 573; 9 Hen. IV, p. 612; &c. &c.

‡ Id. 13 Ric. II, 269; 14 Ric. II, 283; 15 Ric. II, 291; 1 Hen. IV, 472; 4 Hen. IV, 496; 2 Hen. V, 23.

§ Id. 6 Ric. II, 138.

|| 7 Ric. II, 151.

¶ Id. 9 Ric. II, 204.

** 10 Ric. II, 216.

†† 21 Ric. II, 368.

§§ Id. 11 Hen. IV, 639.

||| Id. 23 Hen. VI, p. 59.

¶¶ See, as to the appointment even of Justices of the Peace, Rot. P. 50 Edw. III, 333; 2 Ric. II, 66; 13 Ric. II, 269; 2 Hen. VI, 51; 5 Hen. VI, 407. As to the ancient practice of electing, in each county, the different local officers for the administration of justice, see 2 Inst. 558.

Then as to the question of peace and war, and foreign alliances. Suppose the king did proclaim war without the assent of parliament, what means had he of carrying it on? He had no fleet, no standing army; he could not impose taxes; his private revenues were not sufficient for more than his ordinary peace expenses; he could not compel his military tenants to go out of the kingdom, and no other persons could he compel to go beyond their own counties, "only for cause of necessity of sudden coming of strange enemies into the realms."* But instead of indulging in disquisitions, let us see what the facts are. Not to go back beyond 1242, we find the barons refusing the king an aid for carrying on his wars in France, as he had undertaken them without their consent, telling him to his face that they would be no longer plundered as if they were slaves.† A few years afterwards he makes another demand; the parliament require reform; he will not grant it; he gets no subsidy, and is obliged to sell his plate and jewels.‡ At a parliament in 1255, his own brother being the first applied to, refuses to give him an aid for his expedition to Apulia, as he had undertaken it without the advice and assent of his baronage.§ Three years afterwards, he again receives a similar answer, being also told that as he had unadvisedly accepted that kingdom without their consent, he should preserve it as best he might; they would not ruin themselves for him.|| By

* 1 Edw. III. stat. 2, c. 5: see also 4 Hen. IV. c. 13; Rot. P. 1 Edw. III, p. 8 & 11

† "Responderunt Magnates cum magna cordium amaritudine quod talia conceperat inconsultus et talia effrons impudenter postularat exagitans et depauperans fideles suos tam frequenter trahens exactiones in consequentiam quasi a servis ultimæ conditionis et tantam pecuniam toties extorsit inutiliter dispergendam. Contradixerunt igitur regem in faciem, nolentes amplius sic pecunia sua frustratorie spoliari. . . . Cæterum nimis admirantur Magnates Angliæ universi quod sine eorum consilio et assensu tam arduum tam periculosum negotium es aggressus fidem adhibens fide carentibus spretoque naturalium tuorum favore exponas te tam ancipitis fortunæ casibus."—M. Paris, 588.

‡ So deeply in debt was he about this time, even for the necessities of life (et aliis etiam vitæ necessariis), that he could scarce appear in public on account of the clamour of his creditors (vix in populo apparere potuit); and that he assured the clergy in parliament, that it was a greater charity to give pecuniary relief to him than to the beggar going from door to door; "asserens majorem elemosynam fore sibi juvamen conferre pecuniare quam alicui ostiatim mendicanti."—Id. 651-758.

§ "Quod negotium eundi in Apuliam assumpsit sine consilio et assensu Baronagii sui, sibilis Transalpinantium fascinat."—Id. 913.

|| "Quod nullo modo potuerunt sine eorum irrestaurabili subversione toties inaniter substantialis suas usque ad exanitionem effundere. Et si inconsulto et indecenter regnum Apuliæ ad opus Edmundi filii sui a Papa comparasset, suæ imputet simplicitati, et quod incircumspecte et absque suorum consilio nobilium præsumpsit, tanquam spreto deliberationis et prudentiæ quæ solet rerum exitus præmetiri, prout potest, ducat ad effectum qualem qualem."—Id. 965.

5 Ed. II, c. 9, it was ordained "that the king henceforth shall not go out of his realm, nor undertake deed of war against any one without the common assent of his baronage, and that in parliament; and if he do otherwise, and upon such enterpris cause to be summoned his service, such summons shall be for none." Though this was repealed with the other ordinances in the fifteenth year of that reign, the principle seems to have been established as law and custom. Even by the very words of the repealing statute, the crown was bound to consult the parliament on the subject of peace or war, for what could possibly concern more "the estate of the realm and of the people?" Usage is said to be the best interpreter of the law. Edward III undertakes the war against France by the common assent of all the parliament;* on that ground solely asks them for aids to carry it on;† while engaged in it lays a statement of his affairs before them at the commencement of every session;‡ consults them even as to the conduct, or "array," of it;§ and will not make a treaty without their concurrence.|| He asks whether he ought to treat with the French by way of amity or marriage, according to their offer. The Commons recommend marriage, and certain lords are then appointed to treat thereon.¶ He is recommended to lead an expedition in person to Ireland,** and subsequently allowed to defer it a twelvemonth, that he might be able to go to France, where he was promised that on a personal visit he should "find great friendship."†† He lays the articles of the truce in 1344 before both houses; explains the conduct of the French and other enemies; and is requested, if he should be forced to undertake an expedition against them, to prosecute it, notwithstanding the letters, prayers, or commands of the Pope, or of any one else, till he should bring the business to a conclusion one way or the other.‡‡ The assent of the Commons to the proposed treaty in 1354 was deemed of such importance that they were twice asked ex-

* "Par commune assent de tous."—Rot. P. 13 Edw. III, 103.

† Ibid.

‡ See the rolls for every session during the war.

§ Id. 21 Edw. III, 165.

|| Roll 85; "Par cause qe ceste guerre est emprise commencee par commune assent des ditz Prelatz Grantz et communes le roi ne voleit treset de pees faire ne pees prendre sans lour commune assent."—Id. 17 Edw. III, 136; See also 45 Edw. III, 303.

¶ Id. 5 Edw. III, 60, 1.

** Ibid.

†† Cotton's Exact Abridg. p. 12; Rot. P. 6 Edw. III, 65.

‡‡ "Tan q'il est fait fyn en une manere ou en autre." Id. 18 Edw. III, 148 See also 18 Edw. III, stat. 2, c. 1.

pressly whether they would agree to it, and a notary was ordered to draw up a public instrument to testify such assent.* In short, the conduct of a war against some foreign enemy, the maintenance of the navy, and the defence of the realm generally by land and sea, form some of the causes for the summoning of almost every parliament that met in that and subsequent reigns, while we were engaged, or about to engage, in hostilities.†

But Mr. Hallam considers Edward III to have been guilty of “an unfair trick of policy,” in saying that he undertook the war against France by “common assent,” in order merely to throw the war upon parliament as their act, and to prevent any murmuring about subsidies.‡ The inference deducible from this observation is, that Edward could have involved England in a war against France without the “common assent.” The men of that period seem to have been of a contrary opinion. We find Edward himself stating in a public document that he could not agree even to a truce, without consulting the parliament.§ The parliament which met in 1344 was summoned on account of “various matters touching the government and salvation of the realm of England, which could not be settled without parliament.”|| These matters seem to have been the war and proposed peace. At the opening of an adjourned session in 1384, the chancellor informs both houses that the king desires their advice on the proposed

* “Il ent ferroit instrument public.” Id. 28 Edw. III, 61.

† Id. 6 Edw. III, 66; 13 Edw. III, 103, 4; 45 Edw. III, 303; 50 Edw. III, 321; 51 Edw. III, 362; 22 Edw. III, 200; 25 Edw. III, 237; 27 Edw. III, 251, 2; 28 Edw. III, 254; 29 Edw. III, 264; 42 Edw. III, 295; 47 Edw. III, 316; 1 Ric. II, 5; 2 Ric. II, 32; 6 Ric. II, 132, 134, 148; 7 Ric. II, 149, 166; 8 Ric. II, 184; 2 Hen. IV, 454; 4 Hen. IV, 485; 5 Hen. IV, 522; 13 Hen. IV, 647; 7 & 8 Hen. IV, 559 573; 2 Hen. VI, 199; 11 Hen. VI, 509; 14 Hen. VI, 481; 33 Hen. VI, 79; 7 Hen. VII, 440. See an offensive war recommended to Parliament as better than a defensive one; 7 Ric. II, 150; 7 & 8 Edw. IV, 623; and Parliament declaring war, and sending a body of troops, against the Scotch.—Walsingham, 330.

‡ Mid. Ages, vol. ii. p. 368. Dr. Lingard expresses a similar opinion, vol. iv. p. 120.

§ “Nos pro eo quod prælatis et proceribus ac magnatibus regni nostri necnon confederatis nostris, *quorum interest*, inconsultis dictæ trengæ tunc assentire non poteramus, Parliamentum nostrum, &c. &c., ut tam ipsorum prælatorum et procerum ac communitatum dicti regni nostri quam confederatorum nostrorum prædictorum habere possemus deliberationem,” &c.—Rymer, Fœd. vol. ii. par. 2, p. 1014.

|| “Pur diverses busorgnes touchantes le gouvernement et la salvation du roialme d’Engleterre lesqueux ne pourraient estre exploitez sans Parlement.”—Rot. F. 18 Edw. III, 148.

treaty with "his adversary of France," to which he does not wish finally to agree without their assent and knowledge, "THOUGH HE MIGHT WELL DO SO, AS IT IS A MATTER WHICH, AS ONE MAY SUPPOSE, DOES NOT APPERTAIN IN ANY WAY TO THE RIGHT OR TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND OF ANCIENT TIMES."* The Commons, after considering the subject, and examining the articles of the treaty which were laid before them, declare their unwillingness, in consequence of the great dangers they see on every side, to advise him one way or the other; but express their desire for peace:—"AND IT SEEMS TO THEM THAT THE KING MAY AND OUGHT TO ACT IN THIS BUSINESS AS SHALL SEEM BEST TO HIS NOBLE LORDSHIP, AS BEING A MATTER WHICH IS HIS OWN PROPER INHERITANCE, WHICH HAS DESCENDED TO HIS NOBLE PERSON BY RIGHT OF HIS ROYAL LINEAGE, AND DOES NOT AT ALL BELONG TO THE REALM, OR TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND."† They pray him, however, to act according to the advice of his council, and to excuse them from giving any other answer at present. Being again charged to say positively whether they wished for peace or for war, as a truce could not be had, they declare themselves for peace, but object to some of the conditions of the treaty. Learning afterwards that the Lords had refused to advise for peace or war, and had answered only that, "were they in the king's state;‡ they would prefer peace, they declare themselves of the same opinion, and refuse to give any other answer. In 1397 they declare to the king that they had not debated about preventing him from sending ambassadors to the king of France, according to his promise, having been told that it was his intention that by this embassy *neither the Commons nor the realm would be bound or charged*. "Nevertheless, the said Commons pray and make their protest, *that since the king, of his own authority and will, has granted this expedition, they shall not be parties to it, nor to anything which may happen in consequence of it, nor be endamaged thereby, but be entirely excused therefrom.*"§ This language needs no comment. We

* "Combien q'il le purroit bien faire, come chose quele a ce q' homme pense n' appartient nyc en rienz au droit ne a la coronne d'Engleterre d'ancienier."—Idem, 7 Ric. II, 166.

† "Come de chose q' est son propre heritage, q' est par droit lignage roiale descenduz a sa noble persone et noun pas appartenant al Roialme ne a la coronne d'Engleterre."—Id. 170.

‡ "S' ils feussent en l' estat du roi."—Id.

§ "Nientmoins les ditz communes prieront et firent leur protestation qe coment le Roy de sa autorite et volentes demesne avoit grantez tel viage, qe de celle

find the treaty with France, in the seventeenth year of that reign, confirmed in full parliament by King, Lords, Judges, and Commons.* The contract with the merchants for the protection of the sea in 1406 is laid before the Commons, and as they had not time to consider it fully in parliament, in consequence of the near approach of Easter, they assign a certain number from among them to confer with the king's council and merchants respecting it.† Ten years afterwards the articles of the treaty of peace between Henry V and Sigismund, king of the Romans, are laid before the Lords and Commons, and after due and solemn deliberation had respecting them, the king, in the language of the Rolls, "the said alliances and confederations, and all the matters aforesaid, in manner and form in the said letters-patent recited, by their (the Lords' and Commons') assent and consent in the said parliament, and by the authority of the same, and that which belongs to our said lord, for him, his heirs and successors aforesaid, ratified, approved, and confirmed, and now again ratifies, approves, and confirms."‡ In 1421 a treaty of perpetual peace is agreed to between Henry and the king of France;—one of the conditions of which is, that it should not only be sworn to by both sovereigns, but approved and accepted by the three estates of their respective kingdoms.§ The French king having fulfilled this condition on his part, Henry next lays the several articles of the treaty before parliament, when the three estates, after having duly weighed and examined them, and found them praiseworthy, necessary, and useful to the subjects of both kingdoms, approve, praise, authorise, and accept them, and promise for themselves, their heirs and successors, well and faithfully to observe and fulfil them.|| It was also agreed

viage ne de nul chose q'eut purroit advenir en apres ils ne mys parties n'ent endamagez mais outrement excusez."—Id. 20 Ric. II, 338.

* Id. 17 Ric. II, 315.

† Id. 7 & 8 Hen. IV, 569-573.

‡ "Les ditz alliances et confederations et toutz les choses avauntditz, en manere et fourm en les dites lettres patentz recitez, de leur commune assent et consent en le dit Parlement et par l'auctorite dicell, quantq en nostre dit sovereign est, pur lui et ses heirs et successours avauntditz ratifia approva et conferma et de fait ratifie approve et conferme par ycestes."—Id. 4 Hen. V, 99.

§ "In ejus pacis tractatu inter cetera continetur quod dicta pax per dictos duos Reges jurari, et etiam per tres status utriusque regni debeat laudari acceptari et approbari."—Id. 9 Hen. V, 135.

|| "Ipsi tres status considerantes censentes et reputantes dictam pacem laudabilem necessariam et utilem utrisque regnis et subditis eorumdem . . . approbaverunt, laudarunt, autorizarunt et acceptarunt, et eandem se et eorum quemlibet pro se suisque heredibus et successoribus, bene et fideliter perpetuis futuris temporibus quantum ad eos et singulos eorum pertinet, observaturos et impleturos promiserunt."—Id. b.

upon between those two sovereigns, that neither should make peace with Charles the dauphin, without the assent of the three estates of England and France. We find it "ordeined and advised" by the Lords and Commons in 1430-81, that "my lordes of Bedford and Gloucestr, and my Lord Cardinall, and oyer of y^e kyngg's blood, and of his counseill, may trete y^e pees on the king's behalf," not only with the French, but with the Spaniards, Scotch, and "any oyer."* In 1444, the Duke of Suffolk details his conduct in the bringing about of the peace between France and England, and the king's marriage, before the Commons, "to the end it myght in tyme to come abyde in their remembrance whatsoever fell thereof;" "and hereof he desired an act to be entred in the parlement rolle." The speaker of the Commons two days afterwards, in the name of his fellows, approves of the duke's conduct, beseeches the king to receive him to his grace and favour, as having done "good, true, and faithful service to him and all this his land," and requests the Lords to join in a similar prayer. Many of the lords having complied with this request, the king thanks both Lords and Commons, and promises to comply with their prayers; and the whole transaction is "enacted and enroled of record," for the "true acquitale and discharge, perpetuell honour" of the Duke of Suffolk and his heirs for ever.† In the same session, the Lord Chancellor protests, before the King, Lords and Commons, and in the name of the Lords, that the appointment of "a day of convencion for the matere of peace" "between your most royale person and your uncle of France," was of the king's own will and motion, and not by the advice of any of the lords; and desires that they therefore should be held excused, and discharged from all connexion with it, and that this their "humble request" should be entered on the parliament roll.‡ "To advertise and ordeyn howe and when the 13,000 archers granted in the last parliament shall be employed," is one of the causes for summoning the parliament in 1455 § The treaty of peace with the Hanz merchants in 1473 appears in the parliament roll in the form of a statute, by the "advys and assent of the Lords spiritueltx and temporelx, and the Comens, in this present parliament assembled, and by the auctorite of the same."|| It was one of the articles of the treaty of peace between France and England in 1492, that the treaty should be

* Id. 9 Hen. VI, p. 371 b.

† Id. 23 Hen. VI. 73, 74.

‡ Id. 102 b.

§ Id. 33 Hen. VI, 279.

|| Id. 13 Edw. IV, 65 a, b.

ratified, approved, and confirmed by the three estates of both kingdoms, rightly and duly convoked. Its confirmation on the part of England by act of parliament, may be seen in the statutes at large—11 Hen. VII c. 65.

But we fear we have exhausted the patience of our readers; we are, however, confident that the paramount importance of a right understanding of the conduct of our ancestors, while our holy religion had full sway, in securing our constitutional freedom, will not only justify our present appeal to their indulgence, but will require a further development on an early occasion.

ART. VI.—1. *A Year among the Circassians.* By J. A. Longworth, Esq. London: 1840.

2. *Journal of a Residence in Circassia, during the Years 1837, 1838, and 1839.* By James Stanislaus Bell. London: 1840.

SOME account of Circassia was given in one of the earlier numbers of this Journal,* founded principally on the reports of Messrs. Spencer and Marigny. We then had occasion to observe that by Article IV of the treaty of Adrianople, concluded between the Czar and the Sultan in 1829, nearly the whole eastern coast of the Euxine was placed under the dominion of Russia. To this arrangement, however, the Circassians, who never had been conquered by Turkey, and of whose country therefore the latter had no lawful power to dispose, refused their consent. They have in consequence resisted, and hitherto with marvellous energy and success, every attempt of the emperor to reduce them under his yoke. The mountainous character of the principal districts has enabled small and resolute bands, by the mode of warfare well known in Spain under the title of Guerilla, to annihilate in detail immense expeditions sent from time to time against them; and although year after year such expeditions are renewed, it does not yet appear probable that the imperial domination can ever be permanently established in that territory.

The inhabitants who are chiefly engaged in the contest waged against Russia are the occupants of the coast from

* No. V. July, 1837.

Sokoumkale to Anapa. This district is entirely mountainous. The Circassian tribes who dwell in the vallies and the plains eastward of the mountains, towards the river Kuban on one side, and the river Terek on the other, having no considerable mountain ranges to defend them, were soon obliged to yield to the overwhelming forces which bore down upon them from Russia. Mr. Longworth calculates the population of the still unconquered provinces at about one million, of which he computes the adult males capable of bearing arms at 150,000. They all speak the same language, varied only by slight differences of local dialects. The religion of Mahomet very generally prevails amongst them, but it is of comparatively recent introduction. They had been previously pagans, and in some districts the system of idolatry is by no means as yet extinguished. Crosses are occasionally met with, from which it would appear that in some former age Christian missionaries had visited those regions, and had even left there favourable impressions. Mr. Spencer, Mr. Longworth, and Mr. Bell, state that those emblems of our holy faith are venerated by the natives as ancient relics of a most sacred character.

Russia is very generally looked upon by Englishmen as a power ambitious of aggrandisement, seeking not only to interfere sooner or later with our Indian dominions, but also to push its authority into the Mediterranean, to possess or to control the whole of Turkey, at least as far as Syria, and to exercise an influence, equal, if not superior to our own, in the direction of European affairs. The fortunate exertions, therefore, hitherto made by the Circassians to stay the strides of that constantly enlarging empire, have very naturally excited amongst us the warmest sympathy. It has even been alleged that communications of a demi-official character have been made to them by our government, promising assistance at some future period. It is certain that Mr. Urquhart, who visited Circassia some six or seven years ago, did give them assurances to that effect, and that, chiefly through his zeal in their cause, similar assurances have been conveyed to them by Messrs. Longworth and Bell.

We have reason to believe that our government would be happy to see that valiant people in the secure possession of their national independence; and that more than one of our diplomatists abroad, and of our under-officers at home, have uttered words of encouragement upon this subject, which have found their way to Circassia, and have contributed materially to animate the struggle for liberty still going on in that region.

But "the pear is not yet ripe." Circumstances are by no means, yet in presence of each other which would justify any open declaration in favour of Circassian independence upon the part of Great Britain; and the consequence must be that all those British enthusiasts, who volunteer, with or without demi-official sanction, their services in the Circassian cause, must be contented to find, at the end of their terms of exertion, utter disavowal and no pay.

Mr. Bell and his brother (a London merchant) were the charterers of the *Vixen*, about the capture and confiscation of which by the Russian authorities so much noise was made some time ago. The history of that affair was fully detailed in the article to which we have already referred. It was a premature attempt to accelerate a crisis in the relations between England and Russia, and of course it failed.

Mr. Longworth states that he was directly recommended by Mr. Urquhart (then secretary of legation at Constantinople) to visit Circassia, and to encourage the belligerent natives in their resistance to Russia. We do not doubt this statement to be true, although Mr. Urquhart refused to give our traveller any letter of recommendation, or any written document whatever. Whether it was, *in foro conscientiæ*, justifiable on the part of Mr. Longworth, or the Messrs. Bell, to engage in agencies of this description, is a question with which it is no business of ours to meddle. Mr. Longworth is a Catholic—a gentleman of considerable ability, classical attainments, very good taste, and literary habits. He first went out to Constantinople in the suite of one of the Turkish envoys to our court, and acted for awhile as the correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*. For some unexplained reason he frequently transferred his articles to the *Times*. On proceeding to Circassia (in 1837) he assumed the character of a merchant, and took with him a small cargo of lead and other articles which he thought might meet with a ready market in that country. His work is written in a very lively vein throughout, exhibiting a tendency to the romantic. His style is clear, natural, and occasionally very neat and even classically polished. Some of his descriptions of the country which he traversed, though perhaps not so full or so picturesque as those of Mr. Spencer, are well calculated to fix and reward the attention of his readers. He does not attempt to resist the impression which his adventures must sometimes make upon them, that he falls into situations rather ludicrous, if not Quixotic. With great good humour he joins in the laugh

against himself, even at the expense of the imputation that there is in his disposition more *naïveté* than a travelled man would like to acknowledge. These little traits of character will, however, by no means detract from the interest which his volumes must excite.

The work produced by Mr. Bell, who resided three years in Circassia, is cast in the shape of letters to his brother. They go very much into detail, both in political and mercantile affairs. Though much inferior to Mr. Longworth's production in point of style, in local description, and in portraiture of the characters of those persons who have acquired eminence during the contest waged against Russia, nevertheless these letters will, if we mistake not, be considered as a very valuable addition to the stock of knowledge already collected with reference to a long-neglected portion of the great human community—a portion the more deserving of our attention, inasmuch as it is considered, taking it in conjunction with the Caucasian tribes in general, as the parent-stock of the European countenance and figure.

We need not go through all the preliminary difficulties which Mr. Longworth had to contend against in preparing his little mercantile adventure to the Circassian coast. Be it sufficient to say, that after more than one hair-breadth escape from very stormy weather, he eluded the vigilance of the Russian blockading ships of war, and landed himself and his cargo safe on the coast of the small bay, or rather roadstead, of Pælaat. Thence he proceeded towards the banks of the Pchat, a small fordable river, not far to the south of the harbour of Ghelendjek, where a strong Russian garrison was then established. Having passed the river in company with some Circassians whom he had taken into his service, he directed his course westerly, until he reached a cleft in the mountains, where he soon found himself in the yard of his *konag*, or host. We shall here join him without any ceremony:—

“ Our Konag Bey stood ready to receive me, and leading my horse opposite to the guest-house, assisted me to alight. He then ushered me into the house, and with his own hands relieved me of my arms, and hung them against the wall. A silken couch had been spread for me in a corner of the room, on one side of the hearth; at the head of this was a pile of cushions: with the exception of these, and a mat and cushion laid down for the Hadji, [a Mahometan pilgrim who accompanied Mr. Longworth] there was no other furniture in the room; but the walls, gleaming with the weapons of the guests, presented anything but a naked appearance. For some time, every

body remained standing but myself; after a short silence, the words of welcome were exchanged, when another pause took place. Our host then desired the principal guests to sit down, but at first on no account would he be seated himself; after repeated pressing, however, he crouched himself down at a respectful distance on the floor. I have been thus minute in detailing these ceremonies, as they mark the reception of a stranger in every house in Circassia. The room itself was of an oblong shape, eight yards by four; the walls were constructed of stakes and hurdles, plaistered on each side with a coat of light-coloured earth; the floor was of hard earth, which I observed was every now and then carefully watered and swept. The thatch above, supported by rafters in a triangular form, descended from the roof over the walls in large projecting eaves, serving in summer for verandahs. Extending from the walls almost to the middle of the room in a semicircle of about two yards in diameter, and at three or four feet from the ground, was a huge chimney; it contracted itself towards the top in the shape of a bell, and perforating it at the gable, rose a few feet above the roof.

"So spacious are these chimneys, that there is hardly one of them without a swallow's nest, where, unmolested by the fire beneath, they enliven the apartment by their constant twittering. They are made of the same materials as the walls; indeed, all manner of building, including bee-hives and water-closets, is of basket-work. It is speedily set fire to, and with the assistance of friends, who never refuse a helping hand on these occasions, almost as speedily rebuilt. With such neighbours as the Russians, it is perhaps well that architecture has made no great progress. Under such circumstances, a man feels less reluctance in deserting and firing with his own hands, if necessary, his habitation, the preservation of which, in more civilized countries, so commonly involves the sacrifice of liberty.

"After we had been some time seated, a large bowl of a beverage the Tartars call *boza* (in Circassian, *souat*), was presented to me by my host; it is a mixture of fermented millet-seed and honey, "thick and slab," and exceedingly nauseous, I thought, though drinking it out of complaisance to my entertainer, who watched me closely to see that I did not flinch, and during the evening renewed the charge, bowl in hand, at least a dozen times. Dinner, or, more properly speaking, supper, which constitutes their chief meal, was served after sunset. It consisted of a service of dishes, moved one after the other, on round three-legged tables, about the size of a joint-stool. A sheep having been slaughtered for us, the mutton was served on a thick layer of millet-cake, instead of a dish; being moist and soft, it is easily moulded into the requisite form—that is, with a deep trench in the centre, containing the sauce, or condiment, defended by a circular mound, itself invested on the outside by substantial pieces of mutton or beef.

"The Hadji and myself commenced the attack on these fortifications, having been provided for the purpose with small knives by the

Circassians, who, by-the-bye, always wear these, in addition to their daggers, in their girdles. The latter are never used at meals, the former being for the double purpose of carving their victuals and shaving their polls. After meat came the broth, served up in a wooden bowl, or rather a reservoir, of formidable dimensions; its surface frozen over like the Arctic Ocean, not with ice, however, but grease; but, by inserting, in imitation of my Hadji, the spoon (and, *par parenthèse*, I must protest in the name of my friends against the statement put forth, that they ever insert their hands) with a dexterous jerk into the liquid below, I found I could convey it to my mouth in a tolerable state of purity. The ensuing courses were, for the most part, composed of pastry, *caïmac*, or cream, cheese-cakes, forced meat in vine leaves, and finally a large bowl of yoghurt, or curdled milk, which last, like the pilaff in Turkey, invariably crowns the repast. I was at first surprised to see no vegetables on the table, but I afterwards learned that, although abounding in the country in every variety, the Circassians seldom or never eat them.

"A native of this country dining with Scodra Pasha, in Albania, and declining to eat the vegetables which the Turks, odd to say, are as fond of as the Circassians are averse to them, and which, in successive dishes, formed, on this occasion, the staple of the dinner, was pressed repeatedly by the latter to partake of them. He at length told the Pasha, with much *naïveté*, that none but beasts dine on greens in Circassia.

"During the course of our meal, observing that the Hadji handed to the bye-standers and assistants lumps of meat and pieces of pastry, in compliance with the custom, I shewed myself, at the expense of my host, equally generous. On receiving these scraps, the favoured individual retired with great modesty into a corner, and, turning his back to the company, devoured them in secret. As every table was removed, it was taken to our servants, and after they had been satisfied, passed to a crowd of hungry expectants out of doors. About three hours after sunset, additional beds and coverlets were brought in for me and my domestics, which, on being spread, covered every part of the floor. I ought to mention that my counterpane was of brocaded silk, and that the whole was the manufacture of Turkey."—vol. i. pp. 42-47.

Mr. Longworth was at once set down by his host, and the crowds who soon assembled to give him welcome, as no less a person than a cousin of the king of England; and the merchandise with which his vessel was laden, they had already, in imagination, distributed amongst themselves, in the shape of presents from that sovereign. He could not induce them to believe that he was a mere trader, and that he had no disposition whatever to part with any of his property, unless in the way of barter for such produce as they could give him in return. The Hadji, unfortunately (with a view partly to the

exaltation of his own position, partly to get the property into his own possession, for he was a thorough rogue) favoured their more magnificent expectations, and at every attempt of Mr. Longworth to explain the real state of the case, gave a shrug of his shoulders and a wink of his eye, as much as to say, "don't believe a word of it."

It is scarcely necessary to inform our fair readers, that the young women in Circassia are considered as mere articles of merchandize for the markets of Constantinople. They are usually secluded in harems, after the Turkish fashion; and when they are spoken of by their parents or relatives, they are described like cattle, as so many hands high, and, by reason of their figure and beauty, as of such or such a value—on the average, ten times the value of a fat ox. They never sit in the presence of a man, even though he were a servant in the family, without his especial permission. The flowing locks of a Circassian maiden hang from beneath a skull-cap of scarlet cloth, according to the Albanian mode, in a profusion of tresses over her shoulders. The cap is trimmed, crossed with broad silver lace. They all wear bodices of blue silk, decorated in front with silver studs; a girdle, fastened rather low by large silver clasps; a petticoat of striped or flowered silk, extending to the ankle, over loose Turkish trousers, from beneath which peep out a pair of white and delicate feet, naked when in the house—when without it, entrusted to the care of ornamented pattens, or morocco slippers. The elderly dames usually wear a white veil, exactly as our nuns do, and a pelisse, or rather wrapper, of checked calico, which serves to conceal the whole figure. The distinction between the dresses of the matron and the maid is intended to show that the latter is for sale.

The Hadji's roguish insinuations soon brought customers enough to his Majesty's cousin. He was literally besieged by "postulants" of every degree. He did, in fact, bring with him a trunk filled with various articles, such as pistols, swords, watches, gunpowder, which he intended as presents for men, and for the ladies, cases of needles, work-boxes, ornaments and chains of Paris metal. But this said trunk turned out a box of Pandora, such were the disappointments of those who received no presents, and the comparisons made between those which were distributed amongst the rival chieftains. The number of present-beggars seems inexhaustible and insatiable in Circassia. Our friend's host was at first modest, even to shyness, with reference to this subject. He soon, however, intimated,

through the Hadji, a "longing" for the traveller's telescope, the very article with which the latter was of all things the most reluctant to part. "I desired the hadji," says Mr. Longworth, "to tell him that he should have it when I left the country, but that in the meantime I had occasion for it myself in my travels. In answer to this he suggested, that as he intended to accompany me in all my peregrinations, he would carry it for me. I consented to this arrangement, and he accordingly attended me on my route for three days, at the end of which time he begged I would give him a pistol, which being flatly refused to him, he immediately disappeared with the telescope. It is needless to add, that though I now saw clearly through the one, I was never destined to see through the other again!"

Our author displays his happy powers of description in the narrative of his journey to Adhencum, on the Kuban, where he expected to find Mr. Bell. A portion of his course lay along the banks of the Uyderbey. The hills on either side were densely covered (it was the month of May), producing every variety of tree in brilliant foliage, and broken here and there into most picturesque confusion—"now closing with their leafy honours so near the stream, that the latter, 'thick as those that strew the brooks in Vallombrosa,' 'high over-arched embower'—and now separating, as they gradually retreat, range on range, into the distant sky." All this species of scenery has, moreover, the practical value of offering a truly formidable barrier to the progress of any kind of troops which Russia may be disposed to send into that region.

"Before us, at the feet of these mountains, which sank into them in long sweeping ridges and ravines, were the plains of the Kuban. These were bounded in their turn by that river, describing, as it received their tributary streams, a grand semi-circle from north to west. Stretching beyond this, and finally lost in the haze of distance, were the interminable steppes of Russia. Nor, if we turned in the direction we had come, was the prospect less attractive: there, almost parallel with those on which we stood, rose another range of mountains, with a crowd of lesser and thickly wooded hills, rolled on one another like a sea, between which, and through the breaks of the further chain, were caught glimpses of the dark-blue element, and the solitary cruiser gliding thereon, and haunting the coast like some grim spectre.

"But my feelings, while standing upon this commanding position, and surveying the wild and impracticable country beneath, were not confined to admiration: they partook of the proud and conscious security which creates and confirms the independent spirit of the mountaineer. I could not conceive how any body who saw it as I did then,

could dream of the conquest of such a country, and I could have wished at that moment to have had by my side the Russian general, to have enjoyed the despair which I believed such a prospect must have inspired him with, and to have asked him by what plan of operations, in this inextricable confusion, this chaos of hill and valley, river and forest, he proposed to reduce it. If he dispersed his troops, they were sure to be cut off in detail by an armed population, possessing the advantage of local information; if his columns advanced *en masse*, all they could do was to wander through some solitary defiles, harassed on every side by the fire of an invisible foe, and compelled at length, by the want of provisions, to retreat. I was at once convinced, and remain so to this day, and that from a view of the lower range of mountains alone, and of course the conclusion would be strengthened by a visit to the primary ones, that the only chance of their subjugation was in the connexion of their inhabitants with those of the plains."—vol. i. pp. 8-23.

Meanwhile, a Russian fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of war, and a steamer full of troops, infantry and cavalry, numbering at least ten thousand men, had put into Ghelendjek; and Williammenoff, at the head of an equally imposing force, had crossed the Kuban, his object apparently being to combine his movements with those of the legion which had descended on the coast. The adverse parties had already come to blows. Reports from the scene of war were pouring in from all sides. Stragglers from the battle dropped in one after another, bringing accounts of the slaughter of some of their favourite chieftains, and of the glorious feats of others. The most disagreeable rumour of all was, that the enemy had at this time brought with them bands of colonists. "The dirty infidels," exclaimed the Hadji, "are coming upon us pell-mell—their selves, their families, and their pigs! Allah! Allah! Allah!" The actual sounds of the battle now began to be heard. The Hadji, who had hitherto so bravely led the party advancing towards Adhencum, dropped into the rear, fearfully peering about him lest he should come within range of the grapeshot. Amidst the pauses in the roar of the musketry and volleys of the artillery, was heard the scattered, quick-dropping, and irregular fire from the rifles of the Circassians, so galling, and often so fatal, to the invading host. Mingled with these might occasionally be heard the faint hurrah of one party, answered by the shrill, wild war-whoop of the other. The conflict arose in the pass of Nicolai, through which Williammenoff was then fighting his way to Ghelendjek.

The Adhencum is a mountain stream which empties itself into the Kuban, and at the same time lends its name to the

cottages along its banks. It was fixed upon as the rendezvous for the elders, and the more youthful defenders of their country, with the view to deliberate in general assembly upon the present state of their affairs. Mr. Longworth's escort was increased, as he approached the council-field, and already numbered 300, of whom the greater part were in fighting order. They looked a gallant company, sitting their horses with an erect and martial bearing, each man having his rifle slung behind him, his shirt of mail now and then gleaming from beneath his open-breasted tunic. Even the literary bosom of our author glowed with the enthusiasm of the hour, the Circassian standard having been unfurled, and waving in front of the cortège. As they approached the Adhencum, a body of their countrymen, headed by Haoud Oglu Mansour Bey, came out to meet them. This chieftain was considered as the "foremost man in Circassia," having derived his eminence solely from his sagacity and bravery, and a natural eloquence, which enabled him to wield the fierce democracy of the mountains. The young men on both sides, to whom the appropriate name of Dely Canus (wild-bloods, or mad-caps) was given, rushed forward with quick short yells to meet each other, discharging, meantime, in the air, rifles and pistols, and encountering, in mimic fight, horse to horse and man to man.

The council-chamber was a magnificent grove of oaks, cleared from underwood. Beneath the massive shade were seated on the green turf groups of elders, apparently engaged in earnest discussion. Mr. Longworth, however, passed on to the guest house in which Mr. Bell was lodged, or rather enthroned: for, *volens volens*, he was already nominated provisional king of the country. The latter very freely admitted his countryman to a seat upon his throne; no enviable honour it was, inasmuch as they soon discovered that, instead of directing their own movements, they were, in fact, very closely watched and guarded, during their sojourn in the country; and that all their proceedings were regulated for them by the chieftains, who, under the forms of respect and homage, took good care to rule their "whereabouts." National jealousy, evil reports, spread most probably through the agency of Russian emissaries, and a rather limited supply (considering the number of would-be receivers) of presents, appear to have acted injuriously with regard to our travellers in the very commencement of their joint reign, and to have determined them upon the expediency of abdication at the earliest favourable moment. They were indeed consulted as to the most

effectual mode of resisting the march of the Russians,—a question upon which a merchant and a literary tourist were unfortunately little skilled to give advice. Such opinions as they did venture to express, appear to have been treated with no very great respect. As the presents rapidly vanished, the “government” rapidly sank in public esteem. “Of what use,” it was asked, “*was* a government, unless to make presents?” and when the *utile* could no longer make its appearance, the pageantry of dominion soon displayed the fatal step from the sublime to the ridiculous. Mr. Longworth in his simplicity does all but let it clearly out, that he, and his co-king, were literally laughed at by the sly natives, who formed the intermediate orders between the elders and the dely-canus.

The interview between the two provisional regents and their grand council, exhibited many points of drollery. They were placed in the midst of the circle of the elders, beyond which was a crowd of warriors, some on the rising ground, some perched in the trees. One of the first questions was,—what degree of assistance England was prepared to afford them against the Muscovites, who, as they saw, had again invaded their provinces, and seemed bent on destroying them if they could? To this plain question, unhappily, their majesties could give no direct answer. They talked grandly about the *Vixen* affair, which they said was in progress, and to the results of which they looked forward as pregnant with great events. It was no slight addition to their embarrassments, that the royal interpreter “was far too great an original himself, to confine his genius to simple translation.” Their revelations, scanty as they were, “he would interlard as he went on with sundry inventions and embellishments of his own.” “He was,” says Mr. Longworth: “one of those voluble, impudent, and facetious orators who are such favourites in popular assemblies; and as he stood before us, leaning on his staff, forcibly reminded me of the chaplain of the outlaws in the haunts of merry Sherwood.”

The *Vixen* answer, however, made no impression on the Circassian Withenagemote, or Memleket, as it is called in the native language. Something more explicit was demanded to fulfil those hopes which their predecessor on the provisional throne (Mr. Urquhart), had excited. “Do not deceive us,” they cried: “do not repay with guile our confidence; let us have the simple truth; falsehood, we know, may be made to resemble it; nay, so near may it approach the truth, that there shall not be the breadth of my two fingers (said the

orator, suiting the action to the word between them ; yet shall they be as distinct from one another as light from darkness." This was rather a home thrust ! The interrogatory was one to which neither the mercantile nor the literary regent could give a satisfactory reply ; but in lieu thereof, the latter offered, in order to prove his sincerity in their cause, to buckle on his armour, and forthwith proceed to the battle. To this, Mr. Bell added a message of " rather mysterious import, with which he said he was charged to them from Lord Ponsonby. His lordship had desired him to inform the Circassians that they would shortly receive a communication from him, which he doubted not would prove highly satisfactory to them. He had told Mr. Bell at the same time, that he regretted he had not heard of his intended voyage sooner, as in that case he might himself have been the bearer of this communication." This answer seemed to produce just as much satisfaction, as the " Vixen" response. As to the Englishman going to fight for them, that was an offer they could not think of accepting. He was their guest, whom it was their duty to protect from molestation, instead of allowing him to expose his precious person upon the field of war. The debate, in short, took altogether a very gloomy aspect, until the regents, having, in a *sotto voce*, already settled between themselves, the pounds shillings and pence part of the matter, offered to the assembly a donation of two or three tons of lead. The announcement produced " a momentary murmur of applause." One of the leading members returned thanks in terms, which our author justly describes as rather singular. " They were greatly obliged by this seasonable gift of lead ;—some barrels of gunpowder, by way of accompaniment, would have made it much more so ; yet they were very grateful for what they had received." In short, the congress was much disappointed in finding that no great benefit after all was to be expected from the presence of the two Englishmen.

With reference to the character of this national council, it appears to be generally conducted with a degree of decorum, from which the chambers of more " civilized" nations might take a useful lesson. The members, on all sides, steadily discountenance any tendency to tumult ; they greatly prefer the persuasive to the wrangling style. Any body who chooses, may attend the meeting, and speak, and vote ; but it is seldom that any person, under the age of forty, or undistinguished by a sprinkling of some few grey hairs on his head, to mark the maturity of his wisdom, attempts to take a decided part in

the deliberations of this compound executive and legislative institution. Should a Sibthorpe, or a D'Israeli, intrude his thoughts upon them, they do not, as other assemblies do, bellow and crow against him; they quietly rise in a body, and adjourning to another part of the grove, leave him, like the "last rose of summer," "blooming alone," and breathing "his sweetness in the desert air!" They seldom decide by a mere majority,—they debate day after day with exemplary patience, until unanimity is attained; and if this be found impracticable, they allow the question to stand over.

To show the very questionable mode in which the Circassians have been dealt with by some of the "volunteers" to whom we have alluded, we may here mention an incident which Mr. Longworth, in the simplicity that belongs to his character, details for the amusement of his readers. It may be recollected, that some few years ago a periodical publication, called the *Portfolio*, was set on foot by Mr. Urquhart, to the earlier numbers of which he attracted a good deal of public attention, by disclosing through its pages translations of several dispatches marked "secret," which had been addressed by the Count Pozzo di Borgo to his government. Added to these dispatches were dissertations upon a variety of subjects, written by the editor; and amongst the latter was a plan for the pacification of Circassia, by allowing them to declare their independence upon condition of their retiring within the line of the Kuban, and ceding to Russia all their territory beyond that river. Numbers of this journal, covered with fine blue glazed wrappers, containing the title in gilt letters, were transmitted to Circassia; and the scheme of pacification to which we have referred having been loosely translated into the native tongue, the sanguine people assumed from its tenor that this was a proposal made by their English patrons to Russia, and already agreed upon between the two governments. The next step to be taken was to transmit this grand convention to General Williammenoff, with a view to announce to him that it would meet with the entire sanction of the Circassian provinces, and that they would act upon it.

When it came to be inquired into how this document found entrance within their territory, nobody could tell. But there was *Portfolio* on the wrapper, and so it was decided that a British general officer, named "Portfolio," was the bearer of the treaty; and although nobody had actually seen this envoy, yet the rumour was credited, and in his name heralds took the paper to the Russian commander, who, of course, laughed at it.

But no laughing matter, if we may believe the statement before us, was his reply, which was couched in language so impious, and at the same time so impolitic, that, notwithstanding all Mr. Longworth's assurances, we can scarcely believe it to be authentic.

"What is it you look for? Are you not aware that if the heavens should fall, Russia could prop them with her bayonets? . . . If you desire peace, you must be convinced that there are but two powers in existence—God in heaven, and the Emperor upon earth! . . . Travellers from Russia must have food and lodging, and be treated with the same consideration as your chiefs. . . . We must be allowed to go wherever we please, erect forts wherever we please, and be supplied with all labourers and materials we may deem necessary. . . . Otherwise your valleys shall be destroyed with fire and sword, and your mountains trampled into dust! Yield, and you may retain your property; if not, all you possess, even your arms, shall be taken from you, and yourselves made slaves."

We confess, that however tyrannical the conduct of the Russians may have been towards the Circassians, we are much inclined to suspect that this document proceeded from the same laboratory as the alleged convention itself.

We cannot take our leave of the Congress without introducing our readers to some of its leading members:—

"Before we take leave of the council, the reader will, perhaps, think it worth his while to be more particularly introduced to some of its leading members. I have myself a melancholy pleasure in re-convoking, by the aid of memory, the bold and venerable forms, the impersonations of prowess and wisdom, then gathered in peaceful conclave; but many of which, in the vicissitudes of an exterminating warfare, can even now only exist in the songs of their minstrels. Another generation, and they will have faded even from these. In a land of sages, heroes, and patriots (where valour still relies on the might of a single arm), fame has too many recent claims on her attention, to busy herself with the sayings and doings of past ages. There are three qualities, as I was informed by old Osmah, my djeraah, or squire, that entitle a man to celebrity here—bravery, eloquence, and hospitality; or, as he expressed it, 'a sharp sword, a sweet tongue, or forty tables.'

"Of Haoud Oglou Mansour Bey, I have already spoken; so popular had he become that I have frequently heard him styled king of the country—a facetious piece of hyperbole, itself proving they had no fear of his becoming so in reality.

"After him, the next in public estimation was Kheri Oglou Shamiz Bey; his praises were in the mouth of every body, and, what the politic chieftain cared more for, his counsels; his agency was rather felt than seen, and of himself I saw little for a month

after my arrival; when he was pointed out to me, I beheld an old man of meek yet dignified demeanour, with a long white beard, tall, spare, and erect. His life had been spent in war and adventure, he having commenced his career at the siege of Ismael, subsequently fought against the French in Egypt, and signalised himself in the wars that had lasted so many years against Russia in the Cabardas. In short, he was scored all over with cuts and scratches, tokens of many a fray, that but for such remembrances would have been long since forgotten. But though to us the Circassian Nestor may seem to have dwelt somewhat too much on past campaigns, and too little on the present, his countrymen, to whom the personal experience of such a man is what books of travels and history are to us, appeared never tired of listening to him. Another quality for which he was much admired was, his perfect command of a temper naturally ungovernable.

"On my expressing my surprise one day to a Circassian, at the equanimity he had shewn under strong provocation and very trying circumstances, he replied: 'The breast of Shamiz is a capacious one; how much is there suppressed that others have no conception of!' To violence or insult he would generally retort with quiet sarcasm, or a dry *frek-ee* (very well)! But there had been occasions when the reckless vehemence of his disposition had displayed itself with a startling and splendid effect; when, for instance, in defence of a client, he drew his sword on the Pasha of Anapa. This was at a time when the Turks, whom Russia now asserts to have been masters of the country, had each of them his protector, or Konag Bey, among the Circassians, being even in their own fortress merely considered by them in the light of musafirs or guests. One of these, especially protected by Shamiz, being about to be put to death by the Pasha, the chivalrous old ouzden, happening to be in the town, and deeming his honour involved in his immediate rescue, strode into the Selamlık, placed himself before the prisoner, and, unsheathing his yataghan, told the Pasha and his astonished myrmidons to touch him at their peril. In this trait we may perceive, perhaps, more to admire than to censure; but there are others I could mention in which he seems to have acted under far less creditable impulses—those of pride and revenge; passions which a strong intellect had taught him rather to dissemble than subdue. It was in this respect that he differed from Mansour; and though his calm and chastened demeanour, the stoicism and dissimulation superinduced by habit, might command respect, as consonant with the ideas of his countrymen, they could not make him beloved like the native candour and noble simplicity of the former. Yet was there neither rivalry nor ill-will between them; for while Mansour cheerfully yielded to the old man the outward deference which his years entitled him to, the other, with equal tact and good-sense, subscribed to his real ascendancy; and both, by their mutual concessions, upheld the consequence and character of their tribe, that of the Chipakous; since the expulsion of the Abbats, not less paramount in Shapsook than Natukvitch.

"In this illustrious tribe, composed of six or seven families at the most, were also included Mehemet Indar Oglou, and Hadji Ali, the judge. To these we may add Arshan Ghazi, a brave and distinguished warrior, in the prime of life, not less remarkable, however, for his modesty than bravery; indeed, his extreme bashfulness, contrasted with a manly countenance, chest and shoulders of a Hercules, and what we had heard from those who had seen him put forth his might in battle, cleaving his way through the Russian ranks like a Rustan, was rather prepossessing than otherwise. He was evidently a man of action, and but an indifferent talker.

"Among the most influential of the individuals who attended this assembly, was also Kheriah Oglou Ali Bey, of the tribe of Kutsuk, a man who not only challenged respect by his bodily attributes, being tall, gaunt, and sinewy as a giant, but who, by his native sturdiness of character, qualified by a ceremonious and plausible address, contrived to have a good deal of his own way in the country. Few cared to offend a man of his inches and determination; and his neighbours, particularly the Armenians, invariably complied with the polite requests which, from time to time, agreeably to the customs of the country, he preferred to them for cattle or merchandise.

"From the names I have already cited, it will be seen that the principal personages in this province were, at the epoch I am alluding to, nearly all nobles. There were some commoners, however, who by their personal influence supported the credit of their order. There was Dayik Oglou Shupash, about as favourable a specimen of the Circassian Tocav, or yeoman, as could be met with—a true patriot, a hearty and hospitable host, hardy in his habits, courteous in his manners, and scrupulously neat in his dress and accoutrements; nor was this care confined to the completeness and disposition of his own paraphernalia, but also, as became a thorough-bred Tocav, visibly displayed itself in the equipment and excellent condition of his horse. In the depth of winter, as at midsummer, we have experienced from him the same cordial welcome, rousing his establishment, and, though a septuagenarian, bestirring himself in the snow to attend to our comforts. His close attention to all the forms, habits, and observances, which it is the object of education under an Ataluk to instil, rendered him a model to all the Dely Kanns in the country; while his gallantry, cheerfulness, and youthful disposition, made him their especial favourite. It rarely happened that he found himself in any company of cavaliers, that all of them, by tacit consent, did not recognise him as their leader; and when, the year before last, the Russians, in one of their inroads, had burnt his house, and captured his cattle, he was more than indemnified for the loss he had sustained by the officious zeal and voluntary contributions of his friends.

"Another of the Commoners, much looked up to in Natukvitch, was Khas Demir. For Circassia, he was a man of considerable substance; that is to say, he had three or four thousand sheep, two or three hundred head of cattle, and some dozen of slaves. He had,

also, a reputation for wisdom ; and although we might not allow his rigid manners and solemn aspect to be conclusive proofs of it, his countrymen had, no doubt, their reasons for this opinion. To his hospitality, though somewhat ostentatious, we can willingly bear witness. He was truly, as Osman would have characterised him, ' a man of forty tables.'

" Lastly, I must not omit, in this enumeration of the notables of Natukvitch, our amiable friend, Tchorook Oglou. It is true, his sleek, rosy cheeks, benevolent looks, and somewhat portly person, which the tightest compression of his belt could hardly reduce to orthodox dimensions, rather announced the boon-companion than the well-seasoned warrior, but his liberality, firmness, and good-sense, which in more peaceful times and countries would have elevated him considerably in the scale of society, were even here tolerably appreciated. His pursuits, however, though mercantile (he being the wealthiest merchant in Circassia), did not prevent the good man being armed to the teeth, and taking the field like the rest."—pp. 165-172.

Mr. Longworth's readers will be deeply interested by the observations which he has made upon the religion at present chiefly professed throughout the Circassian provinces—viz., the religion introduced into the east by Mahomet. Mr. Bell was present at religious ceremonies which were conducted much after the Pagan fashion, and with which the worship of the cross was strangely mixed with the sacrifices of goats to the Spirit of Thunder! Islamism is, however, the prevailing mode of faith, and Mr. Longworth represents it as most salutary in its effects upon the Circassians, both in a moral and political point of view. It has impressed them, he says, with a deep feeling of their responsibility to the God who has created them, and strongly awakened their attention to the hopes and fears of a hereafter. The levelling principles inculcated by Mahomet have gone far towards destroying the power once exercised by the Circassian nobles, and are rapidly undermining the administrative authority of the tribes. Its cheapness, moreover, recommends it powerfully to general adoption. It costs them nothing, as the functions of the Imaum, or Mollah, are honorary, being derived from superior learning or piety, and combined with any of the other ordinary occupations of trades or professions. There is also a great deal of its influence to be attributed to the many indisputably sound moral precepts with which the Koran is filled, borrowed from the Scriptures.

" Their faith in this palladium manifests itself in a succession of devotional practices, whose openness and frequency modern Christianity is far too lukewarm and modest to emulate. Whoever has kept company with Mussulmans must have been struck with the fact.

They perform their ablutions, spread their carpets, and address themselves to their prayers, as naturally and unreservedly as we sit down to our meals. Neither place nor persons can be an obstacle to these duties. Their conversation, too, is full of appeals to the Deity, of expressions of reliance upon His goodness, or of submission to His will. Nobody fears the imputation of cant and hypocrisy, where the prevalence of unbelief has not yet made piety appear unnatural."—vol. i. p. 202.

We, "who have kept company with Mussulmans" occasionally, can bear testimony to the entire truth of these remarks. With the true Mahometans, religion, such as the "prophet" has laid it down, does, indeed, form a real practical part of the daily business of life. Would that their example were seen and followed by our Christian communities!

In passing, we cannot avoid calling the attention of our various societies for the propagation of the faith to the Circassian tribes. The homage with which they reverence the cross; the hospitality with which they receive strangers, especially Englishmen; the superior order of intellect which they appear to possess; the advances which they have already made towards civilization; the strong religious temperament with which they seem to be endowed; and, above all, the comparatively late introduction amongst them of Islamism, continue to present them to our notice as peculiarly well prepared to receive the doctrines of the Church. They have, with few exceptions, a sacred regard for life and property. With a view to their defence against the inroads of hostile tribes, they have established amongst themselves associations, bound together by oath; the members look upon each other as brothers; and so far is this fraternal principle carried, that they do not permit intermarriage between families belonging to the same association, even though it should consist of thousands. Homicide is punished by a fine (two hundred oxen for a male, one hundred for a female), and this fine is exacted from the tribe to which the culprit belongs, so that each fraternity is responsible for the conduct of its members. Penalties are established, of a minor kind, for every other species of crime. They are not paid by the criminal, but by contributions from his association; nor are they received by the injured family, but distributed in common amongst its tribe. These confraternities would afford great facilities to the labours of missionaries properly directed. They have founded institutions, and made laws for the administration of justice, which display a very high degree of originality and good sense. The custom of

dealing with their females as slaves, buying and selling them as so many heads of cattle, must, indeed, appear to us as extremely odious ; it is, however, conducted in a manner less objectionable than a foreigner, who has not visited the country, might be induced to suppose. Mr. Longworth was obliged to encumber himself with an article of this class in the bargain which he made for his merchandize ; he admits that his position in consequence was by no means an enviable one.

Our author states, and we have reason to believe the statement to be true, that our late sovereign William IV, felt great interest in the cause of the Circassians, and frequently expressed his wish that measures should be taken to provide them with the means of establishing their independence. The intelligence, therefore, which reached them in the autumn of 1837, of the death of that monarch, was received with universal lamentation. Intelligence of the termination of the *Vixen* affair, was communicated at the same time to Mr. Bell : and as Mr. Longworth found that all the hopes of succour which he had been commissioned by Mr. Urquhart to hold out to the belligerents, were doomed to vanish into the air, he prepared with all possible speed for his departure. Those hopes indeed had been for awhile prolonged by the arrival on the coast of another Englishman, whose name is not mentioned : a person of station and fortune, who (unconnected with Mr. Urquhart), had taken out with him a small supply of gunpowder. But the Circassians finding that nothing effectual was done, or likely to be done for them, by their English visitors, began to look upon them as emissaries of the Russian government. With a view to protect themselves from the perils to which they were exposed by suspicions of this nature, they were obliged to issue a proclamation of a cheering character, in which it is admitted, that in consequence of the persuasion of some of their Circassian friends, the rhetorical flourished not a little over the borders of truth. It was in vain they had disclaimed the character in which those friends were most anxious to invest them,—of being ambassadors from England. A gay red coat with gold facings, in which Nadir Bey, (the newly-arrived Englishman) thought fit to appear, settled the matter at once, that he must be some official personage. “ I am,” said he, “ no such thing ; I am here on nobody’s account, but my own.” “ In this case,” rejoined a Circassian, “ you cannot deny that you are an ambassador on your own account,” and so the difficulty was arranged. A Memleket was forthwith summoned, and as it presented features in many respects

different from that which Mr. Longworth had previously described, we give his account of it in his own words.

"The next morning I accompanied Nadir Bey to the council. He was dressed in a gay yeomanry uniform of scarlet, with green and gold facings, a novelty which produced a no slight sensation in the country. There was a vast assemblage of people on the plain of Ouwya, larger, indeed, than any I had seen since the great meeting at Adhencum, but it was, on the whole, I thought, less civilized and respectable. It is true, we had, from Abbassak, and every district of the sea-coast, chiefs, elders, and magistrates, in number fully sufficient to control by their presence the more intractable and fiery portion of the community. Yet were there many of the latter, whom, judging from their looks, it would, but for this tranquillizing influence, have not been so agreeable to deal with; for, not to mention the reproaches of Ouwya, there were a crowd of strangers, speaking a language but little understood by the Circassians themselves, and whom they scarcely looked upon as their countrymen. Among these were some who had descended from their Alpine retreats of the snowy mountains behind Soukoum Kalé;—men, wild as the regions they inhabited, and, like the beasts they rode, a small and uncouth, though a hardy and active race. They were dark-featured, with projecting jaws and black and grisly beards. Their costume, though not materially different from that of the rest, was in general much poorer, and the tunic, unconfined by a neat selvidge, and much less a trimming of silver lace, hung mostly in tatters about the wearer.

"It was easy to perceive that the habits of these gentry were somewhat roving and predatory. In passing near a glade, where the Dely Kanns were at their romps, and where their emulation prompted them as usual to the display of their personal prowess and agility, a trick or two was played off by some of the strangers, which, if not already known to the congenial spirits of Ouwya, must have greatly excited their envy and admiration. A horseman at full gallop, would snatch up an infant from the ground, muffle it in his cloak, and scamper away with a dispatch and dexterity that were truly edifying.

"The impressions, however, of a rather unfavourable nature, produced by these observations, were entirely dissipated, and gave way to others of pride and enthusiasm, as we contemplated the mighty gathering of the freemen of Circassia, now scattered from the sea to the mountains all over the plain of Ouwya,—the troops of wild horsemen scouring it in every direction,—the groups of pedestrians leaning on their staves,—the council-rings sedately seated at the foot of every spreading tree. It was altogether a grand and soul-stirring spectacle, yet one that would have affected us still more profoundly, could we have appreciated (which we were then far from doing) the spirit that animated this assembly.

"But we did justice neither to the motives that had drawn these children of the wilderness from its remotest recesses, nor to the dignity of our own position, which, it is true, was not that of the ambassadors

of any potentate or government on earth, but the representatives of the civilized part of it; in whose presence these simple people had come voluntarily forward to abjure the customs and habits which, albeit those of their forefathers, they were at length aware excluded them from the pale of that civilization. We had at this time, I repeat, though we were told that all present had sworn to renounce their feuds, and to abstain from future rapine and violence, but a very imperfect notion of these things: and it was only at a subsequent period, when presiding at the administration of the national oath at Shapsook, that we began fully to comprehend the grand social reform now in operation throughout the Caucasus.

"It will be my task, and no very easy one, considering its complication, to unravel the nature and progress of this reform hereafter. I now allude to it, that the reader may perceive how little at the time we understood our relative position, and how trivial the objects by which we were actuated, when compared with those that were fermenting in the minds and hearts of the Circassians. He will see also why we found it so difficult to understand each other, and why, *mezzo termine*, we at length came to adopting the character of ambassadors on our own account, which appeared so ridiculous to us, but was, on the contrary, so satisfactory to them. The misunderstanding was entirely about words; what they wanted was not ambassadors, but witnesses—witnesses from the civilized world, whom they sought to propitiate by a solemn abjuration of the usages that were obnoxious to it.

"When we had taken our seats on the cushions and carpets spread for us under a tree in the centre of the plain, the people formed a large circle around us, the interior of it being occupied by the most distinguished of them, who were spokesmen on the occasion.

"I recognised there one of the judges, and a young warrior chief, who had been among the delegates from Abbassak, at the great council of Adhencum. There was also present Hassan Bey of Khissa, the elder brother of the celebrated Hafouz Pasha, the Turkish visir. He had two other brothers besides, high in the Turkish service, Bahri Pasha and Ali Bey. Still the family was plebeian; and though these connexions had given him wealth, and no little weight on the part of the coast where he resided, they could not ennoble him: the poorest *ouzdin* in the country would have disdained an alliance with him. But the man who is most looked up to hereabouts, is Hadji Suleiman Bey. I presume for his general worth, since for any of the three attributes which are said to entitle a man to consideration here, 'the sweet tongue, the sharp sword, or forty tables,' I am not aware that he is pre-eminently distinguished. These were the individuals with whom our conference was principally held.

"In answer to their enquiries for our credentials or firmans, we presented them with Omar's elegant effusion in Turkish, and which, having been read aloud and with much emphasis to the meeting, were received by it with a general murmur of applause; but Hassan Bey,

who seemed to pique himself on his talents as a diplomatist, then inquired if we had brought them nothing but our own proclamation; whereupon Mehmet Zazi Oglou, interfering in our behalf, demanded in his turn what more he could expect from ambassadors on their own account. This rejoinder was decisive; but Hassan, who was decidedly the leader of the opposition, and appeared to make it his especial business to cavil and to raise difficulties, next inquired if it was not the intention of one of us to remain in the south. It was not fair, he said, that all the ambassadors should be kept in the north: they had quite as good a right, he conceived, to an ambassador there as anywhere else: he therefore begged that if Nadir was determined on leaving them, at any rate I would remain in his place. Such an arrangement not at all meeting my views, I flatly refused my consent to it, and told Hassan somewhat bluntly that he might give us what names he pleased; we were our own masters, and would go where we pleased; and that it did not suit my purpose at present to remain there.

"In this resolution I was seconded by Keriack Oglou Ali Bey, who, having accompanied me from the north, with strict orders from the *Memleket* there to see me safely back again, and perceiving that it was my own wish to return, now protested warmly against any restraint being put upon my actions. The motion of Hassan was therefore overruled, and the rest of the colloquy between us was conducted in the most amicable spirit. The impression mutually produced was highly favourable; a result, however, to which Nadir could not help thinking his scarlet coat, with green and gold facings, had materially contributed. To wind up the business of the day in the usual manner, a horse—the rostrum of the Circassian forum—having been led into the midst of the assembly, was mounted by Hadji Soleiman Bey, who began, from 'ridge of steed,' a very rambling discourse to the multitude. His sole qualification was the lungs of a Stentor, since he was well prompted by the bystanders of all parties, which I suppose must have made his speech rather inconsistent. The principal topic was the reform in their own habits, which I have above alluded to. In the mean time, the dignity and decorum which characterised the demeanour of an assembly at once warlike and popular—every man standing in an attitude of respect, with his whip hanging from his folded hands—were really exemplary. We retired from it well satisfied, on the whole, with the result of the proceedings."—vol. ii. pp. 184-191.

The reform to which Mr. Longworth here alludes, he subsequently describes as one, in fact, making its way amongst all the Circassian tribes. Chieftains of influence visit them, and persuade, or compel them to take, with solemn ceremonies, an oath that they will carefully avoid commercial intercourse with the Russians, abstain from feud amongst themselves, and bend all their efforts towards the establishment of their independence. This oath, framed in terms of a most stringent

nature, appears to have been already administered amongst them very extensively, and to have produced the most salutary effects.

“As long as the Circassians cherished the least hope of assistance from England, whose diplomatic interference in their behalf they were taught to believe would suffice to expel the Russians from their territory, they deemed it superfluous to attack their fortresses. But despairing at length of foreign succour, they girded their loins, and by a simultaneous effort, swept away almost every trace of them from their coast. The yoke which Russia has been so many years labouring to rivet, has been shattered to pieces in a month. As the immediate fruits of their victories, the Circassians retain upwards of two hundred pieces of ordnance, with ammunition sufficient to serve them, they declare, for ten years to come; and, what is of still greater importance, they are in high spirits; ‘Tchok Thieflendik,’ they say, and believe themselves to be invincible. A powerful expedition, amounting to eighty thousand men, has, according to the last advices from Russia, been directed against them by the emperor, in order, as he declares, to punish them for their *atrocities*. The same insolent perversion of language was employed by Charles the Bold of Burgundy, towards the heroic Swiss in the fifteenth century, and in later times by Napoleon towards the Spanish patriots; but they were themselves severely punished for *their* atrocities, which the latter lived most bitterly to repent, confessing frequently it was the *Spanish ulcer* that had destroyed him. The *Circassian ulcer* seems destined to do the same for Nicholas.”—vol. ii. pp. 350-351.

We regret that we have no space left for any extracts from Mr. Bell's valuable letters; we must content ourselves with recommending them to the attention of the reader who may feel any interest in becoming minutely acquainted with those parts of Circassia which Mr. Longworth was not able to visit, as well as with the mercantile capabilities of those districts. They are extremely productive of many articles which might afford them the means of carrying on a very considerable trade with England.

The two rival authors, we are happy to observe, speak of each other in the kindest terms; they appear to have lived together in Circassia like two brothers,—a result which indeed we should have expected, as from our own personal acquaintance with them, we can vouch for their being both very amiable men. Their chivalry in the Circassian cause, ought, however, in our judgment, to have been exhibited without the attacks which they have made upon Lord Palmerston. They do not make due allowance for the perplexities by which a British secretary of state is frequently involved, in conducting the vast interests of an empire such as ours. They certainly

erred against the rules of prudence in proceeding to Circassia, upon the very slender species of authority, which they appear to have received in the first instance.

Both these works, we should add, are adorned by portraits and groups of natives, sketches of sea and land scenery, encampments, and congresses. The illustrations in Mr. Bell's volumes are numerous, entirely from his own pencil, and exceedingly well done.

- ART. VII.—1. *Faust; a Tragedy*. By J. Wolfgang von Göthe. Translated into English Verse, by J. Birch, Esq., author of "Fifty-one Original Fables and Morals," "Divine Emblems," &c. Royal 8vo. London: 1839.
2. *The Faust of Göthe*. Part the First. Translated into English Rhyme, by the Hon. Robert Talbot. Second Edition. Revised and much corrected, with the German Text, in alternate pages, and additional notes. 8vo. London: 1839.
3. *Faust; a Tragedy*, in Two Parts, by Göthe; rendered into English verse. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1838.
4. *Faustus; a Dramatic Mystery; The Bride of Corinth; The First Walpurgis Night*. Translated from the German of Göthe, and illustrated with notes, by John Anster, LL.D., (of Trinity College, Dublin), Barrister at Law, 8vo. London: 1835.
5. *Faust; a Tragedy*. By J. W. Göthe. Translated into English verse, with Notes, and Preliminary Remarks, by John S. Blackie. 12mo. Edinburgh and London: 1834.
6. *Faust; a Dramatic Poem*. By Göthe. Translated into English prose; with Remarks on former Translations and Notes. By A. Hayward, Esq. 8vo. Second Edition. London: 1834.
7. *Faust: a Tragedy*. Translated from the German of Göthe. By David Lyne. 12mo. Edinburgh: 1834.
8. *Faustus; a Tragedy*. Translated from the German of Göthe. 12mo. London: 1834.
9. *Faust; a Drama*. By Göthe, with Translations from the German. By Lord Francis Leveson Gower. Second Edition. 2 vols. 12mo. London: 1824.

WE remember the time, when, to the majority of readers, the latter member of the title prefixed to these pages, even in the modified sense in which we employ it, would have

appeared little short of profanation. The daring levity of the celebrated "Prologue in Heaven," produced an outcry against the whole drama of Faust; and the medium through which it became generally known in England, contributed to deepen the prejudice with which it was regarded. The fragments of the ill-fated Shelley, and the translation of Lord Francis Egerton,—the first by sins, so to speak, of commission; the second, of omission—had an equal, though opposite effect in increasing the disrepute of this remarkable production. Shelley, far from softening or disguising, rather heightened the wanton irreverence of Mephistophiles in the Prologue; and Lord Francis Egerton, by leaving him out altogether, at once lent his countenance to the worst prejudices already existing, and mutilated what has been well called the "Dramatic Mystery," of a member which, however at variance with good taste or piety, is nevertheless, fairly translated, indispensable to the right understanding of the drama.

"The Faust," however, since it has been better known, is less harshly judged; men have learned to understand, that when Mephistophiles scoffs and sneers at virtue, he speaks but in his hereditary character—"a liar, and the father thereof;" and that, impious and irreverent as he is made, we can but regard him as a more startling impersonation of the same spirit, which, even in the all but sacred poem of Milton, is, and must be, essentially revolting and repulsive. In such a character, drawn by so bold a hand as Göthe's, it is natural that there should be some things to startle, and it may be to shock the sensitive mind. But the injury rests here. This levity may wound the feelings or revolt the taste; but there is little fear of its infecting the judgment, for it carries its own antidote in the person to whom it is attributed.

It must be acknowledged, however, that, even with these allowances, Faustus, as a whole, is far from unexceptionable. There are a few passages which, even considered with this license, are calculated to give pain to every well-ordered mind. But the privilege accorded to Milton and other adventurers in the same dangerous field, compels us to regard them as solecisms in taste, rather than impiety; and even the most rigid will acknowledge, that they are out-weighed by the numberless beauties, moral as well as poetical, with which it abounds. To these comparatively neglected beauties, we would call the attention of our readers in the present article; confining ourselves to what we have ventured to term "the sacred poetry of Faust;"—a few isolated passages, for the most part strictly sacred in the scene and circumstance, as well as

the subject. We avail ourselves of the same opportunity to consider the merits of some among the recent additions to our already numerous stock of translations of the poem. Its story is sufficiently familiar to all. But to assist the reader in estimating the merits of the rival translators, it may be necessary to say a word or two upon the *morale* of the leading characters, and especially that of Mephistopheles, the strangest creation even of Göthe's eccentric genius.

Although the volumes already written on the subject of Göthe's *Faust*, whether in the form of translation, commentary, or criticism, would form in themselves a very considerable library, it is difficult, notwithstanding, to discover as yet any remarkable diminution of the interest with which it is regarded. Mr. Hayward's ample list of German commentators might be considerably extended, even since the publication of his second edition in 1834. The disputes with regard to the meaning of the text are not, as with us, confined to individual writers. Contending schools of criticism have arrayed themselves against each other in permanent hostility: and there cannot be a more striking illustration of the universality of the enthusiasm, than the fact, unexampled save in the history of the *Divina Comedia*, that there are few cities in Germany in which it was not, even during the life of the author, made the subject of a regular course of public lectures.

Nor is this interest confined to Germany. There is scarce a language of Europe into which it has not been several times translated. Unliterary as the Swedish is generally considered, Dr. Sieglitz mentions a translation into that language. There are at least two in Italian; and we have heard of one into Latin, which must be more interesting than all the rest. The French have no less than four, by the Comte St. Aulaire, M. Stapfer, M. Gerard (a pseudonym), and M. Delacroix. The latter is said to have been read with approbation by the veteran poet himself. But unluckily, the writer having used the liberty of omitting almost at pleasure, it throws but little light upon the obscurities of the poem. We ourselves, in these countries, have been more industrious than all the rest put together; not counting repeated editions, Mr. Birch's work, which stands first on our list, is the *ninth* English translation; and of these no less than eight are poetical. Even in the commenting department we are but little behind our neighbours in Germany. Several of the translators, especially Messrs. Hayward, Anster, and Blackie, have furnished, in their ample notes, greater aids to the understanding and enjoying the text, than any, or perhaps all, of the native interpreters.

The *Faust*, notwithstanding, is viewed in a very different light in the two countries. In Germany no sense is too absurdly profound to be attached even to its most simple passages. The commentators, like the diver in the fairy tale, have plunged so deep as to stir up all the sand from the bottom; and we are satisfied, that, far from entertaining for a moment, there are few, if any, English readers, who could comprehend the bare enumeration of the conflicting opinions.* It is some consolation for us to remember, that it was a favourite amusement of Göthe to laugh over the puzzles which his commentators created for themselves out of the most obvious words: like Monkbarns in the *Antiquary*, who out of initials commemorating "Aikin Drum's Lang Ladle," builds up his theory of the prætorium, in the classical inscription *Agricola dicavit libens libens*.

While a great deal of this discrepancy must, of course, be referred to a diversity of national taste, much also, in a work like *Faustus*, is the necessary consequence of the process of translation. We have it on the authority of the poet himself, in his conversations with Eckermann, that much of the mysterious interest which it possesses for the German mind, is attributable to the dim and misty twilight in which it is frequently involved; and which it would be impossible, if it were indeed desirable, to preserve in a translation; because each translator, avoiding the ambiguity of the text from which this arises, is led, almost unconsciously, to seize and express some one, to the exclusion of the rest, among the many meanings of which it is susceptible. Difficulties such as these are of constant occurrence. The character of Faust himself can scarcely be considered a difficult one. In its general outlines it is a favourite subject of modern poetry. With all his unwillingness to acknowledge a literary obligation, Lord Byron himself half admits, what all the world must perceive, that it is the original of his *Manfred*. Victor Hugo, in his Claude Frollo, is a more servile, but far less worthy, imitator; both, however, retain the leading features of the resemblance. Göthe's hero is simply one of those gifted but unhappy mortals, whose misery is the consequence of the very brilliancy of their powers; for whom the limits of humanity are too contracted, and who, grasping, in their unnatural craving after happiness, at objects which Providence has placed beyond mortal reach, draw bitterness from the very pleasures of less gifted but humbler and

* See a passage from the *Blätter für Literarische Unterhaltung*, cited by Hayward, xxvii.-viii.

more healthful spirits. He has exhausted all the sources of intellectual enjoyment which merely human means can minister. He has drained, with still unsated lip, the last drop from the shallow cup of human learning :—

“Alas ! I have explored
Philosophy, and law, and medicine,
And over deep divinity have pored,
Studying with ardent and devoted zeal.
And here I am at last, a very fool,
With useless learning curst,
No wiser than at first !”

He has fed his lamp for years with the choicest oil of earthly wisdom ; and at the end finds nothing but the rank and noisome vapours emitted by its expiring flame ! And yet, failing to deduce from all this the lesson which nature and reason would therein convey—that perfect happiness, even in the intellectual order, is not allotted to mortals—he turns aside into dark and unlawful courses, and investing himself with unholy powers, seeks to wrest from nature, as a conquest, what she has denied as a boon.

So far, Göthe's play presents little difficulty either to the reader or the translator. But Faust is not left in solitary communion with his own diseased heart : he is not, like Manfred, his own tempter. The real difficulty of the subject is, the mysterious companion assigned to this ardent and aspiring mortal : or rather the association of the two—a union as incongruous as the imagination can possibly conceive. The demon Mephistopheles is in everything the very opposite of him to whose service he attaches himself : the one an impersonation of generosity, honour, enthusiasm, and poetry ; the other, in word and in act, the direct negation of them all ; sneering at honour, setting truth at open mockery, and freezing up all the creations of poetic enthusiasm by the cold prosaic irony of his tone.

Mephistopheles is essentially a creation of Göthe's own mind. There is not a particle of the human about him ; nor, indeed—if the conceptions of former poets be taken as the standard—is there much of the diabolical, except its falsehood. He has neither pride, nor that discontented ambition, which we are wont to associate with our idea of the character. Indeed, taking passion in its ordinary acceptation, he is altogether passionless : and in this he differs essentially from Milton's Lucifer ; cynicism, malignity, and falsehood, absorbing or concealing in him the higher qualities which our poet has

assigned to his impersonation of the diabolical character. This strange association of elements, so little in accordance with pre-established notions, is precisely the sort of subject over which the dreamy taste of Germany loves to speculate; but which, as it is dark and shadowy in the extreme—in fact, almost purely *negative*—it is proportionably difficult to transfer from one language to another. Dr. Anster has well estimated the delicacy of the task:—

“ Had the language given to Mephistopheles the support of passion or of metaphor, it would have been easily translated; but there is no aid of the kind. It is mere outline, wholly unshadowed. Here, it may be supposed—here, if anywhere—mere literal translation is the only style which can be adopted. There is not any room for those compensations, as they have been called, by which the translator—satisfied to lose some graceful turn of thought or dignity of expression, which he finds it difficult to preserve—endeavours to supply its place by something more suited to the genius of the language in which he is writing. Unfortunately, there is a peculiarity in the style given to Mephistopheles, which baffles all these calculations, and deprives the mere literal translation, equally with that in which more freedom is assumed, of any chance of altogether preserving the effect of the original; without going so far as to make Mephistopheles speak a different dialect from Faustus, yet, by the introduction of Swabian words, or words used in a sense different from the pure German, and at times by the use of French words, he is made to speak in a tone and accent, as it were, wholly different from Faustus; which, while it is at once caught by a reader of the original, a translator can scarcely hope for such indulgence as to give him a chance of successfully expressing. For this is undoubtedly among the difficulties which the translator must make up his account to meet. The prominent passages in an original poem will probably be read with no ungenerous or uncongenial feeling. Where Passion, or Sentiment, or Reasoning, speaks its appropriate language, sympathy and indulgence may naturally be hoped for. How different is it in a sneer or a sarcasm, one of those comments in which the turn of the eye, the tone of the voice, is all in all—which, deprive them of the body in which they exist, cease to have a continuing life?”

Further, Mephistopheles is not only a very difficult, but also a very unequal character; nor is the contrast between his manner and that of Faustus more striking than the discrepancies of his own manner under different circumstances. The juggling buffoon of Auerbach's cellar, or the director of the devilries of the Brocken scene, is a very different being from the philosophising sceptic, who, while he seems to remove, in effect but deepens, the doubts of Faustus—perplexing his reasonings while he appears to resolve them, and weaving a web of

fallacies round his bewildered mind, which, with all our knowledge of the fraud, we may often find it difficult to disentangle. The free and easy gentleman who wheedles old Martha Schwerdlein, is very different from the accomplished, though whimsical disputant, who discusses the *summum bonum* with the doctor in the study; and there needs but slight knowledge of the original to find the difference delicately but distinctly drawn in the language assigned to him on the different occasions.

In the "quizzing scene" with the young student at entrance, as long as Mephistopheles speaks in the assumed person of Faust, he is almost utterly unintelligible to the bewildered youth; but the moment he tires of the mask, and begins "to play the devil properly again," all obscurity, both in matter and language, disappears, and the pupil declares that he perfectly comprehends his meaning. A comparison of the language put into his mouth on these two occasions, will enable the reader to understand the distinction which we would draw between the opposite moods of Göthe's devil. In the first, he is little more than a mischievous buffoon, with a spice of merry, but malicious devilry. In the second he is a refined and plausible sophist—delighting in irony rather than open ridicule—winning his point by doubt rather than denial—never for a moment without a sneer upon his lip, yet seldom relaxing into the downright laugh of scorn. For the former mood Mr. Mitchell suggests a parallel in Aristophanes. Lucian, had he been a poet, would have come near the latter;—or perhaps Juvenal, if he could forget the severe morality of his satire, without parting, at the same time, with the cold but cutting malignity, which is its leading characteristic.

We have prefixed to these pages a catalogue of the English translations of *Faust*. Many of these have been so frequently before the public already as to require little from us beyond the mere enumeration. As regards the facility of preserving, not only the substantial forms, but also the delicate and shadowy hues of the original, Mr. Hayward, in adopting the prose translation, has had the advantage of all his rivals. We shall not enter here into the question how far the advantage thus secured counterbalances the loss in spirit and fire, which the abandonment of the poetical form necessarily induces. Certainly, if there be any poet whose matter is so thoroughly poetical as to be entirely independent of form, we might say that poet is Göthe, in some of the higher scenes of *Faust*. And perhaps the failure in Mr. Hayward's case may be taken as setting

the question at rest for ever ; for, in the same scenes, as read in his translation, while you cannot but admire the beauty and sublimity with which the page teems, you feel a want, even in your own despite ; nor is it necessary to look back to the harmonious frame of the original, in order to be convinced that you see before you only the *disjecta membra poetæ*. As a prose translation, Mr. Hayward's, except in a few instances, is all that can be desired. His notes and illustrations contain a mass of most valuable information ; but however he may have succeeded, by the fidelity and spirit of his version, in proving, as he proposes, "to a certain number of his literary friends, and through them to the public at large, that they have hitherto had nothing from which they can form any estimate of *Faust*," there needs but little study of the original to show that he has not himself—simply because his plan precludes the possibility—supplied the want which he had so ably exposed.

The earliest poetical version (we do not speak of the extracts published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1820, nor of the fragments translated by Shelley) was that of Lord Francis Egerton ; which, however, omitted a very considerable and important portion of the original. His lordship's labours have already been fully canvassed, both in praise and in censure ; and indeed, we fear he has been unfortunate in his critics, both favourable and unfavourable. The injudicious and indiscriminating praise, lavished upon him by the one, provoked the critical bile of the other ; and afforded too tempting an opportunity for the display of ill-natured scholarship, to be easily neglected. Mr. Hayward's overstrained, as well as overheated, exposure of his lordship's defects, while it is as unfair a criticism of his work, as the extravagantly laudatory comment of *Blackwood* or the *Quarterly*, is also much more likely to be remembered. Men never fail to look at the worst side. We are sure Mr. Hayward has not raised his character as a German scholar by his strictures on Lord Francis Egerton ; but we are also sure that the subsequent attempts to defend his lordship, however just they may be, have done but little to remove the unfavorable impression. We do not think so highly of his *Faust* as the writers before-mentioned ; but we disagree from Mr. Hayward in many of his emendations. The work, unquestionably, has many gross defects ; yet certainly not enough to warrant the use which has been made of Göthe's chance expression, "*Faustus travesti*." As a specimen of poetical talent, it possesses great merit ; and as such, we place it second to one only of the rival translations.

The year 1834 produced three poetical versions, those of Messrs. Syme, Blackie, and an anonymous author, whose work is eighth upon our list.

The first, a modest and unassuming volume, possesses considerable merit, as regards general accuracy. The versification is correct and agreeable, but is very deficient in spirit, wanting the march of the stately, and the flow of the playful rhymes of the German original. The conception of the Mephistopheles especially, in which the author seems to have been afraid of giving a loose to his pen, is a very remarkable failure. Altogether, its pretensions are far inferior to those of Mr. Blackie's version. The latter contains an interesting historical introduction, and is enriched with numerous notes, especially on all matters relating to witchcraft and demonology. The translation is far more accurate than that of Lord F. Egerton; but in poetical power it is decidedly inferior. The author professes "to follow, except in a very few cases, the measure of the original, and, in so far as is possible, to echo back the tones of the Göthian harp." Unhappily, the necessities of the rhyme have left their traces in his poetry, which not unfrequently falls below the standard. It is scarcely possible to conceive how completely the effect of a noble passage is destroyed by an unhappy word introduced, as in the following couplet, because it happens to fill up the rhyme:—

"Then dost thou know the secret *tether*
Which binds the planet-orbs together?"—

A conceit utterly without warrant in the simple original:

"Erkennest dann der Sterne Lauf?"

Examples like this, however, are of rare occurrence.

But without descending to details, which indeed our limits will not admit, we shall only briefly say, that, in our judgment, the great failure of Mr. Blackie's translation is his Mephistopheles. He has failed from a cause precisely the opposite of that to which Mr. Syme's want of success is to be attributed. He is as far beyond, as Mr. Syme falls short of, the mark. Mr. Syme's Mephistopheles affects the fine gentleman,—Mr. Blackie's is too often a buffoon. The former is for ever in his buskins: the latter delights in the broadest comic mask, and is never so much at home as when

"Non adstricto percurrit pulpita socco."

In the comic parts, indeed, he is frequently very happy. But he has carried his broad comedy into scenes where Göthe never dreamed of introducing it. Mr. Blackie's Mephisto-

phes laughs aloud, where his original can scarcely be seen to smile, or where, if he smile at all, it is only under the corners of his mask,—his front-face, that which is presented to Faust, preserving all its ironical solemnity. The irony, by losing half its delicacy, loses all its power; and in passages where Göthe represents Faustus as duped by the tempter, he would be an arrant simpleton indeed, if he did not read in Mr. Blackie's tone that he is mocked at to his very face. All this is done without any substantial deviation from the original;—a mere over-doing of the tone, an over-stretching of the delicate irony, dissolves the charm and unmasks the actor;—Göthe's Mephistopheles disappears, and the clumsy devil of the puppet-show is seen in his stead. It were easy to find examples of this in what is called the compact scene. We shall merely refer the reader to one passage, in which it is very remarkable (Act III. 6, p. 122), where Mephistopheles, in a rage, announces to Faustus the loss of the jewels, which have been claimed by a priest for the service of the Church. The original appears to us in its way one of the most characteristic scenes in the drama. The devil's passion is painted after Göthe's own fashion; but, from the cause just explained, the point is completely lost in Mr. Blackie's, humorous certainly, but not *Mephistophelian* verses.

In 1835 two translations appeared; one by the Hon. Robert Talbot, the other by Dr. Anster. Mr. Talbot has since given a second edition, in which the work has undergone very considerable correction. We shall speak of this, rather than the first, which, it seems, was published under all the disadvantages which the protracted illness of the author may be supposed to have induced. It is unquestionably a work of great merit; and, for a poetical translation, of great accuracy—far short, however, of that for which the author takes credit to himself. Mr. Talbot has had the courage to print the original in alternate pages; and, with an industry which deserves the highest praise, has translated the German text line by line, often hitting it off almost word for word, and, in most instances, even following the leading forms of the versification. In this indeed, however we may admire the industry and perseverance which he displays, we fear that Mr. Talbot has over-calculated the capabilities of the language into which he was translating. His version, though often spirited and stirring, and, generally speaking, singularly close to the original, is too frequently formal and artificial, preserving but little of the gracefulness by which the German is distinguished. The traces of labour are too often apparent. He has not succeeded in concealing

his flute-player. The rhymes are sometimes unhappily selected; and we are too frequently reminded, by their forced and unnatural jingling, *that it is rhyme we are reading*, and that considerable sacrifices, in collocation, in structure, and in language, have been made to secure us the gratification. Even when he succeeds in avoiding this, the translation is sometimes spiritless; regular and harmonious, it is true, but palling on the ear from the very regularity of its harmony;—like the palm-wine of Xenophon, *ἦεν μὲν, κεφαλὰ γὰρ δέ.* The spirit is apt to be lost in the attempt to imitate the mechanical form; and passion grows cold and evaporates in the search after the appropriate rhyme in which it is to be embodied. Indeed, the labour of translating into rhyme at all is enough, and more than enough, for an ordinary hand. But the chances of following systematically, in an English translation, the wild and capricious, yet singularly flowing, versification of the *First*, without sacrificing infinitely more than the success is worth, we consider much the same in our stiff and unpliant tongue, as those of scoring down the fitful sighings of the night-harp, or fixing upon canvass the living, but fleeting, shadows of the camera-obscura. Occasionally, and by a kindred spirit, it may be done; as a system, it is utterly hopeless.

Mr. Talbot often appears to us more solicitous about the words and the measure, than the spirit of the original. He is often cold, where Göthe is the most passionate. There is a scene just now before us, in which this is very remarkable,—that in which Valentine vainly attempts to avenge his sister's dishonour. Göthe's picture of the rude grief of the soldier, and the struggle between his pride and his affections, is natural and touching in the highest degree. In Mr. Talbot's hands we cannot but regard it as little short of caricature, scarcely retaining the most distant semblance of sorrow.

It is true that this is rendered more perceptible by its juxtaposition with the original, an ordeal to which none of its competitors is directly subjected. Perhaps, too, it is inseparable from the nature of his plan; and, in a translation of an original work like Göthe's, is redeemed by the extreme fidelity with which, generally speaking, he adheres to the original. We have marked one or two extracts which we shall hereafter transcribe. The first may be taken as an average specimen of Mr. Talbot's style; the other is in his happiest and most successful manner.

The second translation, published in 1835, as it was our

earliest, so also has continued our cherished favourite. It is by John Anster, LL.D., of whose powers in original composition we have already had occasion to speak in terms of high commendation.* The detached passages of the *Faust* which, as far back as 1820, appeared from his pen in *Blackwood's Magazine*, entitled him, in Mr. Hayward's judgment, to the rank next after Shelley: and the Edinburgh reviewer expresses his "conviction that the author was better fitted for the task than any other adventurer with whose labours he was then acquainted; judging from the singularly free and spirited touches of his pen, and his evident sympathy, no less with the quaint and sarcastic, than the exalted and pathetic, moods of the German Shakspeare."†

The work, as completed in 1835, is not unworthy of the high hopes which the earlier fragments had created. While the easy flow of the numbers bears scarce a trace of the labour or constraint of translation, the true spirit of the original is well maintained, whether in pathos or in humour, in the broad and cutting sarcasm, as well as in the almost impalpable irony which pervades many of the scenes. The principle upon which he translates seems to be the very opposite of that followed by Mr. Talbot. With him the spirit is the first object, and, even when he departs a little from the words, it is but for the purpose of embodying more strongly in our language the tone of the original. This is the secret of his success. His translation is never deficient in interest, whether its character be sombre or gay. His delineation of Mephistopheles is almost uniformly very successful. In the passage already cited from his preface he has hit off the true difficulty of this mysterious character; and he seldom fails to express his most delicate peculiarities—the silent and stealthy irony, the malignity which bursts even through his merriment, the falsehood which is stamped even upon the truisms which he utters.

Dr. Anster is essentially a poet; perhaps too much so to be a *perfectly close* translator. It is difficult for a warm and original imagination to resist the temptation of rambling among the fruits and flowers of Göthe's page. He himself makes no claim to verbal fidelity; and it has been objected to his work, especially by the rival translator, Mr. Talbot, (whose strictures certainly overstep the limits of "friendly emulation"), that he permits himself undue license in ex-

* Dublin Review, vol. ii. p. 547.

† No. LXII, 37.

panding, and occasionally adding to, the original. In the eyes of those rabbinical critics who estimate the fidelity of a translation by its containing the same number of words and lines as the text, some passages may perhaps be found (like that which Mr. Talbot most unfairly quotes as a specimen of the general manner) which may give the charge an imposing appearance. But no man who looks beyond the surface of the language, and numbers not words, but ideas, in the comparison, will agree in Mr. Talbot's conclusion. If there be an occasional expansion of the text, it is generally "the addition of a clause which does little more than express something more fully implied in the German, than in such English phrases as occurred to the writer." In some instances perhaps (as in pages 120, 276), the license is stretched a little too far. But, in general, he but uses the privilege of what is called *compensation*, so freely accorded and so much admired in Coleridge's *Wallenstein*, and many of our most approved translations. There can scarcely be a better example of this, than in the following beautiful lines of Coleridge, an amplification certainly, but yet an exquisite translation, of Schiller's couplet:

"Die alten Fabelwesen sind nicht mehr,
Das reizende Geschlecht ist ausgewandert."

"The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
The fair humanities of old religion,
The Power, the Beauty, and the Majesty,
That had their haunts in dale, or piny mountain,
Or forest, by slow stream or pebbly spring,
Or chasms and watery depths; all these have vanished—
They live no longer in the faith of reason."

Very rarely indeed does Dr. Anster push the privilege so far as in this beautiful passage. But perhaps it is fair to give an example of his manner, by placing a short extract from his version side by side with the literal prose translation of Mr. Hayward. In the following passage Faust is represented as contemplating the sign of the microcosm, and lost in amazement at the wondrous operations of nature. The leading idea is "*Eins in dem andern wirkt und lebt*"—the ceaseless, unchanging, yet changeless, activity, with which the several influences intermingle in the grand but varied order of the universe.

ANSTER.

"See! all things with each other blending—
Each to all its being lending—

All on each in turn depending ;
 Heavenly ministers descending,
 And again to heaven up-tending ;
 Floating, mingling, interweaving,
 Rising, sinking, and receiving,
 Each from each, while each is giving
 On to each, and each relieving
 Each ; the pails of gold, the living
 Current through the air is heaving !
 Breathing blessings, see them bending,
 Balanced worlds from change defending,
 While everywhere diffused is harmony unending !"

HAYWARD.

"How all weaves itself into a whole ; the one works and lives in the other ! How the heavenly influences ascend and descend, and reach each other the golden buckets ; on bliss-exhaling pinions press from heaven to earth, all ringing harmoniously through the all !"

What could be finer or more expressive of the leading idea of the text than this exquisitely poetical amplification ? What, in like manner, could be happier than the storm of the Brocken scene, the contents of the "huckster-witch's" basket, the hurry-scurry scampering flight of the motley groups which throng to the wild festivities of the Brocken. You can hear the "zischen" and "quirlen," the "rutschen" and "klappern" of their flight, in the very march and sweep of the magnificently expressive versification. To proscribe such licences in poetical translation is to exile true genius from this most attractive field, and to hand it over, in undisputed possession, to the creeping pedants or brainless automatons of the lowest walks of literature.

There is, however, another defect charged upon the translation, towards which we are less disposed to be indulgent. We cannot help coinciding in the regret that so successful a master of versification should have drawn so largely on blank verse. We are aware that he has not done so without a principle ; but we are unwilling to concede the justice of its application. It is perfectly true that there is a great difference between the English and German languages as regards the facilities of versification. Those who have read the original of *Faust*, or still more, any of the lighter poets of Germany—Wieland, for example, in his minor romances—will have felt that they wrote in a language susceptible of modifications, which it would be hopeless to attempt in ours ; one in which "it is perfectly possible to preserve the form without the colouring

of poetry." But that even the lower forms of English versification may be made not only readable but attractive, there needs no other evidence than the eminent success with which Dr. A. has himself executed some passages which, on this score, are unquestionably the most difficult in the whole drama. It is true, as he alleges, precedent may be advanced in defence of the rhymeless verses. Göthe himself has had recourse, in *Faust*, not only to blank verse, but even to prose; and Shelley has dealt much in blank verse in the small portion which he translated. But Shelley's are, after all, but unfinished fragments; and, as such, claim an indulgence to which a regular translation is not entitled; and Göthe, so far from following the principle which Dr. Anster lays down, has reserved his rhymeless verse, and, still more, his prose, for the most vehement and impassioned scenes of the play. Still less can we be influenced by what is said on the other hand,* that in the doggerel of Swift and Butler the interest, if it be not positively injured, is but little increased, by the metrical form. There is very little in the *Faust* that bears the slightest analogy, either in matter or in tone to these compositions; and for the little there is, we should have no difficulty in admitting the principle. The bustling and shifting dialogue of the "Gate scene" is, perhaps, more spirited in Dr. Anster's blank verse than in the rhymes of his fellow-translators; nor should we object to see the principle extended to the buffooneries of the cellar, to the gossipings of Martha Schwerdtlein, or the absurdities of the "Witch's Kitchen." But we cannot help complaining that the fear of becoming, like Swift or Butler, a "tedious and weary study," should have deterred him from adopting the metrical form in so large a portion of the "Compact scene," and still more in that thrilling interview of Faustus with the maniac Margaret, with which the tragedy closes. Surely there is no capriciousness of versification which the author of the following magnificent passage might not hope to follow with success:—

"Bin ich der Fluchtling nicht?—der unbehaust?
 Der Unmensch ohne Zweck und Ruh?
 Der, wie ein Wassersturz von Fels zu Felsen brauste,
 Begierig wuthend nach dem Abgrund zu?
 Und seitwärts sie, mit kindlich dumpfen Sinnen,
 Im Hütchen auf dem kleinen Alpenfeld,
 Und all ihr häusliches Beginnen
 Umsangen in den kleinen Welt.
 Und ich, der Götterhasse, hatte nicht genug

Dass ich die Felsen fasste
 Und sie zu Trümmern schlug !
 Sie, ihren Frieden, musst' ich untergraben !
 Du, Hölle, musstest dieses Opfer haben !
 Hilf Teufel, mir die Zeit der Angst verkürzen !
 Was muss geschehn, lass gleichs geschehn !
 Mag ihr Geschick auf mich zusammen stürzen,
 Und sie mit mir zu Grunde gehn !"

TRANSLATION.

And am I not the outcast—the accurst—
 The homeless one, whose wanderings never cease !
 The monster of his kind ! No rest for me—
 No aim—no object ; like the stream that, nurst
 With swelling rains, foaming from rock to rock,
 Along its course of ruin,
 On to the inevitable precipice,
 Plunges impatient down the blind abyss,
 And violently seeks the desperate shock !
 And by the side of such mad stream was she,
 A child with a child's feelings ; her low cot
 In the green field upon the mountain slope,
 And all that she could wish or hope—
 Her little world—all, all in that poor spot ;—
 And I, the heaven-detested ! Was it not
 Enough that the mad torrent grasped and tore
 The rocks, and shivered them to dust, and bore
 All that opposed me in my downward course
 On with me ? Her, too, her—her peace, her joy—
 These must I undermine—these, too, destroy ?
 Hell ! hell ! this victim also ! Thy support,
 Devil ! and the dreadful interval make short !
 What must be, be it soon ! Let the crush fall
 Down on me, of her ruin—perish all—
 She—I—and these wild thoughts together !"

Of the last translation of the *Faust*, by Jonathan Birch, Esq. (London, 1839), the less we say the better. Had it appeared while the idea was still entertained that the *Faust* was untranslatable, it might have met some indulgence ; but the success of its predecessors has cut away this ground of justification. It is incomparably the worst which has yet been attempted. As a translation, it is bad ; as a poetical translation, it is worse ; but as a translation of *Faust* it is worst of all.

With so many excellent guides before him, one might suppose it absolutely impossible that a new translator should lose his way, much more that he should be perpetually falling into the grossest blunders. We have compared the entire of the

"Compact scene," as being one of the most remarkable, with the original. It is replete with errors. Instead, however, of going through a detailed examination, we shall merely submit one short passage, as a specimen of the translator's capabilities. It will be found in page 79 :

"Schlägst du erst diese Welt zu Trümmern
Die andre mag darnach entstehn.
Aus dieser Erde quellen meine Freuden,
Und diese Sonne scheint meinen Leiden ;
Kann ich mich erst von ihnen scheiden,
Dann mag was will und kann geschehn."

This is a very simple and obvious passage, the sense of which it would appear almost impossible to mistake. Mr. Birch translates it,

"The 'then' concerns me not—that feeling ceases
When once the world you've smashed to pieces.
I take no interest in the next one's riot ;
Out of this earth flow all my joys.
It is this sun which witnessed my '*passion*,'
And, am I parted from its *sweet decoys* ?
Then come what will, and in what fashion !"

We should not think much of the absurd paraphrase of *die andre mag entstehn* (the other may arise)—"I take no interest in the next one's riot." But it is almost incredible that any one, with the sense of the passage staring him in the face, could translate *meine Leiden* (my sufferings) *my passion* ; still more, that, in the following line, he should render *mich von ihnen scheiden*, "and am I parted from its *sweet decoys* ?" There needs but slender knowledge of German to show that the plural pronoun *ihnen* must refer to *leiden*, and not to *Welt*, and that the meaning of the line is precisely the opposite of Mr. Birch's "sweet decoys," "if I can but separate myself from them," that is, "from my sufferings." Nor is this a solitary example. A little further on (p. 82), there is scarcely a line without a mistake. There are no less than six obvious mistranslations in this single page—in the eleventh, twelfth, fourteenth, twentieth, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth lines. The reader may perhaps suppose that these errors are induced by the necessities of the versification ; but the fact is, that, in this particular also, the author sets all rule at defiance. His work is filled with the oddest words, as "keckish," "twinking," "lactic," "stellar," "obescular," &c. ; and the rhymes are even more absurd. He seems to consider it enough if the last

syllable, or even the last letter, coincide. Rhymes such as "overtowering—hand-wringing," (p. 52); "content—absent," (p. 69); "lecturing—hearing," (p. 89); "drops—envelops," "cellar—obescular," &c. occur at every turn; and in the compass of a single page (88), we find "tumult" chiming to "at fault," "agreement" to "allotment," "studies" to "praises," and "errand" to "off-hand"!

We should not have thought it necessary to advert to this at all, did not the author in his preface lead the reader to believe that his versification may be taken as representing Göthe's.

"Relative to this translation, I have proposed to myself to give the meaning of my author fully, neither skipping over, nor avowedly leaving out, any part; but, studiously masking such passages as might be considered objectionable to delicacy; to give it in poetry *line for line*; and literally, where the genius of the two languages admitted of such closeness; for, if too verbally given, Göthe becomes increasingly obscure, and his beauties remain undeveloped. I have therefore considered it better on some occasions, to give a good liberal English equivalent, rather than a cramped verbatim; so that the *verse might flow*, without which no poetical version could ever become agreeable to the English reader, or *approach to a display of Göthe's versification*. In fact, a spirited translation, palpable, interesting, and pleasing from its *euphony* to the Englishman, and satisfactory to the German scholar from its correctness."—Pref. p. xi.

It can hardly be necessary to assure the reader that Mr. Birch's versification gives pretty much as good an idea of Göthe's, as a hurdy-gurdy may give of the organ at Westminster; and as for euphony, if any one can find the smallest trace of it in his verses, he must have formed his ear in the school of Mr. Zachary Boyd, whose poem concludes with the following harmonious couplet, cited by the *Edinburgh Reviewer* of Hoyle's Exodus.*

"Now was not Pharoah a very great *rascal*,

Not to let the children of Israel, with their wives, and their sons, and their daughters, go out into the wilderness to eat the Lord's *pascal*!"

Among the endless theories upon the scope and tendency of the first part of *Faust*, there is one which regards it as a grand, moral, or religious allegory, designed to illustrate the insufficiency of earthly pleasures, whether of mind or of sense, for the happiness of man. The second part, however, if we regard it as a continuation of the first, completely upturns this theory, and destroys the existence of *Faust* as a moral poem.

* Vol. xi. p. 367.

Had Faustus, like Calderon's *Cyprian*, been prepared by repentance and purified by martyrdom, or even by protracted trial, we might see in his ultimate deliverance from the enemy to whom he had forfeited his soul, the realization of some moral lesson which the poem was intended to convey. But the strange and incongruous close of the mystery, in which the magician, unpurified, and as far as meets the eye, almost unrepentant, is at once transferred to the heaven which he had insulted and defied, is utterly at variance with any rational theory of religion or morals, and would almost seem to justify the severity of Coleridge's criticism.

On our part, we have even preferred to regard the first part as an independent, though unfinished, poem: and to consider its object and scope without reference to the strange and incongruous lights thrown upon them by the second. Be this, however, as it may, the first part of *Faust*, with all its wildness and levity, contains many passages replete with the most sublime conceptions of religion, and bespeaking a profound sense, if not of its devotional warmth, at least of its sentiment and poetry. We need only refer to the hymn of the archangels in the Prologue, deformed as it is by its juxtaposition with the revolting levity of Mephistopheles,—to the hymns of the Easter morning,—to the temptation and despair of Margaret in the Cathedral scenes,—and above all, to that exquisitely touching prayer in which she pours out her soul to the Mother of Sorrows, in her own hour of sorrow, and alas! of sin.

The devotional poetry of Germany is but little read,—the Catholic portion scarce at all—in these countries. The "*Trutz-nachtigall*," and the "*Guldenes Tugend-buch*" of the Jesuit Frederick Spec, are possibly unknown, even by name, to most readers; Novalis' exquisite "*Hymnen an die Nacht*," perhaps little more. We have seldom seen even an allusion to Frederick Schlegel's sacred poetry, although his little ode *An die Pilgerschaft*, is perhaps one of his most finished compositions; and Stolberg's sacred odes are the least known among all his writings. We may find an occasion hereafter, of examining this interesting subject more in detail. For the present, a few extracts from the *Faust* may show how admirably the German language is adapted, by its extreme flexibility, and its wondrous facilities of combination and composition, to embody the fervour and tenderness of sacred poetry, whether descriptive or devotional.

The "*Prologue in Heaven*" is founded upon that passage in Job i. 6, in which it is told, that, "on a certain day, when

the Sons of God came to stand before the Lord, Satan also was present among them." It opens with the alternate hymn of the archangels. We give it in the translation of Dr. Anster:—

RAPHAEL.

"The Sun, as in the ancient days,
'Mong sister stars in rival song,
His destined path observes, obeys,
And still in thunder rolls along;
New strength and full beatitude
The angels gather from his sight.
Mysterious all—yet all is good,
All fair, as at the birth of light.

GABRIEL.

Swift, unimaginably swift,
Soft spins the earth, and glories bright
Of mid-day Eden, change and shift
To shades of deep and spectral night.
The vexed sea foams—waves leap and moan,
And chide the rocks with insult hoarse;
And waves and rock are hurried on,
And suns and stars, in endless course.

MICHAEL.

And winds with winds mad war maintain,
From sea to land, from land to sea,
And heave round earth a living chain
Of interwoven agency.
Guides of the bursting thunder peal,
Fast lightning's flash, with deadly ray;
While, Lord, with thee, thy servants feel
Full effluence of abiding day.

ALL.

New strength and full beatitude
The angels gather from thy sight;
Mysterious all—yet all is good,
All fair, as at the birth of light."

The third scene is among the finest in the drama. *Faust* in the humiliation and despair which follow the terrific apparition of the Spirit of the earth, forms the resolution of terminating, by suicide, his doubts, as well as his misery. Everything around serves to confirm his purpose; the emblems of science with which his chamber is filled, have lost their charm; the instruments of his unavailing art,—the cog, the wheel, the cylinder,—by reminding him of its futility, but tend to deepen his despair; the scull which garnishes his study, seems to grin

in mockery of his humiliation,—to tell, in his spectral smile, the story of one who, like himself—

“In unsatisfying thought,
By twilight glimmers led astray,
Like him, at length, sank over-wrought.

He takes the fatal phial in his hand ; he draws down from its case the antique goblet of his fathers, teeming with memories of earlier and happier days,—touching, and tender memories are they ; but finding no echo, alas ! in his seared and blighted heart. He fills the goblet to the brim—he has raised it to his lips,—when hark ! “*Glocken Klang und Chors gesang !*” “the sound of bells and voices chaunting in choir.” It is the Easter morn—the joyous hymn of Easter. The despairing man is stayed for a moment in his purpose. He listens ; a thousand tender and holy recollections rush thronging back upon his heart. He wavers,—he yields,—he dashes the cup from his lips,—

“Tears come, and earth has won her child again !”

It is a scene of overpowering interest. “Never shall I forget,” says M. Marmier, “the impression which I experienced when I witnessed, for the first time, the representation of *Faust* in Germany ;—when, after that long and terrible soliloquy, those accents of cold despair, that resolution of suicide, I heard that sweet majestic church music resound, that deep solemn voice of the organ, those songs of joy, side by side with the gloomy words of *Faust*,—those sweet rejoicings of religion beside that self-annihilation of the incredulous soul,—and that cry of salvation, that awaking of suffering humanity. ‘Peace to the world ! peace to the world ! Christ hath arisen !’—this sublime appeal of Christianity, resounding in the ears of him who believes no longer, and desires to die ! oh, it is one of the most touching and beautiful scenes, which the modern drama has ever presented,—a scene founded in all that is most solemn in religion, and most profound in the human heart.”* Those who have heard the simple but majestic hymn, “*O Filii et Filiae*,” with its glad and bounding, we had almost written gay accompaniment, will easily understand this impression. Göthe’s hymn, though it does not follow, is founded upon this simple chaunt, with which Catholic usage ushers in the early morn of Easter. We give the whole scene in Mr. Talbot’s

* Etudes sur Göthe, par X. Marmier, pp. 176-7.

translation, in which, however, though accurate, the original loses much of its best charm—its simplicity.

CHORUS OF ANGELS.

“ Christ is arisen !
 Heaven opens its portal ;
 Joy to the mortal,
 Whom, awhile the disgracing,
 Native, debasing
 Defects could imprison !

FAUST.

What solemn murmurs—what melodious tones
 Dash from my lips the chalice all at once ?
 Deep-sounding bells, ah ! do you harbinger
 Of Easter's hallowed feast the joyful birth ?
 Chaunt ye the hymn so comforting to earth,
 Ye of the choir, which round the sepulchre,
 From angels' lips, the awful gloom to cheer,
 Was heard ; and to the world revealed
 That the new covenant was sealed ?

CHORUS OF WOMEN.

With spices rare
 We sprinkled him about ;
 Ours, his true handmaids, was the care
 To lay the Saviour out !
 Yes, it was our's to bind
 With cloth, his limbs so dear ;
 But now, alas ! we find
 Christ is no longer here !

CHORUS OF ANGELS.

Christ is on high,
 Restored to the sky !
 How glorious the loving,
 The gentle, the good ;
 Who, the painful, soul-proving,
 Corruption-removing,
 Ordeal hath stood.

FAUST.

Ye sweet, yet animating tones, why must
 Your heavenly chords thus seek me in the dust ?
 Go visit mortals of a softer mould,—
 I hear your tidings, but my faith is cold !
 Faith's darling child the wonderful was e'er !
 To seek those spheres, I may not dare,
 From whence your gracious news come down !
 And yet, from early youth your power I've known ;
 And now you call me back to life again !

Time was, when on my brow I felt heaven's kiss
 Descended in the Sabbath's stillness ! Then
 Swelled on my ear your joy-presaging peal—
 And prayer to me was deep substantial* bliss !
 A nameless longing then my soul could feel,
 Which drove my steps abroad through grove and field ;
 Then bursts of scalding tears to me would yield
 A better world ! This hymn was sure to bring,
 Fall on my heart, the joys of opening spring,
 And youth's gay sports ! A childish feeling
 Of fond remembrance o'er my senses stealing, [strain !
 Thrills this last serious, serious step ! Proceed, thou heavenly
 Tears flow apace—and I am earth's again !

CHORUS OF DISCIPLES.

The buried One is raised on high !
 Living He treads His native sky !
 That glorious height 'twas His to climb,
 To unfolding bliss sublime.
 To joy's creative essence nigh !
 On Earth's rude breast we suffering lie.
 Alas ! He left us here forlorn,
 With envious tears the bliss to mourn,
 That has our Master from us torn !

CHORUS OF ANGELS.

Christ is risen, and remains
 Free from all corruption's stains ;
 Then, mortals, rise exultingly,
 And burst the bonds that fetter ye !
 Ye, wont your hymns of love to raise,
 Ye who by deeds proclaim his praise,
 Ye who go forth a band of brothers,
 Preaching his kingdom to all others,
 Heralds of bliss, for you He's here ;
 To you the Master's ever near !"

In reading this and the following scene, which, though opposite in its results, is yet precisely the same in principle, we perceive how well Göthe appreciated the solemn and impressive ceremonial of our Church, and how well he understood the influence which she thus exercises upon the imagination, and, through the imagination, upon the heart, in all its varied moods of cheerfulness or despondency ; sending her

* This is far from the *brunstiger Genuss* of the original. Dr. Anster has rendered it more literally, and much more happily.

Und ein Gebet war brunstiger Genuss !

"And prayer was then indeed a burning joy !"

terrors or her consolations into the soul, through every avenue which nature has provided. "The impressions of the soul," says the Protestant Oehlenschläger, "are sensible, and made through the senses; and it is stupidity and madness to attempt to separate soul and body." True piety, like all other real feeling, is essentially of the heart. But it is not the less solid where the heart is moved through the imagination than where it is influenced through the intellect. The eye is not a less eloquent advocate than the ear. The ear discharges its office with surest effect when it ministers to the imagination, or rather when it appeals to the intellect through that medium; and, while we adore the Infinite wisdom which the mysterious adaptation of our senses to its own wise ends bespeaks, surely, it were impiety to say that religion is the only field in which this exercise is unlawful. How powerfully do these simple but solemn strains speak to the soul of the triumphs of redemption, of the peace of God, and the glorious hope of immortality! How full of joy and consolation to the believer! To the unbelieving Faust, what a spell do they exercise upon his imagination, breathing peace upon his fevered and agonizing mind, and soothing the troubled waves of passion into at least a temporary calm!

How opposite the impression in the following terrific passage! The scenery is drawn from a ceremonial of a very different character—the solemn service for the dead, in which all is terror and gloom, startling the sinner with visions of the horrors of judgment and of sin. Margaret,—whose sad history it were needless to tell,—betrayed, and, for the time, abandoned, by her lover, has betaken herself to the church to pray. Her soul is oppressed with frightful memories of the past, and torn with gloomy forebodings of the future. The vision of her unhappy mother, whom her own guilty hand had sent to an unhonoured grave—the blood of her murdered brother, who, in the vain attempt to avenge her dishonour, had fallen by the sword of her betrayer; and, alas! worse than all, the consciousness of departed innocence, her own blighted fame, the horrors of exposure and of shame—all these come crowding in dark and menacing groups before her imagination! How well do the circumstances accord with this miserable condition of mind! The gloomy aisle, with its gloomier decorations—the naked altar—the black bier—the mystic emblems of the grave—the monumental hangings, increasing by their lugubrious hue the gloom of all around—the priest and ministering clergy in their sable vestments—the

deep sepulchral tones of the organ—the awful words chaunted by the choir—a mysterious echo of the despair within—all these might appal the soul in its brightest and most innocent hour. But, alas! with what tenfold terror do they come upon the bewildered senses of the distracted girl!—with what fatal power do they assist the dark suggestions of the evil spirit!—

“*Quidquid latet adparebit !
Nil inultum remanebit !*”

If it be true that Göthe has borrowed this scene from the temptation of Justina, in Calderon’s play, he has added to it all the terror and dramatic effect which the most poetical combination of circumstances could impart. In this strange scene we should observe the original abandons the rhythmical form.

“CATHEDRAL.

SERVICE—ORGAN AND ANTHEM.

MARGARET, *among a number of people.*—EVIL SPIRIT *behind*
MARGARET.

EVIL SPIRIT.

How changed is every thing,
With thee, poor Margaret,
Since when, full of innocence,
Thou to this very altar
Didst come, and from the little old thumb’d prayer-book
Didst liap the murmured prayers,
Half with the children out at play,
In a child’s happy fancies, thy young heart,
And half with God in heaven.
And dost thou, canst thou think ?
Thy brain, where wanders it ?
In thy heart, oh ! what a weight
Of guilt ! of evil done !
Prayest thou for thy mother’s soul—
She who through thee did sleep and sleep away
Into undying agonies ?
And on thy door-stead whose the blood ?
And in thy bosom is there not
A stirring that is torture,
And with foreboding fears
Makes felt the present woe ?

MARGARET.

Woe, woe !

Oh ! that I could escape
These dark thoughts flitting over and athwart me,
And all accusing me !

CHOIR.

*Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvat sæculum in favilla.*

EVIL SPIRIT.

The judgment arrests thee,
The trumpet is sounding,
The graves are astir,
And thy heart,
From the sleep of its ashes,
For fiery torture
Created again,
Awakes up and trembles!

MARGARET.

That I were out of this !
I feel as if the organ
Stifled my breathing,
And that the anthem was
Breaking my heart.

CHOIR.

*Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet adparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit.*

MARGARET.

I feel so tightened here—
The pillars of the wall
Are grasping me ;
The arch above
Weighs on me. Aid !

EVIL SPIRIT.

Hide thyself—sin and shame
Will find thee out—
Ah, never were they hidden !
Air—light—exposure—
Woe's thee !

CHOIR.

*Quid sum miser tunc dicturus
Quem patronum rogaturus
Cum vix justus sit securus.*

EVIL SPIRIT.

From thee their countenances
The sons of light all turn,
To reach to thee their hands
Makes the pure shudder—
Woe !

CHOIR.

*Quid sum miser tunc dicturus.*MARGARET (*fainting*) to the girl next her.

Your flasket, friend."

ANSTER, pp. 260-3.

How opposite the conclusion of the temptation scene as we read it in the older dramatist! How different the exulting reply of Justina to the baffled tempter—

"Mi defensa en Dios consiste!"

And yet both are perfectly true to nature. Calderon's heroine is upheld by the consciousness of innocence: Göthe's is borne down by the weight of present guilt and the bodings of coming shame. Alas! alas! there was none to suggest to poor Margaret—

"No tiene

Tantas estallas el Cielo,

Tantas arenas el mar,

Tantas centillas el fuego,

Tantas atomas el día,

Ni tantas plumas el viento,

Como el perdona pecados!"

There is one other scene less painful, or, at least, possessing more of consolation mingled with the wretchedness which it portrays. We cannot resist the temptation of transcribing it. It is a beautiful illustration of one of the most simple yet most touching and natural practices of Catholic piety. Poor Margaret, in the fulness of her simple sorrow, flies to her who hath known sorrow like herself. She pours forth her soul at the feet of the Mater Dolorosa. Who could look, unconsolated, upon that sweetly sorrowful countenance; who could contemplate the wound in that heart, nor feel that it has learned in its own affliction to compassionate ours! Poor Margaret replaces the faded flowers which stand before the shrine—emblems, alas! of her own departed innocence! She weeps and prays. We know not in the whole compass of devotional poetry, saving always some of the noble hymns which the usage of our Church has consecrated, anything more exquisitely tender, or containing more of the true poetry of nature and of religion, than her simple prayer. It is extremely well translated both by Dr. Anster and Mr. Talbot. We are induced to give it in the words of both.

Dr. Anster's translation—

MARGARET.

“Mother benign
Look down on me !
No grief like thine ;
Thou who dost see,
In his death-agony,
Thy son divine.

In faith unto the Father
Dost thou lift up thine eyes ;
In faith unto the Father
Dost pray with many sighs.

The sword is piercing thine own soul, and thou in pain dost pray
That the pangs which torture him, and are thy pangs, may pass away !

And who my wound can heal,
And who the pain can feel,
That rends asunder brain and bone ?
How my poor heart within me aching,
Trembles and yearns, and is forsaken—
Thou knowest it, thou alone !

Where can I go ? Where can I go ?
Every where woe ! woe ! woe !
Nothing that does not my own grief betoken !
And, when I am alone,
I moan, and moan, and moan,
And am heart-broken !

The flowers upon my window sill
Wet with my tears since dawn they be ;
All else were sleeping, while I was weeping,
Praying and choosing flowers for thee.

Into my chamber brightly
Came the early sun's good morrow,
On my mother's bed, unsightly,
I sate up in my sorrow.

Oh, in this hour of death, and the near grave,
Look on me, then, and save !
Look on me with that countenance benign !
Never was grief like thine—
Look down, look down on mine !”

Mr. Talbot's translation—

MARGARET.

“Mourner divine,
Deign to incline
Thy looks benign
On my necessities !

The sword within thy heart !
 What countless pangs impart
 Thy son's death agonies !
 Up to the Father turn thy eyes,
 And to high heaven ascend thy sighs,
 For his and thy necessities !

Ah, who can feel,
 Ah, who reveal,
 A grief like this I own ?
 Or, with what anguish,
 I still must languish ?—
 Thou, thou, and thou alone !

Wherever I may go,
 What woe, what woe, what woe,
 Is in my bosom nurst !
 And when I am alone
 I moan, and moan, and moan,
 Feeling my heart will burst !

On the flower-pots in my window
 The tears fell fast from me,
 As early I, this morning,
 Gathered these flowers for thee !

As in my lonely chamber
 First glowed the morning's red,
 All sleepless in my sorrow
 I sate up in my bed.

Spare me from shame ! let me not die !

Mother benign,
 Deign to incline,
 Thy looks benign
 On my necessity !”

With this extract we must close. There is another scene—that in Martha Schwerdtlein's garden, which may be regarded as bearing upon the sense of the *Faust* ; but it is too long for insertion here. It is that in which Margaret expostulates with her lover on his unbelieving and irreligious life. It is a beautiful picture of simple and undoubting faith upon the one side, and the solemn nonsense of scepticism on the other : and whatever may have been the intention of the writer, it is impossible not to be struck by the contrast between the sophistry with which *Faust* seeks to disguise his unbelief, in the plausible language of the Pantheistic creed, and the gentle, but firm and unwavering, faith of the artless maiden. The

scene is well translated by Mr. Talbot. It is, perhaps, his most successful passage.

We know not whether we are to expect the second part of *Faust* from the pen of any of the translators of the first. Mr. Birch threatens it, but it is on a condition which we scarcely think it probable will be realized. The three translations already published, although in some things respectable, are yet far from having exhausted the difficulties or obscurities of the original. We must confess, however, that, unless in the form of fragments, we should willingly see the very considerable talents which many of the translators of the first display, better employed than upon the second part of *Faust*. Certainly, as regards our countryman Dr. Anster, we would far more fondly indulge the hope, that, as we have heard he once intended, he would turn his rapid and graceful pen to the *terza rima* of the unexhausted and exhaustless old Florentine.

ART. VIII.—*Convention between the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, on the one part, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, on the other part, with the separate Act thereunto annexed. Signed at London, on the 15th of July, 1840.*

DURING the last three months all Europe has been agitated by serious apprehensions that the general peace, so long happily established between the preponderating powers, was about to give way to a tremendous war. Those apprehensions, we must say, have been most wantonly excited. They have caused a great deal of mischief, by checking the usual course of commercial enterprise; they have called forth the expression of a great deal of bitterness of feeling among the French people against England; and the course of French policy to which they principally owed their birth has caused a vast expenditure of money, both in England and France, as well as an effusion of blood in the East, which might have been wholly spared by more wise and generous counsels. Thanks to a merciful Providence, and, under the care of that Providence, to the consummate ability of Lord Palmerston, we believe we may now congratulate the country upon the restoration of that tranquillity which has been so very unne-

cessarily disturbed; and we pray that the events which have recently taken place may turn out to be fresh guarantees for the continued repose of the civilized world.

The declaration issued by the pasha of Egypt about two years ago, that he had resolved on raising an independent sceptre over Egypt and Syria, including Candia and other portions of the Ottoman empire, rendered it necessary that a final decision, respecting his position with reference to the Porte, should be taken by the leading powers of Europe. The necessity for some positive and immediate arrangement became inevitable, when his son, Ibrahim Pasha, was avowedly preparing to menace Constantinople, the Turkish fleet had been treasonably steered into the harbour of Alexandria, and a new sultan, of tender years, had acceded to the Ottoman throne. Amidst all the diplomatic contentions and professions with which the press has lately teemed, it is now perfectly manifest to every intelligent mind that Russia on the one hand, and France on the other, sought, each independently of the other,—independently also of the courts of England, Austria, and Prussia,—to take substantially into its own hands the settlement of the question to which the unwarrantable proceedings of Mehemet Ali had given rise. Russia has long been exceedingly jealous of any other state which exercises, or attempts to exercise, influence over the counsels of the Porte. Her object has been, is, and will ever be, to gain an entire ascendancy at that court, and, in effect, to annex Turkey to her own dominions. Let her statesmen and her despatches profess what they may, it cannot be doubted that this is the invariable end which they are endeavouring to accomplish, even when their language appears to be the very model of disinterestedness.

Nor is it less certain that the same spirit which dictated the expedition to Egypt under Napoleon, still presides in the cabinets of France. She desires to interpose as many obstacles as possible to the intercourse—daily becoming more practicable and more valuable—between us and our Indian possessions, by the Red Sea, or such other channels as may be found still more advantageous through Syria. She desires to have under her protection Egypt and whatever dependencies can be added to it. She is already actually in possession of very large districts in Africa, to which she has given the name of French Africa. With reference to the Porte, her relations, to a certain extent, resemble those of Mehemet Ali, for she has conquered a portion of the Ottoman empire,

which she holds and rules—rules, by her own sole authority, in violation of an engagement which she had made with the other powers, that if she should gain them by her arms, she would subsequently dispose of them in concert with those powers. None of the powers have recognized her title to the sovereignty of those districts. They have preserved a strict silence upon that point, so that in truth France and Egypt may be said to be embarked in the same boat in everything touching the Eastern question. The policy that would wrest Syria from the pasha, would also, if circumstances were favourable, deprive Louis Philippe of Algiers.

These self-interested views, upon the part of Russia and France, are of course kept carefully out of sight in all the diplomatic documents which have lately met the public eye. Of course neither power would avow them, and it was no part of Lord Palmerston's business to make even the most distant allusion to them, on the face of his observations in conference, or of his documents in writing. But then all parties well knew that he was just as thoroughly acquainted with what was carefully suppressed, as he was with what was openly declared; and he could not but feel that the dangers to be avoided by him were much more the rocks that did not rise above the waves than the waves themselves, however agitated these may have been.

The historian who may have to narrate hereafter the events connected with these recent proceedings in the East, must, we think, pronounce, if he perform his duty with impartiality, the conduct of the French government throughout as marked by selfishness, vanity, and gross duplicity. What is the state of facts? Admiral Lalande has been openly accused of having concerted with the Turkish admiral the surrender of the Ottoman fleet to Mehemet Ali. At that moment Ibrahim was about to cross the Taurus; and the French government well knew that, in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, a Russian army was in readiness to be conveyed to the Bosphorus to defend Constantinople from the Egyptian invader. Lord Palmerston proposed that the French and English fleets, combined, should proceed to the coasts of Syria, and address a summons to the belligerent parties, in order to compel them to suspend hostilities, and, if necessary, to force the Dardanelles, in case the struggle between the pasha and the sultan should have brought the Russians to Constantinople. To these vigorous measures France would not agree. She preferred to manage the affair

herself, by using her influence with Mehemet Ali and his son ; and procured a sort of truce, which was merely intended to gain time for intrigue. It is avowed that France was disposed to favour Mehemet Ali's views, of asserting his supremacy as far as the Taurus.

Lord Palmerston could no longer hesitate as to his course. He was unwilling to act without the French, but finding them indisposed to co-operate with him in the only course of policy which he deemed best for securing the integrity of the Ottoman empire, as a security for the peace of Europe, he, in June 1839, made known to France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, that, in his judgment, the only arrangement between the sultan and Mehemet Ali which could effect those great objects would be that which should confine Mehemet Ali's delegated authority to Egypt alone, and should re-establish the direct authority of the sultan in the whole of Syria as well as in Candia and the holy cities ; thus separating the conflicting powers by the Desert. He proposed, further, that the administration of Egypt should be guaranteed to Mehemet Ali and his male descendants.

To these proposals France again objected, asserting that they could be carried into effect only by force, as the pasha never would willingly agree to them, and that the exercise of force for that purpose would produce consequences much more dangerous to the tranquillity of Europe than the then state of things. She offered no plan of her own at that time. Lord Palmerston's communication, however, led to a general expression of opinion upon the part of the four powers, including France, which stands recorded in Marshal Soult's despatch of the 17th of July, 1839, the collective note of all the five powers, dated the 27th of the same month, and the speech of the king of the French, delivered to his chambers in December the same year. It was then clearly determined by all those powers, that the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire should be preserved under the reigning dynasty ; that they should all employ their means of action and influence to secure the maintenance of this element, so essential to the balance of power, and that they would unhesitatingly declare themselves against any combination which should affect that balance. The French government even suggested that the Cabinets would be adopting a measure essential to the consolidation of peace, were they to declare in written documents, to be mutually interchanged, and, in case of need, published more or less fully, that they were actuated by such intentions.

M. Thiers, in his note of the 3d of October last, with which the public must be now perfectly familiar, has confidently alleged that nobody then thought that the "integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire" consisted in the limit which was to separate in Syria the possessions of the sultan and the viceroy. There never was an assertion made by a minister more untenable, to use a mild expression, than the one here referred to. Lord Palmerston most clearly stated his views upon this point in June 1839, to France as well as to the other powers. It was fully discussed between his lordship and the Count Sebastiani (then French minister in London), in September in 1839: the Count even suggested certain lines of demarcation, to which Lord Palmerston objected, and although M. Thiers declares that M. Sebastiani was not "authorised" to make any "propositions" on that subject, nevertheless, it cannot possibly be true to say, that the French government did not know all along that England never would consent to the annexation of Syria to the Pashalic of Egypt.

It is unnecessary to follow up the whole train of the negotiations in which Lord Palmerston was subsequently engaged with the four other powers, with a view to bring these important matters to a satisfactory conclusion. They are fresh in the public memory. It is sufficient here to state that his lordship endeavoured, by all the means in his power (having even consented to give a larger extent of territory to the pasha than was, perhaps, strictly consistent with the interests of the Ottoman empire), to ensure the co-operation of France with England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in order to compel Mehemet Ali to acquiesce in the views of the latter powers. France decidedly declared that she would take no part in coercive measures against Mehemet Ali. The negotiations proceeded; France was from day to day made fully acquainted with every step that was taken, and, eventually, a convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, on the one part, and the Sublime Porte on the other, was signed, on the 15th of July last. The preamble informs us that the sultan had addressed himself to the sovereigns of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, to ask their support and assistance in the difficulties in which he found himself placed by reason of the hostile proceedings of Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt—difficulties which threatened with danger the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and the independence of the sultan's throne. The sovereigns so appealed to, it is further stated, moved by the sincere friendship which subsists between them

and the sultan, animated by the desire of maintaining the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire as a security for the peace of Europe; faithful to the engagement which they contracted by the collective note presented to the Porte by their representatives at Constantinople, on the 27th of July 1839; and desirous, moreover, to prevent the effusion of blood, which would be occasioned by a continuance of the hostilities which have recently broken out between the authorities of the pasha of Egypt and the subjects of the Sultan, resolved, for the aforesaid purposes, to conclude together a convention. This resolution they carried into effect in the document now before us, which may be summed up as follows:

The sultan and the sovereigns had agreed amongst themselves as to the conditions of an arrangement which the former intended to grant to Mehemet Ali. They engaged to act in perfect accord, and to unite their efforts in order to determine Mehemet Ali to conform to that arrangement; each of the parties reserving to itself to co-operate for that purpose, according to the means of action which each might have at its disposal. If the pasha should refuse to accept that arrangement, active measures were to be taken with a view to effect the arrangement in question. In the meantime the communication by sea between Egypt and Syria was to be cut off; measures were to be adopted without delay, in order to prevent the transport of troops, horses, arms, and warlike stores of all kinds, from the one province to the other, and all possible support and assistance were to be afforded to those subjects of the sultan who might manifest their allegiance to his highness. Should Mehemet Ali, after having refused to submit to the conditions of the proposed arrangement, direct his land or sea forces against Constantinople, the contracting parties, upon the express demand of the sultan, agreed, in such case, to comply with that request, and to provide for the defence of the Ottoman throne by means of a co-operation agreed upon by mutual consent, for the purpose of placing the two straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, as well as Constantinople, in security against all aggression. The forces thus called in to the aid of the sultan were to remain so employed as long as their presence should be required by him, and when he should deem their aid no longer necessary they were to withdraw simultaneously, and respectively to return to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

It was, however, to be clearly understood, that the cooperation above-mentioned, with a view to place the Dardanelles

and the Bosphorus under the temporary safeguard of the contracting parties, against all aggression on the part of Mehemet Ali, should be considered only as a measure of exception adopted at the express demand of the Sultan, and solely for his defence in the single case above-mentioned. Such measure was not to derogate in any degree from the ancient rule of the Porte, in virtue of which, it had in all times been prohibited for ships of war of foreign powers to enter the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus. The sultan, on the one hand, declared that, excepting the contingency in question, it was his firm resolution to maintain in future this principle, invariably established as the ancient regulation of his empire; and as long as the Porte was at peace, to admit no foreign ship of war into the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles. The other contracting parties engaged to respect this determination of the sultan, and to conform to the above-mentioned principle.

The arrangement intended for Mehemet Ali, was to grant to him, and his descendants in the direct line, the administration of the pashalic of Egypt, and moreover to concede to him for his life, with the title of Pasha of Acre, and with the command of the fortress of St. John of Acre, the administration of the southern part of Syria; the limits of which were to be specified by a line beginning at Cape Ras-el-Nakbora, on the coast of the Mediterranean, extending direct from thence, as far as the mouth of the river Seizaban, at the northern extremity of the lake of Tiberias, passing along the western shore of that lake, following the right bank of the Jordan, and the western shore of the Dead Sea; from thence extending straight to the Red Sea, which it would strike at the northern point of the gulf of Akaba. Thence it was to follow the western shore of the gulf of Akaba, and the eastern shore of the gulf of Suez, as far as Suez. To these offers, however, a condition was to be attached, that Mehemet Ali should accept them within the space of ten days after they were communicated to him; and at the same time, place in the hands of an agent of the Porte, the necessary instructions to the commanders of the Egyptian sea and land forces, to withdraw immediately from Arabia, and from all the "holy cites," which are therein situated; from the island of Candia, the district of Adana, and all other parts of the Ottoman empire which are not comprised within the limits of Egypt, and within the pashalic of Acre, as above defined. If Mehemet Ali should not accept this arrangement within the time mentioned, then the offer of the pashalic of Acre was to be withdrawn, but that of Egypt as before de-

scribed, was to remain, provided it should be accepted within ten further days, from the expiration of the previous period, it being provided that the necessary directions should be given for the surrender of every part of the Ottoman empire in his possession, Egypt alone excepted. The Pasha was to pay to the Porte an annual tribute, proportioned to the greater or less amount of territory, of which he might obtain the administration, according as he should accept the first or second alternative; and he was, moreover, in either case, to deliver up the Turkish fleet, without making any charge for its maintenance during the time it remained in the ports of Egypt. Should the offer as to Egypt be also refused, then it was to be considered as withdrawn, and the sultan was to be at liberty to adopt such ulterior course as his own interests, and the counsels of his allies, might suggest to him.

By three protocols it was subsequently arranged, that the sultan should reserve to himself, as heretofore, the delivery of passes to light vessels under flag of war, employed according to custom for the service of the correspondence of the legations of friendly powers; and that without waiting for the ratifications of the convention, the preliminary measures having reference to the cutting off of the communications by sea between Egypt and Syria, the transport of troops, &c., from one province to the other, and the support of those Syrian subjects of the sultan, who might wish to return to their allegiance, should be executed with the least possible delay. It was also solemnly declared "that in the execution of the engagements, resulting to the contracting parties from the above-mentioned convention, those powers will seek no augmentation of territory, no exclusive influence, no commercial advantage for their subjects, which those of every other nation may not equally obtain."

Within two days after this treaty was signed, it was communicated to France; and the moment intelligence of this event reached Paris, the French government, under the dictation of M. Thiers, took it up as an unpardonable insult and injury to the French nation. M. Thiers was fully informed, down to the very hour in which the treaty was signed, of everything done by the four powers. He knew officially the results of all their conferences: he was prepared for the result of those conferences in the conclusion of a convention. He distinctly refused to become a party to the arrangements proposed by the four powers: and yet, when they were completed without his concurrence, he declares that ordinary

courtesy, as well as official formality, had been set aside; and that because M. Guizot was not invited to be present at the signature of the convention, to which his name was not to be subscribed, therefore the four powers, and especially England, the great moving power on this occasion, had purposely, by their course of proceeding, intended to strike a fatal blow against the honour of France.

The French ministerial organs in the press, forthwith sounded the tocsin, and in a few days it would seem as if all the French people were burning to take up arms, and precipitate themselves *en masse* upon our shores, in order to revenge the insult thus alleged to have been deliberately offered to their country. Council after council of the ministers was held. Ordonnances were issued for creating and equipping an armament consisting of one million of men. Orders were given for providing 500,000 muskets, and 1,800 pieces of artillery a-year, independently of the supply already collected in the arsenals, and actually distributed amongst the French troops, of both arms. Powder and projectiles, and all sorts of munitions of war, were directed to be amassed without any regard to expense. In addition to these preparations, measures were also taken for greatly increasing the French navy. All the ports were to be put into a complete state of defence; and, above all, the project, said to have been entertained by Napoleon, and warmly cherished by Louis Philippe, of erecting detached forts around Paris, was directed to be put into execution. The lines of the new fortifications were actually laid out,—the president of the council with a grand cavalcade rode over them, and the world was told that within a few days a hundred thousand hands were to be employed in raising the bulwarks, which were to astonish, and confound, and defy, the “new coalition against France!”

It is understood that M. Thiers had prepared a despatch, directing M. Guizot to quit London without further ceremony, and return to Paris. But to this step the king decidedly objected, and it was arranged that the ambassador should go over to France to meet his Majesty and M. Thiers (who much desired to play the part of viceroy over him), at Eu. M. Guizot frankly stated, at that meeting, that he saw no violation of ordinary courtesy or form in the proceedings which had taken place. It was, perhaps, to have been expected, from the intimate alliance which had so long subsisted between England and France, that the treaty should have been communicated by the former to the latter some hours sooner than

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it had been; and that it should have been accompanied by some expressions of regret, that France, on this occasion, had chosen to absent herself from the counsels of her ally. But in what had taken place he saw no real ground of grievance. M. Thiers, appears, however, to have still remained unconvinced, but the king was satisfied, and M. Guizot returned to his post.

The first official notice which the French ambassador took of the treaty, appears in a memorandum, delivered by him to Lord Palmerston, on the 24th of July. It is a very remarkable paper, inasmuch as it shows how little M. Thiers was prepared for the energy with which Lord Palmerston had already prepared to carry into effect the preliminary measures pointed out in one of the protocols annexed to the convention. The memorandum, after contending that the whole convention was ill-conceived, declared that France was unfriendly to coercive steps against the Pasha, because she could not distinctly see the means which the five Powers (the five parties to the treaty), could dispose of. The only means she could see, appeared to her to be "either insufficient or more injurious than the state of things to be remedied." "France again declares," says this precious document, "that she considers as inconsiderate, and not very prudent, a conduct which shall consist in coming to resolutions without the means of carrying them into execution, or with means of execution insufficient or dangerous."

Words so puerile as these could hardly be supposed to have passed current under the revision of M. Guizot. Was it to be supposed that the eminent statesmen who held counsel together for the formation of the convention, and for the arrangement of the mode in which it was to be put into execution, should be such dolts as not to see the difficulties which they had to conquer, and to prepare the means of attaining their object?

"The insurrection," adds M. Guizot, "of some of the people of Lebanon, is, no doubt, an opportunity which it has been thought might be seized for finding means of execution which had not before been presented. Is this a mean avowable, or, above all, so useful that the Turkish empire ought to act upon it against the viceroy? It is desired to re-establish some little degree of order and obedience in all parts of the empire, and yet insurrections are fomented. New disorders are added to that general disorder, which all the powers already deplore, as contrary to the interests of peace. Will they succeed in subjecting these people to the Porte, after exciting them to rise against

the viceroy? These questions have certainly not been resolved. But, if this insurrection be repressed—if the viceroy becomes again the assured possessor of Syria—if he thereby becomes more irritated, more difficult to persuade, and he answers to their summons by a positive refusal, what are the means of the four powers? Certainly, after having employed a whole year in seeking for them, they cannot have discovered them recently, and a new danger will have been created more serious than before. The viceroy, excited by the means employed against him—the viceroy, whom France has contributed to restrain, may pass the Taurus, and again threaten Constantinople. What will the four powers do in this case? In what manner will they enter the empire in order to give succour to the sultan? France conceives that thereby there is prepared for the independence of the Ottoman empire, and for the general peace, a danger much more serious than that with which they were threatened from the ambition of the viceroy. If all these eventualities, the consequence of the conduct about to be adopted, have not been provided for, the four powers will be engaged in an obscure and perilous path; if, on the contrary, they have been foreseen, and the means of meeting them agreed upon, then the four powers ought to make them known to Europe, and above all to France, who has always taken part in the common object—to France, whose moral concurrence they still claim—whose influence at Alexandria they invoke."

To designate as an "insurrection," the efforts of the people of Lebanon to rid themselves of the cruel and intolerable yoke of a tyrannical usurper, is rather a peculiar mode of treating the question of Syria, especially when we remember that the phrase comes from one of the leading representatives of the revolution of 1830. The expectation, that after France had repeatedly declared that she would be no party to any coercive measures against Mehemet Ali, she should, nevertheless, have been consulted as to the expediency, and the extent, and the precise nature of those measures, does certainly betray a tone of feeling upon her part, which is not consistent with her position in Europe, still less with the relation in which, by her close junction with the pasha, she had placed herself towards the contracting powers. Was France to be consulted respecting military and naval operations in which she declined to take any part? Had she been so consulted, what would have happened? Prolongation of the negotiations; loss of time for bringing the question to an issue; the approach of winter, when the Syrian coasts could not have been blockaded; and the necessary suspension of effective proceedings, until France should have found the means of rendering assistance to Ibrahim Pasha. Lord Palmerston was not to be duped by pretext; of

this description, especially at a period when he was well aware that M. Thiers was using every possible exertion, with a view to detach Austria and Prussia from the new alliance; an underhand manœuvre, which of itself, stamps the incapacity of M. Thiers for the arduous office which, for the misfortune of France, had been placed in his hands.

Meanwhile, due steps were taken for putting to the test of action, the very "insufficient," "injurious," "inconsiderate," "imprudent" executive measures, authorized by the sanction of the ministers engaged in arranging the Eastern question; and on the memorable 9th of September, the guns of the Cyclops steamer announced the commencement of hostilities between the allies and Mehemet Ali, he having refused the offers which they had caused to be made to him. "Boats without number passing and repassing, signals flying, drums beating to quarters, the shrill whistle of the boatswain," soon proved that British tars and marines were not idle listeners to their own trumpet of war. *Napier was there.* The line of operations taken up by the British squadron, under the command of Admiral Stopford, extended from Tripoli to Caffa, beyond Acre. Ibrahim Pasha, with nearly 8,000 men, was in sight. At, or near Beyrout, were 7,000 more, under the direction of Solymán Pasha, (Seves, a French officer.) Imagining that a landing of the Turkish and Austrian troops, and British marines prepared for the purpose, would have been attempted to the south of Beyrout, Seves shewed himself in force in that quarter. In a few moments, 1,000 of his men were literally mowed down by the British fire. The landing was effected, without any loss, at two points, from ten to fifteen miles distant to the north of Beyrout, of 5,000 Turks, 500 Austrians, and 1,500 British marines; and in less than thirty hours from the discharge of the first gun from the Cyclops, a strong position was taken up on different heights, the allied troops being disposed in a semicircle, which, we have not heard that either Ibrahim or Seves ventured to attack, although it is supposed that Ibrahim might have moved against them a force of not less, upon the lowest calculation, than 30,000 men. The "insurgents," as M. Guizot styles subjects of the sultan, anxious to defend the rights of their legitimate master, hastened to the allied camp, where they were abundantly supplied with arms. The intended movements of Ibrahim towards Asia Minor and Constantinople, were at once rendered impracticable, and in a short time the Taurus will be covered with snow. 10,000 troops were about

to be added from Constantinople to the force already collected on the Syrian coast. So much for the *vain* "resolutions" of the allies—so much for the "insufficiency" of the measures by which the convention was to be carried into effect. When we read of these measures as already actually accomplished, the profound memorandum delivered by M. Guizot to Lord Palmerston does undoubtedly become the most ludicrous state paper that ever escaped from the pen of a minister! And this is the minister—M. Thiers—the "indispensable!" the "matchless!" ruler to whom the destinies of France have been confided!

Facts are indeed stubborn things. They speedily brought Mehemet Ali to his senses. His obstinacy deprived him of all the advantages which the convention offered for his acceptance. The sultan (without indeed consulting the representatives of the Porte, as he ought to have done) deposed him even from the pashalic of Egypt, and then came an "additional note" from M. Thiers, dated the 8th of October, informing the world, that all of a sudden the "grave question" of the east "had assumed an aspect altogether new:"—that Mehemet Ali "had submitted himself to the will of his august master; that he accepted the hereditary possession of Egypt; and that he placed himself, with respect to the remainder of the territories actually in his occupation, entirely at the magnanimity of the Sultan."

Such was the extraordinary haste with which M. Thiers proceeded, in order to create an impression that this proceeding on the part of the Pasha was entirely to be attributed to the "pressing recommendations of France," that a translation of it was actually forwarded from Paris for insertion in a London journal, before the note itself was delivered to the courier who was to be the bearer of it to M. Guizot! This document requires to be examined with particular attention.

"We have made known," says M. Thiers, "to the British cabinet, the interpretation which must be put upon this mode of expressing himself; and although Mehemet Ali would not consent to declare immediately the full extent of the concessions to which he had been led to agree by the pressing recommendations of France, we have taken it upon ourselves to make them known, and we have announced that the viceroy resigns himself to the necessity of accepting the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt, and the possession during his life of Syria; at the same time consenting to abandon immediately Candia, Adana, and the Holy Cities. We must also add, that had the Porte adhered to this arrangement, we would at once have consented to guarantee its fulfil-

ment, in concert with the powers which are occupied in determining the future condition of the Ottoman Empire. Every enlightened mind was struck with the loyalty of France, who, notwithstanding she was forced to proceed on a separate path, never ceased to exercise her influence to bring about a solution, at once moderate and pacific, of the Oriental question; nor has the wisdom which guided the Viceroy in listening to the dictates of prudence and moderation been less appreciated by the high intelligences of Europe."

The "We" in the commencement of this passage must not pass unnoticed. It is not "The king's government," or "His Majesty's government," but *we*—that is M. Thiers in fact alone, pluralising himself, as is the fashion with editors of public journals, or rather indeed affecting the style of Napoleon when first consul—a style by no means courteous towards Louis Philippe, especially in a document of the highest importance as a state paper. This *we* carries with it throughout the whole note an air of peculiar arrogance.

M. Thiers then assumes to himself the right of limiting this general submission of the viceroy to a particular extent; which extent, Mehemet Ali, who sinks here into a mere satrap of France, would not, forsooth, "consent to declare immediately," but which M. Thiers takes it upon himself to proclaim—viz. the abandonment of the possessions mentioned, the retention of Syria for life, and of Egypt as an hereditary sovereignty. It is very remarkable, that if M. Thiers had previously known the disposition of Mehemet Ali to content himself with the specific terms here set forth, he did not announce them to the powers before so many lives were sacrificed on the Syrian coast. It is still more unfortunate that after disclosing his intentions on this subject to France, the viceroy did not at once direct his son to discontinue all warlike proceedings. The notion of M. Thiers, that he would "guarantee" the fulfilment of such an arrangement, in concert with the powers, is a new element altogether in the history of the late negotiations. To permit the French government to be the guarantee of the viceroy for any course of policy whatever, would be at once to install Egypt as a mere province of France; an open, unqualified recognition of a right on the part of France, to act as the real director of the destinies of the hereditary pashalic. We strongly suspect that Mehemet Ali has been no consenting party to the assumption of any such responsibility by M. Thiers. We presume, moreover, that Lord Palmerston is already sufficiently aware of the value of any kind of guarantee tendered by a French minister, not to accept such a security,

even if he would permit it to be offered. It is a well-known principle in France—if principle the contempt for all principle can be called—that no French government, or minister, is answerable for the promises, or guarantees, of their predecessors.

It must be confessed, we think, by the most impartial mind, that the tone and language adopted by M. Thiers in the following paragraph, are extremely objectionable, in every point of view.

“In reply to these concessions, the Porte, either acting spontaneously, or else swayed by hasty and inconsiderate counsels, proffered on the spot at the moment—the Porte, I repeat—before any reference could be made to the allied powers, replied to the submissive answer of the viceroy, by declaring his deposition. Such a step, equally outrageous and unexpected, goes beyond even the spirit of the treaty of July 15, and exceeds also the most extraordinary results which might have been expected to arise out of that document. This treaty, which France was not able to invoke, inasmuch as she had never adhered to or recognised it, but which she now brings into notice, for the purpose of showing the rapidity with which the subscribing parties have been drawn into its most dangerous consequences—this treaty, in the event of an absolute refusal on the part of the viceroy to comply with one and all of its conditions, gave the Porte the faculty of withdrawing its first proposals, and of acting as it might deem most advantageous to its interests, according to the counsels of the allied powers. But still there were two supposed contingencies involved in this treaty—namely, an absolute and peremptory refusal on every one of the points contained in it, on the part of the Viceroy, and a consequent reference to the four powers for advice. Nothing of the kind, however, has taken place. The viceroy has not offered an absolute refusal, and the sultan has not even given himself the time to concert a reply in conjunction with his allies. He met unhopd-for concessions by an act of deposition !

“The four powers could not approve of such conduct, and we KNOW IN EFFECT THAT SEVERAL OF THEM HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED THEIR DISAPPROBATION OF IT. Lord Palmerston has caused a communication to be made to our cabinet, that we must only look upon this proceeding in the light of a threat (*comminatoire*) without any necessary or effective consequences. The Count d’Appony, in an interview which I had with him on this subject, announced to me that the same opinion was entertained by his cabinet of the proceeding. We have willingly taken cognizance of this wise intimation, and we now seize the opportunity of stating the intentions of France with respect to this matter.”

To describe the conduct of the Sultan as “swayed by hasty and inconsiderate counsel,” “outrageous and unexpected,” is

clearly to set himself up as the champion of the Pasha, and the opponent of the legitimate master of Syria. This is not the part of a disinterested mediator, nor even of a power sincerely "proceeding in a separate path" from the four powers in these transactions. By a "separate path" was meant, we presume, a course tending in a direction parallel to their career, and not in one opposed to that direction, with a view to accomplish the same object. The allies, of course, could not suffer France to set herself up under the character of a protector of the vassal against his sovereign. Nevertheless, this was clearly the character to which M. Thiers aspired; nothing could better display his excessive vanity, and his utter incapacity for the office with which he was invested, than this most imperious, and most wanton exhibition of personal temper, and sheer insolence.

Then follows a long string of superficial sophistries, with a view to shew that the integrity of the Ottoman empire is absolutely essential to the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, and yet that this integrity would be best consulted by separating from the Porte one of the richest provinces of which it ought to be composed.

"France has declared that she will use every means in her power to preserve the peace and the balance of power in Europe. Now is the time for her to explain clearly what meaning this declaration is to have. In accepting, with a religious fidelity, the state of Europe, such as it is settled by existing treaties, France has understood, that during the general peace which has happily prevailed since 1815, this state should not be changed, either for the profit or to the detriment of any one of the existing powers. It has been under this impression that she has always declared in favour of preserving the Ottoman empire; the Turkish people, by their national qualities, amply merited, on their own account alone, respect for the independence of that kingdom; but apart from this consideration, the dearest interests of Europe were bound up in the continued existence of Turkey. This empire, in being prostrated, could only be made subservient to the aggrandizement of the adjoining states, to the detriment of the general equilibrium, and her fall would have occasioned such a change in the existing proportions of the great powers, as to have altered the aspect of the globe altogether. France, and the other powers in common with her, so strongly felt this contingent result, that she, in concert with her allies, has constantly and loyally united in maintaining the Ottoman empire, however deeply their respective interests might be involved relatively to the preservation or fall of that kingdom.

"But the integral portion of the Ottoman empire spreads itself from the shores of the Black to those of the Red Sea. It is as essential to guarantee the independence of Egypt and Syria, as the inde-

prudence of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. A Prince vassal has succeeded in establishing a firm rule in two provinces, which during a long period the Sultans of Constantinople were unable to govern. This Prince vassal, if he has not been able to introduce into the countries which he governs, the humanity which distinguishes European civilization, and which probably would ill comport with the present manners of the country he administers, has, at least, introduced a greater degree of order and regularity in them than exists in any other part of the Turkish empire. He has found the means to levy a public force; he has raised troops and he has created a fleet; he has roused the pride of the Ottoman people, and he has restored to them somewhat of that confidence in themselves which it is indispensable for a nation to possess, in order to be able to defend and maintain its independence. This Prince vassal has become, according to our view, an essential and necessary part of the Ottoman empire. If he be destroyed, the empire will not the more acquire, now-a-days, the means which were formerly wanting to enable the sultan to govern Syria and Egypt; and the Porte will lose a vassal who is, at this moment, one of its principal bulwarks. Other pashas will succeed, who will be disobedient to their masters, and who will be the dependants of every foreign influence. In a word, one portion of the integral Turkish empire will be compromised, and, together with this, the general equilibrium will be endangered. In the opinion of France, the existence of the viceroy of Egypt in the countries which he governs, and in the seas where his power is exerted, is essential for the purpose of ensuring the proportions as they actually exist, between the different parts of the globe.

"In this conviction, France, equally disinterested in the Oriental question with the four powers who have signed the protocol of September 17, believes herself to be under the necessity of declaring that the deposition of the Viceroy, if put in force, will be, in her estimation, a blow given to the general equilibrium."

All this tirade is intended, we presume, as a kind of protest against the proceedings of the allies—an effort to cover, with some shreds of dignity, the vacillating and sinister course of policy which M. Thiers had hitherto pursued with reference to the eastern question. Having found himself deprived by that course, of the power of even concerting with the allies the regulation of the future fate of the contending parties—after he had attempted to arrange the whole affair by his own sole authority—he shrinks off as well as he can from the scene of debate, muttering to himself, in low but angry accents, much more indicative than he could have wished anybody to witness, of the deeply mortified feelings which were raging in his bosom. "At all events, then," he exclaims, "Egypt shall exist as an independent state, under the 'Prince vassal.'" A

new and swaggering title, which M. Thiers has invented for his protégé. Let the existing war go to what extent it will—let blood continue to be effused—let the treasure and the energies of the sultan and the rebel be squandered through campaign after campaign, still the act of deposition shall not be carried into effect, even though Ibrahim and his troops should prolong their resistance to the last!

This, therefore, is the *casus belli* laid down by M. Thiers. Assume that the success of the allies in Syria be as ample as they could desire, and that this success be obtained by hard fighting against Ibrahim, nevertheless the conquerors are to be told by France, “thus far you may go, but no farther;” if you attempt to maintain and enforce the deposition of Mehemet from his Egyptian pashalic, it will be by us considered as an aggression upon France, and we shall oppose it by force of arms. We consider the integrity of the Egyptian pashalic as essential to the balance of power as the integrity of the Ottoman empire itself. Let us read M. Thiers’ denunciations upon this point.

“The question with respect to the limits which ought to be established in Syria, in order to divide the possessions of the sultan from those of the viceroy of Egypt, *might with safety be left to the chances of the war now actually in progress*, but France cannot prevail upon herself to abandon to such a chance the existence of Mehemet Ali as prince vassal of the empire. Whatever territorial limits may ultimately separate the two powers, by the fortune of war, their continued double existence is necessary to Europe, and France cannot consent to admit the suppression either of the one or the other. Disposed as she is to enter upon and take part in every acceptable arrangement which shall have for its basis the double guarantee of the existence of the sultan and that of the viceroy of Egypt, she confines herself at present to the declaration on her part, that she cannot consent to the carrying into execution of the act of deposition pronounced at Constantinople.

“In other respects the spontaneous manifestations of several of the powers who have signed the treaty of July 15, prove to us that in this respect we understand the term, ‘balance of Europe,’ in the same sense that they do, and that in this respect their views are not at variance with ours. We should regret this disagreement, which as yet we do not perceive, but we could in nowise swerve from this manner of comprehending and of assuring the maintenance of that equilibrium.

“France entertains the hope that Europe will appreciate the motives by which she has been induced to break the silence hitherto preserved by her. Her love of peace may be relied upon, as that senti-

ment has constantly animated her, notwithstanding the proceedings of which she believes she has a right to complain. Her disinterestedness may also be relied upon, for it is not possible even to suspect her of aspiring to any acquisitions of territory in the East. What she does aspire to is the maintenance of the equilibrium of Europe. This is also the care of the great powers in common with her, and it ought to form at once the object of their glory and of their ambition. Accept, &c. (Signed) "A. THIERS."

After this bravado, M. Thiers despatches a certain number of interrogatories to Lord Palmerston, and demands to know what would England do in case the allied arms should succeed in expelling Ibrahim Pasha from Syria? To which Lord Palmerston replies very quietly, that the proceedings of the allies must entirely depend on the conduct of Mehemet Ali. Thus providing for a case which might happen, and actually has happened, namely, the obstinate resistance of Ibrahim, until almost every town and fortress on the coast, including Beyrout, Sidon, and others, has either surrendered, or been forced to surrender to the indomitable valour of the allied troops. It is at this moment questionable, whether the deposition of Mehemet Ali ought not to be carried into full effect, seeing the course of conduct which he has pursued, in submitting himself to the magnanimity of the sultan, and at the same time continuing to wage against him a most sanguinary war. The *casus belli*, however, has since fallen to the ground, by what we may call the deposition of M. Thiers himself. The would-be dictator of France has been shorn of his authority, after having rekindled the revolutionary spirit throughout France; and by his insane course of policy—his decreeing the erection of fortresses round Paris—his arming an immense host at a most enormous expense—made himself, his policy, and his country, the derision of all Europe!

The great object of the new ministry will be, to undo every thing which M. Thiers has done; and, above all, to appease, if they can—otherwise to crush by means of superior force—the revolutionary excitement, which was the result of his wild proceedings. Had he unfortunately remained much longer in power, it would have become absolutely necessary for the powers to lose not a moment in turning their triumphant arms against France itself. Nor was this contingency, we apprehend, unforeseen by Lord Palmerston. He could not but have felt long since, that the whole course of French policy, since the capture of Algiers, has been one continued aspiration towards universal authority; supplanting, and,

wherever it could, injuring and interrupting British trade ; and, more than once, insulting our national honour.

The attitude of France at this moment is undoubtedly one which is any thing but enviable. We deeply regret it. It is not for the interests of civilization, that a great country, possessing every quality fitting her to shine out as the mistress of every science, art, and accomplishment, by which human existence is improved and embellished, should have been thus reduced, by the vanity and the blunders of a charlatan, to the degraded position which she is now obliged to occupy. Isolated from all Europe, at a moment when her true policy would have placed her amongst the rulers of the world ; stripped of her natural and just influence in the counsels of the great nations, when she might have been a distinguished leader in their deliberations ; sacrificing, for a mere sound of rhetorical grandeur, a real grandeur which was well worth preserving ; she remains, once more, just as much broken down and mortified as she was in 1815. The incapacity and the insolence of one man, has brought upon her another Waterloo ; and it is a striking circumstance, that the manes of Napoleon should, at the moment, have gone back to France to witness the second downfall of that domineering spirit, of which he was, in life, the illustrious champion. May it be a final lesson to that country ! May it teach her that her ambition is much too vast for the measure of her power, and that she only demoralizes her government, retards the march of constitutional liberty throughout Europe, and trifles wantonly with the happiness of a very large portion of mankind, as often as she attempts to realize those turbulent dreams of supremacy, which seem periodically to disturb and madden her glorious intellectual faculties.

The conduct of the whole British people throughout these late international debates, has been in every country, not even excepting France, the theme of unqualified and well-deserved eulogy. The lion, although the din of warlike preparations has been constantly sounding in his ears, and thousands of infuriated voices have been provoking him to battle, still lay in outstretched repose ; not unobservant of the bustle that was going on around him, but waiting, with his characteristic dignity, for the moment when he ought, if it should become necessary, to rouse his dormant energies to action. It would be a great injustice not to acknowledge the consummate skill, the true statesmanlike superiority of view, the activity and success with which Lord Palmerston has discharged his duties,

on an occasion which presented more perplexing questions for rapid solution, than ever before put to proof the talents of a British minister.

Nor ought we to omit a tribute of admiration to the valour of the troops—especially of our own marines—who have been engaged in the military operations which have resulted in the rapid, almost instantaneous, capture of fortresses, that, in the age of the Crusades, cost months and years, and thousands of lives, to the parties invading them. History records few actions—those performed by our troops in India only excepted—which display more intrepidity, science, and entire success than those lately performed on the Levantine coast. Napier proved a host in himself. His conduct at Sidon will bear comparison with anything we had previously heard or read of the heroes of chivalry. General Jochmus, a soldier of fortune, who has fought with distinguished reputation in the fields of Greece and Spain, was well worthy of being the companion, almost the rival in arms, of Napier, in these splendid achievements. The utility of the steam-ship as an arm of war can no longer be questioned, after the events which have crowned the policy of the allies with such complete triumph. For the landing of troops on a hostile shore, they have been proved invaluable. After making, in the open day, a demonstration on one point, and attracting thither the main force of the enemy, they can quietly wheel around in the course of the night, and debark the troops at any distance they please. A few hours are sufficient to turn an encampment into a stronghold, and should the position be attacked by superior force, the wonderful machine is at hand to cover their retreat, and convey them to a place of safety. Wars may thus be commenced and concluded in a single campaign which formerly extended themselves through many a tedious year.

P.S.—We had written so far when the speech of the King of the French, on opening the new session, came under our observation. We feel truly gratified at finding in it an entire realization of all the hopes we had entertained as to the maintenance of peace in Europe. It is the production of a master-mind. Every syllable of it appears evidently to have come from the hand of Louis Philippe himself. What a dignified contrast does it present to the *notes* of M. Thiers! What rebukes does it heap upon the frothy, drunken compositions of the would-be leader of new revolutions! The King has nobly flung himself on the bosom of all that is sound in mind and heart in France. We dare to predict that he will be vigor-

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ously supported, and that the war—in more appropriate words, the anarchical—faction, will speedily perish before the withering sternness of this speech, than which never was one uttered from a French throne more suitable to the necessities of the occasion that called it forth.*

ART. IX.—*Epigramma Greco-Cristiano de' primi secoli, &c.*
—*Greek-Christian Epigram of the first centuries, lately found near the ancient Augustodunum, now Autun, in France; restored where necessary, and commented on by Father John P. Secchi, of the Society of Jesus.* Rome: 1840.

TWO words of preface must keep our readers waiting, before we enter upon the interesting little work before us.

The first regards the science of which it treats. The Christian archæology of the earliest centuries is a branch of sacred study hardly cultivated, as yet, out of Italy, and having its seat and centre in eternal Rome. Even whatever the Mabillons and Montfaucons may have done for it, must be considered as only emanations from that source. This is quite reasonable. Geology could not have sprung up in the midst of the Sahara, where one stratum of unfathomable as well as immeasurable sand presents no variety of physical features; and no more could the study of primeval Christian monuments have arisen, or have been cultivated, where they existed not to attract attention, and to furnish materials for application. Italy possesses, in almost every part, some remnants of the earliest Christian ages. Verona is rich in inscriptions; Milan has its Ambrosian monuments; Brescia contains many curious objects; Ravenna is a perfect Christian museum; city and suburbs are full of splendid edifices of the first Christian ages, churches erected or embellished by Justinian, Valentinian, or Galla Placidia. The domestic chapel, built by St. Peter Chrysologus, still serves, without any essential alteration, his worthy successor the present saintly archbishop; and the beautiful frescoes of Giotto have faded away or have been peeled off by damp, from the church of *Stu. Maria in Porto fuori*; while the mosaics of double their age, in the apsis of the neighbouring basilica of *St. Apollinare in Classe*, display as yet almost their original freshness. But all the monumental riches of these, and all other Italian cities

* Our Catholic readers will turn with great satisfaction to the admirable speech of the Comte Montalembert, in support of the preservation of the peace of Europe.

together, are poor, compared with what Rome alone comprehends in her ancient walls and suburban territory. Not a link is wanting in her series. She begins with the altar of the apostle St. Peter, enshrined in the high altar of St. John Lateran, with his chair and his very ashes—the glory of the Vatican, with the persons of himself and his brother apostle Paul, and with the places of their martyrdom. From these she conducts the devout pilgrim through the mazes of catacombs and crypts, the dormitories of saints, the chambers of martyred pontiffs; she points out to him the altars mixed with tombs, the paintings that conceal sepulchres, the baptisteries still fed by pure subterranean streams,* all the evidences of that mixture of joy and of sorrow, of resignation and anxiety; of life and death in the same spot, which characterises so powerfully to the mind, and to the feelings, that early state of persecution in which the Catholic Church was so long kept. Then her monuments begin to creep above ground; her *confessions*, or tombs of martyrs (yea, such martyrs as Laurence or Agnes), communicate at once below with the catacombs, of which they are a part, and above with the splendid churches that overshadow them. Through these venerable entrances we gain the upper sphere, and pass, by a natural transition, from chapels to churches, from catacombs to basilicas. We stay not now to draw comfort from this contrast, as applied to ourselves at this moment. We fancy we could show many symptoms of a similar transition, from the chapel to the church, in our present sacred edifices, and a not dissimilar one from bye-lanes to public streets; nay, if we are rightly informed, Birmingham, at this moment, presents an example of a magnificent church springing over one low sunk in the ground, and now forming its crypt. But we pass by these reflections now, to proceed with our antiquarian walk. The name of Constantine, recorded as the founder of many Roman basilicas, gives us the earliest possible date for the erection of great Christian edifices, and assures us of the next step in our monumental chronology of ancient Christianity. True it, unfortunately, is, that Vandals, ancient and modern,

* As in the Cemetery of Pontianus, on the Via Portuensis, a road particularly dear to us. Over the square baptistery, cut out of the rock and filled with beautiful running water, deep enough for immersion, is a painting of our Lord's baptism. Beside it is a painting of SS. Abdon and Sennen, whose bodies are, or were, here. See an interesting account of the discovery of this catacomb by the discoverer Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 125; or by Ariunghi, *Roma Subterranea*, tom. i. p. 375.

whether wielding the sword or the compasses, whether destroying or repairing, have removed much, and left comparatively little, of what we revere; but still the granite columns or the porphyry wainscoting, the pavement or the outer walls remain; and when all has been covered and whitewashed, the site, with its secure tradition, the shrine, with its certain relics, remains unchanged, to carry back the feeling mind to the age in which the trenches for the foundations of the buildings were opened by an imperial hand, or the sacred deposit laid beneath its altar by a saintly pontiff. After this period, the work of tracing out the visitor's course becomes too complicated for us to undertake it. Every *region* of the city has its claims upon his next attention, every gate invites him—not unallured by the smiling hills that win him forward—to make a pilgrimage of every excursion, and pause on his way at one or more of the hallowed spots, which a large church, or a chapel, or a simple inscription by the road-side, recommends to his devout attention.

While our pen, almost unguided, has been rapidly tracing these paragraphs, our mind has been wandering over the scenes they record. We have revisited them all in spirit, and many more which we have not here set down. We have, in the last few minutes, threaded many a subterranean labyrinth with no other clue than memory; stopping here at an angle where the wall of sand is cut away, to admit the pale sepulchral lamp, which lighted the diverging corridors; peeping into half-opened tombs, in which every bone yet lies in its place, unremoved because wanting any token of martyrdom; have read the names of saints beside their effigies painted in the little chapels,—the squares of those subterranean streets. We have almost leapt from sanctuary to sanctuary, with that rapidity, which the imagination itself can only have when the affections lend it wings; have recalled to our minds the exact forms, the nicely-distinguishing features of each, their specific treasures of art and of holiness; we have peopled them for their festival-days, we have worshipped in them in twilight solitude; and we now awake from our trance, to apologize to our readers for having imagined that we could draw others after us as fast as we run ourselves, over a ground which it requires years of familiar and loving intercourse to know as it deserves; years of that intercourse which makes the very stones of a standing temple as dear as were the dispersed ones of Sion's sanctuary to the Israelite, and which gives us friendship for unspeaking forms. It will be, at least, allowed

to be perfectly natural, that such persons as have once conceived these feelings, and have nourished them, will soon turn their intelligence in the same direction as their hearts; and not content with admiring, will be anxious to understand. Hence it was not long after the revival of good letters, before works of great learning were composed, to illustrate the early Christian monuments of Rome. The names of Aringhi, Bottari, Bosio, Boldetti, Marangoni, Ciampini, and many others of the same class, are well known to the lovers of these interesting pursuits. We believe Rome to be the only city which, in its theological schools, has a chair of Christian archæology, or has a museum, like that of the Vatican Library, exclusively devoted to it.

The Pontificate of Benedict XIV was particularly favourable to the prosecution of this study. That great Pontiff, himself well versed in it, encouraged the researches of other learned men; and though, unfortunately, the bad taste which prevailed in his time (though not quite so bad as in the period immediately preceding), has caused his name and arms to stand upon ancient buildings, sadly modernized, he well knew how to appreciate and preserve what was old and venerable. The calamities of a later period led, perhaps, to some relaxation in the prosecution of this study, though the names of Marini, Cancellieri, and Visconti, may wipe off much of this imputation. But the present Pontiff, having founded and richly furnished three classical museums, the Egyptian, the Etruscan, and the Lateran, could not be supposed indifferent to that most akin to his own pursuits, and most especially his own, he being the Bishop to whom the preservation of the sacred monuments of his see officially belongs. Accordingly, he has enriched the Christian Museum beyond all his immediate predecessors; he has added to it seals, rings, plate, and books; and he has created in it a totally new department, already admirably fitted up, of old sacred paintings. This attention, on his part, has naturally excited a new ardour for the pursuit, of corresponding application; and we believe we are not incorrect in saying that this month will see the publication of the first number of a work, to be continued monthly, illustrative of the sacred archæology of Rome. It will begin with statues and basreliefs, will then proceed to works in ivory and metal, and so descend to paintings, and other objects of religious purpose and interest.

This brings us to the second of our preliminary matters. It shall not be so prolix as our first. It is concerning the author

of the pamphlet which we desire to make known to our readers. Father Secchi is professor of Greek in the Roman College belonging to the Society of Jesus. He is yet young; and though he has not published any large works, he has acquired no small reputation by his able philological and antiquarian essays, chiefly contained in the *Archæological Annals*, published by a German association in Rome, and in other periodicals of that city. In the prosecution of his Greek studies he has gone beyond the limits of ordinary attainments, and has made himself master of Sanskrit, as an auxiliary to his grammatical researches. Now he, with F. F. Marchi, Tepieri, and one or two other members of his order, is chief promoter and prosecutor of this extraordinary most *jesuitical* plan of bringing before the public, and within the reach of all scholars, the ancient monuments of Christianity. So much for the supposition of Rome's interest in concealing the faith and practice of primitive times, and of the jesuits being anxious to discourage such prying researches, and keeping the people in ignorance and subjection.

After what we have said, it will not surprise our readers to find a Christian inscription of the early centuries, found in France, travelling to Rome to be decyphered, nor to see Father Secchi's name on our pamphlet as its interpreter. We shall pretend to do little more than follow him as our guide in this article.

The city of Autun, anciently *Bibracte*, afterwards *Augustodunum*, later, in compliment to the Flavii (Constantius Chlorus and Constantine), *Urbs Flavia*, finally called by the more enviable title of *Ædua Christi Civitas*, was celebrated, even under the early emperors, for its learning and schools. Under Constantius Chlorus, who called to teach in it, the celebrated rhetorician, afterwards his panegyrist, Eumenius, it was distinguished for its *scholæ Mænianæ*, a term perhaps not sufficiently explained. Christianity was early introduced into Autun, and soon took a vigorous root there. St. Benignus, its apostle, about the middle of the second century, found there a senatorial family already Christian. The head of this family was Faustus, who took advantage of the presence of the first missionaries to have his son Symphorian baptized. The youth, under the instruction of his father, and of his mother Augusta, grew up a model of Christian virtue. Persecution soon came to try the stability of the infant Church. From Lyons the fury of the heathens spread to Autun; several of its apostles fell, and Faustus and his son were most

assiduous in collecting their blood and honouring their remains. At length the zeal of Symphorian could not be contained within such bounds: he insulted a public procession in honour of Cybele, was arrested, condemned; and, encouraged by his pious mother, died with constancy.*

The usual refuge of the Christians in time of persecution was the cemeteries or tombs. The first assemblies of Christians at Autun were held in a cemetery on the public road, apart from the town. There in process of time several churches were built, of which the principal one was that of St. Peter; from it the cemetery is to this day called of *S. Pierre l'Estrées (a via strati)*. It became subsequently a place of devout pilgrimage; and, among others, St. Augustine our apostle, St. Germanus, and St. Gregory of Tours, are recorded to have visited it. The French revolution finished what previous neglect had in part prepared, the total destruction, or rather annihilation, of every vestige of monuments on this venerable spot. Still the cemetery exists, inasmuch as inscriptions and tombs are often brought to light, sufficient to determine the place and its destination. Of these inscriptions some are profane, so as to indicate the existence of a burial place before the Christians occupied it. Others are Christian; and of these undoubtedly the most interesting is the one which forms the subject of our article. It was found in the month of June of last year, by the worthy bishop of Autun, and the Abbé Découvoux, broken into nine fragments, of which two have not yet been found. The slab on which it is written bears the marks of the metal cramps by which it was once fastened to a wall or tomb. To cut short all minute descriptions, we have thought it better at once to present our readers with an exact copy, made upon a tracing from the original, as well as from the engraving first published of it in Paris.

Fortunately, the first part of the inscription, which is the most interesting to us, is the best preserved. The *lacuna* in the first line alone presents any serious difficulty. We will therefore at once give the entire inscription, as restored by F. Secchi, and as translated by him into corresponding Latin verses, referring to his work for his acute philological observations. It is as follows:—

* See the authorities for all these points, in an excellent article in the "Annales de Philosophie chrétienne;" March, 1840.

ΙΟCΗΤΟΡΙCΕΜΝ^ω
ΓΟΜΕΝΒΡΟΤΕΟΙ^ς
ΦΙΛΕΘΑΠCΟΥ^Η
ΧΟΥCΟΦΗC
ΛΛ^αΜΒ^αΝΩΡC
ΟΝΠΑΜΑΙC
ΔΕCΠ^αCΩΙC
ΤΟΘΑΝΟΝΤ^ωΝ
ΕΘΥΜΩ
ΙΕΜΟΙCΙΝ
ΕΚΤΟΡ^οΥΟ



Ἰχθὺς ο[ὐρανίου θε]ίου γένος ἦτορι σεμνῷ
 Χρῆσε λαλῶ[ν φωνῇ]ν ἀμβροτον ἐν βροτείοις·
 Θεσπεσίων ὑδά[τῳ]ν τὴν σὴν, φίλε, θάπτε ψυχὴν,
 Ὑδασιν ἀενάοις πλουτοδότου σοφίης·
 Σωτῆρος [δ'] ἁγίων μελιθεῖα λάμβανε βρο[ῶμον],
 Ἐσθιε, πίνε δ[υοί]ν ἰχθὺν ἔχων παλάμαις.
 Ἰχθυι χ[ηρεί]α [γ]αλιλαίῳ, δέσποτα Σῶτ[ερ],
 Εὐεῖε[ιν] [μ]ητῆρ σε, λίταζέ με, φῶς τὸ θανόντων.
 Ἀσχάνδ[ε]ι[ε] [πα]τερ, τῷμῳ κε[χα]ρισμένη θυμῷ
 Σὺν [μ]ητρὶ γλυκερῇ, σύγε καὶ δακρ[υ]νοῖσιν ἰμοῖσιν
 Ἰ[λασθεῖς νιού σέο] μνήσεο Πεκτορίνιο

IXΘYC, patre Deo Deus, immortalia sancto
 Mortales, inter corde locutus ait :
 Rite sacris animâ sepelitor, amice, sub undis ;
 Dives ab æternis mente redibis aquis :
 Sume cibum sanctis quem dat Servator alendis ;
 Mande, bibe, amplexens IXΘYN utraque manu.
 Orba viro mater galilæo pisce, Redemptor,
 Cernere te prece me petiit, lux luce carentium
 Aschandee pater, vita mihi carior ipsa,
 Tu cum matre mea, nato lacrymante, pius
 Pectorii, pater, ipse tui memor esto precantis.

We must content ourselves with a further translation into humble English prose :—"The divine offspring of the heavenly ἰχθύς (*fish*) in his sacred heart, spoke among mortals with his immortal voice—"Bury, friend, thy soul in the divine waters, the eternal waters of richest wisdom; and take the sweet food of the holy, which the Saviour gives; eat, drink, having the ἰχθύς in both your hands."

"Lord Saviour! the widow of a Galilean, ἰχθύς, my mother, entreated me to enjoy the sight of Thee, light of the departed! Aschandee, my father! dearest to my soul, thou, with my dear mother, by my tears expiated, remember thy son Pectorius."

The inscription is, in truth, an epigram, divided into two parts. The first contains three distichs of hexameters and pentameters; the second five hexameters. The subjects of the two parts are likewise quite distinct. The former has reference to the mysteries of faith; the latter is the epitaph, probably, of the mother of the erector of the monument. The first portion has another peculiarity. The five first verses are acrostic, their initials composing the word IXΘΥΣ, of which we shall have to say a few words just now.

Before speaking of the doctrines contained in this epigram, it will be proper to say something concerning its age. The form of the letters, and some peculiarities in their disposition,

induce F. Secchi to attribute to it a great antiquity. A further argument may be drawn from its language. The Greek Church of Autun may be said to have been almost destroyed by the persecutions which assailed it soon after its establishment; when peace was restored to Christianity there, under Constantius, it flourished again, but as a Latin Church. A Greek epigram, therefore, in elegant verses, may reasonably be attributed to the former period. The place where it was found likewise confirms this supposition. It was amidst fragments of walls and Roman antiques, apparently of that earlier epoch. Several other considerations here come to our aid. First, the epithet *Galilean* is applied in the sense of Christian, to his father, by Pectorius. Now, this obliges us to consider the inscription anterior to the time of Julian the apostate, by whom this epithet was rendered infamous, so as not be thenceforth used by the Christians. Secondly, the dark and symbolical nature of the expressions, in speaking of the mysteries, indicates an earlier period of Christianity, when such reserve was more necessary. While upon this point, it will be desirable, perhaps, for some of our readers to be informed what is the meaning of the word which we have left untranslated, *ἰχθῦς*, literally *a fish*. In thus preserving it in its original language, we have only followed the example of the Latin fathers, who generally write it in Greek. Among the emblems upon Christian monuments, or rings, none is more common than a fish. Sometimes, instead of the representation, we have only the word written in large letters. There is no doubt that Christ is symbolised by the word or representation; still its origin is very doubtful. Three opinions concerning it prevailed in antiquity. The first was, that it was derived from the fish of Tobias, which symbolized Christ, by its efficacy in curing spiritual and corporal ills. This seems to have been the opinion of Clement of Alexandria, who uses the compound term *Καλλιἰχθῦς*. The second deduced this symbol from the circumstance that the name was produced acrostically in five sybilline verses, which applied to Christ. Constantine and St. Augustine give this reason. The third is furnished by several fathers, who resolve the letters of the word into so many other words, commencing with those letters. St. Optatus thus explains it: "Piscis nomen secundum appellationem Græcam, in uno nomine, per singulas literas, turbam sanctorum nominum continet. IXΘΥC enim latina est Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator."* St. Augustine writes

* Adv. Parmen. lib. iii.

much in the same manner: "Græcorum quinque verborum quæ sunt Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ, quod est latine *Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator*, si primas literas jungas, erit ΙΧΘΥΣ, id est *piscis*, in quo nomine mystice intelligitur Christus.* It is possible that this acrostic explanation may have been an afterthought, to account for a symbol, whose origin was uncertain, and whose application was become problematic. Two things may, however, be added with tolerable certainty: that the term was occasionally even applied to Christians, and that the application was made with reference to their being born again of water. Hence the symbol, when found on a tomb, has sometimes been supposed to indicate the sepulchre of a catechumen, or a neophyte. These two points, which are very useful in explaining our inscription, seem to be clearly ascertainable from the following words of Tertullian: "Nos pisciculi secundum ΙΧΘΥΝ nostrum Jesum Christum in aqua nascimur."† In our inscription we seem to have the term so applied to Aschandeus, the father of Pectorius. From the whole tenor of the inscription, we should conjecture him to have died just after baptism. In this way we can better account for the first part of the epitaph, containing a mention of Christ's two-fold sacramental injunction—first, to be born again of water, and second, to eat of his flesh (baptism and the Eucharist being the two sacraments of new Christians); and thus we can explain the application of that mystical appellation to him. Let us now proceed to examine the dogmatical value of our inscription.

1. The two first lines, notwithstanding their *lacunæ*, give us a sufficiently clear testimony of the divine origin of the *Ichthus* or Christ, speaking as an immortal among mortals.

2. The second distich manifestly teaches the doctrine of baptism. The soul, and not the body, is commanded to be immersed in the sacred waters: those waters which bestow the gift of eternal life, and of choicest wisdom.

3. The third is still more interesting. "Take the honied food of saints, which your Saviour gives: eat, drink, having the ΙΧΘΥΣ (that is Christ) in both thy hands." In the foregoing distich the allusion to the symbol was couched under the invitation to plunge into the mystic waters: here the divine *ἰχθὺς* is to be taken into the hands, and himself, by one act, eaten and drunk. The reality of His presence could not be more clearly intimated in an inscription composed while the *disciplina arcani* was in full vigour, and forbade distinct

* De Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 23.

† De Baptismo, lib. ii. cap. ii. n. 2.

allusion to what was contained and received in the blessed Eucharist. At the same time, an additional proof may be drawn of the completeness of the act which receives Christ under only one form. We have been struck, moreover, by the contrast between the expression of this early Christian poet and that of a modern Anglican one, of the school that pretends to have returned to the pure doctrines of primitive Christianity.

"O come to our communion feast:
There present in the heart,
Not in the hands, th' eternal Priest
Will his true self impart."*

If we remember right, Mr. Froude criticises this expression, asking how we knew he was not *in the hands*, as well as in the heart. Our ancient Gallic Christian would have joined in the stricture, or rather has positively contradicted the assertion.

4. The great injury which the lower part of the stone has sustained, obliges us to be more cautious in drawing consequences from the inscription in that part. Still, whatever portion of the proposed restorations may be denied or questioned, these words remain sufficiently legible to admit of no doubt: Ἀσχάνδ[ε]ι [πα]τερ τῷ μὲν κε[χα]ρίσμένε θυμῷ . . . μνησέο Πεκτορίου: "Father Aschandeus, dearest to my soul . . . remember Pectorius." We have clearly an appeal from the living to the dead, a prayer for remembrance from a son on earth to his parent in heaven.

5. If we admit the restorations, we must further add to the foregoing list, the power of expiating by the tears of the living the offences of the departed.

Our readers will, we are sure, admit that an inscription containing so many controverted points of doctrine, is a most valuable discovery. In fact, we consider it the most valuable Christian inscription yet discovered. It is the only one that alludes to the Eucharistic rite. One reflection will close our account of it. Every fresh discovery in primitive or early documents connected with the Christian religion, adds something new to our proofs of doctrine, nothing to the opinions of our opponents. We have much on hand to demonstrate this, which fitter opportunity will be given us to communicate. Suffice it to say, that whether a last work of a father come to light by the learned and systematic excavations of the indefatigable Cardinal Mai, or a new inscription is casually turned up, by a labourer's spade, in a Gallican cemetery, it will be sure to coincide in doctrine, in sentiment, and in phrase, with the belief and practice of the unfading, immortal Church.

* Keble's Christian Year, "Gunpowder Treason."

FRENCH CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Le Guide du Catéchumène Vaudois, 2 vols. 18mo. This work is from the pen of Monsignor Charvaz, bishop of Pignerol, whose admirable *Recherches Historiques sur la véritable origine des Vaudois*, we had occasion to review in our number for October 1837. That work treated of the origin and history of the Vaudois sect. As a large part of the population of his lordship's diocese belong to it, and as the work of converting them is rendered difficult, by their adhesion to many doctrines on which the usual books of instruction afford but little aid, he has composed the present work. It is in the form of familiar conversations, and is divided into five books. In the first, after a short introduction, he explains, in three conversations, the dispositions necessary for entering upon an inquiry respecting the true religion, and answers the objection of the Vaudois that by their baptismal vows, they are precluded from changing their faith. The fourth conversation introduces us to the opinions of the Vaudois themselves, regarding the origin of their sect, and places the subject of inquiry on its true grounds as a question of fact. In the fifth, Philalethes is put on his guard by his Catholic instructor, against their mis-statements, and is thus prepared for the testimonies afforded by history upon the time and circumstances of the rise of this sect. In the last it is shown that the present Vaudois are the real descendants of Valdo, and cannot pretend to that antiquity which they and their English admirers would fain attribute to them. So far our author goes over much of the ground of his former work, as the reader can easily see by running over the article referred to above. After these statements, so necessary for placing the examination on its proper footing, the second book discusses the reasons which induce Philalethes to think it sufficient to belong to any denomination of Christians in order to be saved, which leads the Catholic to prove the institution of a Church by our blessed Redeemer, as well as its constant perpetuity and visibility. The third book explains the marks of the true church, the question of fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines, schism, exclusive salvation, &c. The second volume opens with the fourth book, which turns upon the insufficiency of scripture alone, as a rule of faith, private inspiration, and the usual calumnies against the Catholics, about the reading of the scriptures by laymen. This occupies five conversations; in the sixth, the author asks whether Protestantism owes its progress to the reading of the Bible only? In the seventh, he expounds the Catholic rule of faith, and proves in the eighth, that our Saviour instituted a public and authorized body to interpret scripture and regulate points of faith, to administer to the faithful the means of salvation, and to discharge the duties of ecclesiastical government in spiritual matters. In the last conversation, he establishes the infallibility of the teaching body in the Church. The

last book demonstrates the supremacy of St. Peter, and of the bishops of Rome as his successors, and adduces the admissions of Protestant writers in its favour. From this sketch, it is easy to perceive that these volumes embrace many matters interesting in our own country; and we find on the other hand, that this analogy has led the author to study and avail himself of the controversial labours of English writers. Whilst the names of Pusey, and the writers of the *Tracts for the Times*, appear in some of his pages, we are glad to see that the works of Milner, Lingard, and Wiseman, are quoted in support of the Catholic views.

Prælectiones Theologicæ Majores in Seminario Sancti Sulpitii habitæ de Jure et Justitia, opera et studio Carrière, 3 vols. 8vo.

Détails Curieux sur quelques Opinions et Coutumes des Nations Idolâtres, Anciennes et Modernes. Par M. d'Exauvillez, 18mo. 1fr. 25c.

Introduction aux Livres de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament. Par M. l'Abbé Glaire. Three volumes have already appeared; the fourth is shortly expected. Of this work we have spoken on a former occasion. *Dublin Review*, May 1839.

Démonstration Eucharistique. Par M. Madrolle. The high commendations bestowed on this work in France and Italy, have induced the author to publish a new and improved edition of it.

Les Confessions de S. Augustin. Par L. Moreau, 8vo. pp. 600. This translation is every way worthy of the notice of Catholic readers, and fully attains the object proposed by its author.

Institution Liturgique. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 520, 6 fr. By Dom Guéranger, abbot of Solesmes. The first volume only has as yet appeared. The study of this subject has occupied twelve years, and will, we trust, be worthy of the reputation of the illustrious body over the revival of which the author presides. In the present volume, he goes through the history of the Liturgy as far as the seventeenth century. This is followed by a chronological and bibliographical account of the authors who have written upon liturgical subjects, which contains the names of eighty writers during the first sixteen centuries, not mentioned by the learned Zaccaria, in his *Bibliotheca Ritualis*. After the historical part, he will proceed to treat of the calendar, and the division of times and seasons in the office of the Church. After this introduction, he will speak of the liturgy of the holy Eucharistic sacrifice, and the sacraments. The last part will regard liturgical functions not belonging to any of the preceding classes. He will then examine the connexion of the liturgy with the creed and faith of the Church, and the rights of particular churches to interfere with the established order of the liturgy, and the work will be closed by a *Theologia Liturgica* explaining the assistance given by the study of the liturgy, to moral and dogmatical theology. The work is dedicated to Cardinal Lambruschini, the author's patron and friend.

Le Protestantisme confondu, ou la Vérité du Catholicisme démontrée. Par M. l'Abbé Chauillac, 12mo. This work consists of five chapters.

1. The Church is ever visible. 2. Are the sects dissenting from the Catholic Church in possession of the true faith? 3. Is scripture the sole rule of faith? 4. An external worship is prescribed:—the use of the Latin language in it. 5. Marks of the Church. Several objections from history are answered in the course of the work.

Les Vrais Principes sur la Prédication, ou Manière d'annoncer avec fruit la parole de Dieu. Par M. l'Abbé J. X. Vêtu, 8vo. 12fr.

Lettres d'un Catholique à un Protestant de l'Eglise anglicane, 1 vol. 18mo. These controversial letters, on the plan of the *End of Controversy*, are the work of M. l'Abbé Brajeul, curate of St. Saviour's at Dinan, who has had the happiness of converting more than one Protestant to the truth. He declares that the correspondence given in them, really took place, and that he has not made objections for the sake of answering them himself. His argument leads the reader from a proof of the unity of faith, to the establishment of one settled and invariable rule of faith, visible and infallible.

Théorie Catholique de la Société, ou Recherches nouvelles sur l'identité morale de la liberté avec la religion, prouvée par les rapports des trois faits sociaux, Dieu, le Roi, la Liberté. Par l'Abbé Baret; 1 vol. 8vo. 6fr. 50c.

Manuale compendium Juris Canonici, ad Usus Seminariorum. Each volume 2fr. 50c. M. Lequeux, who is at the head of the seminary at Soissons, has commenced the publication of this course of canon law. The first volume treats of jurisdiction in general, and as distributed amongst the different orders of the hierarchy. Two others will complete the *Institutiones Canonicae*, and the fourth will be entitled *Specimen Juris Canonici*, and will contain an analysis of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, with explanations respecting the manner of citing texts from it, &c. It will be closed by notices, prefaces, historical remarks, and a chronological table of the popes and councils.

Les Fleurs du Ciel, 1 vol. 8vo. 6fr. 50c. The Abbé Orsini undertakes to prove the antiquity and reasonableness of the honour paid to the saints, and explains the principal virtues by examples drawn from their lives.

Œuvres de Fénelon. This collection which is already printed, is to be published by subscription, (2fr. 75c. each volume) and will be complete in 39 volumes 8vo. 22,000 pp. It contains his life by cardinal Bausset, his correspondence, and some inedited letters.

Cornelii à Lapide in universam Scripturam sacram Commentarii. They will form ten volumes in 8vo. in double columns, and will be issued in twenty numbers of 600 pages each. A number (8fr.) will appear every month.

Cours de Lectures sur les vérités importantes de la Religion, 2 vols. 12mo. 5fr.

Rituel de Paris, 1 vol. 4to. pp. 840. 15fr. The late lamented archbishop of Paris appointed a committee of ecclesiastics to regulate a ritual for his diocese. They met frequently, and their labours occupied several years. Their reports were from time to time submitted

to his grace, who had the consolation of seeing the work completed, and giving it his sanction three weeks before his death. It is to be used to the exclusion of all others from the first of June 1840.

Dialogues sur l'Immutabilité des doctrines religieuses. Par M. de Guinaumont. In the first dialogue it is shown that religion is fixed and unchangeable by circumstance and changes of time; the second treats of the end of the creation of man; the third, of the work of God; the fourth, of the Catholic worship.

Chefs-d'Œuvres des Pères de l'Eglise. 15 vols. 8vo. 55 fr. These translations have been made by the Marquis Fortia d'Urban, the Abbés Labesse, Orsini, &c. and consist of selections from the earliest fathers, down to those of the thirteenth century. The Latin text accompanies them.

Le Prêtre d'après les Pères, 12 vols. M. l'Abbé Renaud, canon of the diocese of Aire, proposes in this work to present in one view the instructions and maxims of the holy fathers, on the duties and office of the Christian priest.

The cardinal bishop of Arras has condemned the following works: *La Ste. Bible, contenant l'ancien et le nouveau Testament, traduite sur la Vulgate, par Lemaistre de Sacy: l'ancien Testament de cette édition comprend tous les livres qui se trouvent dans le texte hébreu.* A Paris, chez L. Hachette, 1838, in 8vo.; and *Le N. Testament de N.S. Jesus Christ, traduit de la Vulgate, par Lemaistre de Sacy, imprimé d'après le texte de l'édition publiée à Paris en 1759*; Paris, Didot, 1838, in 12mo. Besides the opinions of the author not being irrefragable, these editions are incomplete and incorrect.

The philosophical works most worthy of notice, are

Dante et la Philosophie du XIII^{ème} siècle. Of M. Ozanam's *Deux Chanceliers*, a contrast between St. Thomas-à-Becket, and Lord Bacon, we have before had occasion to speak. The present publication is an extension of a thesis held by him at the Sorbonne for the degree of docteur en lettres, on which occasion he supported the views advanced, to the satisfaction of the acute and severe critics who formed the board of examination. "So remarkable a thesis," said M. Villemain, "does credit not only to the candidate, but the faculty itself." M. Cousin mentioned it in terms no less honourable. The propositions there defended have been drawn out in a form more attractive to general readers, and illustrated by numerous references. The book is divided into four parts. In the first, the author gives an outline of the state of Christendom in the thirteenth century, considered in a religious, political, and intellectual point of view, and specifies the causes which favoured the development of philosophy. This leads him to the schoolmen, from whom he passes to the peculiar characteristics of the philosophy of Italy. The life, studies, and genius of Dante occupy the last portion of the book; and in treating of them, he particularises his treatises *de Monarchia*, and *de Vulgari Eloquentia*, his *Rime*, *Vita Nuova* and *Convito*. In the second part, he unfolds the theme of the whole essay, the philosophical opinions

of Dante. In it, he places upon one canvass, presents at a single glance, all the philosophic doctrines scattered over the 'Divine Comedy,' now hid under the veil of allegory, now unfolded by the sages of antiquity, with whom he converses, or the sainted doctors of whom he spoke with such intimate familiarity, as of the angelic doctor whom he styles *il buon fra Tommaso*. The poet seems to have foreseen, that the deep and mysterious philosophy hidden under the garb of poetry, would escape the ken of many who would read his immortal strains, when he wrote

"O voi ch' avete gl' intelletti sani,
Mirate la dottrina che s' asconde
Sotto 'l velame delli versi strani."

But M. Ozanam has not been content with thus blending into one harmonious whole, the disjointed and scattered fragments; he has linked them to the philosophic systems of the ancient world, or to the more christian and more lofty form in which they were revived by St. Thomas, and the doctors of his age. It has been thought by some moderns, that he anticipated the unholy and profane opinions of the sixteenth century, and that he whom political opinions led to blame some of the Roman pontiffs, held in secret the rebellious principles so openly avowed in later times. M. Ozanam undertakes his defence, and boldly professes in the last chapter of the third part to establish his orthodoxy. That he was no forerunner of the Reformation, as Rosetti has ventured to assert, has been lately shown by the learned father Pianciani, S. J. professor in the college of the society at Rome, in an essay read by him in that city, and printed in the last number of De Luca's *Annali delle Scienze Religiose*. The fourth part contains some supplementary notices on the following points: was Dante of the Guelph or Ghibelline party? Beatrice; the early philosophical studies of the poet; the class of poetry to which his poem is to be referred. An appendix contains documents, or extracts from documents, in support of the author's views, amongst which the bull of Innocent IV, on the restoration of philosophy, is worthy of particular attention. Phrenologists may remark the following passages from St. Bonaventure: "The disposition of the parts of the human body presents numerous varieties, which, when interpreted by art, seem to correspond with different dispositions of the mind. Our masters in this art of interpretation, are Aristotle, Avicennes, Constantine, Palemon, Loxus, Palemoteus. We will follow in their train. He then enters into details, from which we select only a few lines. "A very large head is an ordinary sign of stupidity; a very small one betrays the absence of judgment and memory. A head flat and sunk in the crown, shows sickness of heart and mind; when elongated after the manner of a hammer, it has all the signs of foresight and circumspection. A narrow forehead reveals an indocile mind and unruly appetites; a too wide one would mark want of discernment. If it be square and of just dimensions, it has been stamped with the seal of wisdom, and perhaps of talent." He thus concludes: "In

general, when all the parts of the body preserve their natural proportions, and there reigns amongst them a perfect harmony of form, measure, colour, situation, motion, we may be allowed to suppose a no less happy disposition or arrangement; a contrary disposition of the members leads us easily to suspect equal disorder in the understanding and will. We may say also with Plato, that our features are often like those of some animal, whose mode of acting and habits, our conduct will often resemble. But (the words are remarkable), above all we must bear in mind, that exterior forms do not *necessarily* mark the interior characters which correspond to them, while they betray the bent, they cannot destroy the liberty of the soul. Furthermore, these marks are merely conjectural, and sometimes uncertain, so that to judge hastily would be rash. For the mark or index may be purely accidental; and if it be the work of nature, the inclination which it represents, may yield to the ascendancy of an opposite habit, or may be restrained by the directing bridle of reason." Our countryman Roger Bacon has the following. "Men may construct, for the wants of navigation, such machines, that the greatest vessels, directed by a single man, shall cut through the rivers and seas with more rapidity, than if they were propelled by rowers; chariots may be constructed, which, without horses, shall run with immeasurable speed. Men conceive machines, which could bear the diver without danger, to the depth of the waters. These things have been seen either by the ancients or in our own days. Man could invent a multitude of other engines and useful instruments, such as bridges that shall span the broadest rivers without any intermediate support. Art hath its thunders more terrible than those of heaven. A small quantity of matter produces a horrible explosion, accompanied by a bright light, and this may be repeated so as to destroy a city or entire battalions."

Essai sur le Panthéisme dans les Sociétés Modernes. Par M. Maret. (6f. 50c.) We regret that we have not space for an account of this exposition and refutation of the principles of Pantheism, as developed in certain portions of society. Of its effects in the remarkable instance of Lamartine, we took notice in a recent number. "The work," says a French journal, "displays the method and abilities of its author. Special and immediate importance in the subject, profound and exact knowledge of the times, vigour in deduction, elevation and remarkable clearness of style; nothing is wanting throughout which manifests in the writer knowledge well-digested, superior talent in philosophical expositions, and in several places reminds us of, and equals, the finest passages of Malebranche and Leibnitz."

La Psychologie et la Phrénologie comparées. Par M. Garnier. 1 vol. 8vo. The author undertakes to show in what manner phrenologists may avail themselves of the demonstrations of psychology, and endeavours to restrain their theories and deductions within reasonable bounds.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Histoire de l'Abbaye de Pontigny. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 410. 3f. 50c.

Par M. Henry.—Mr. Tierney has shown, in his introduction to his *History of Arundel*, the importance of local and particular histories, in filling up and completing the records of nations; and the present work, with the next upon our list, contains many facts interesting to the history of France and of our own country. "The abbey of Pontigny, of the order of Cîteaux, was founded in 1114, by Hilbert, canon of Auxerre, in a lovely plain, on the banks of the Serein. It was the second affiliation from Cîteaux, and had for its first abbot the B. Hugh, of Mâcon, the intimate friend of St. Bernard. Under him and his successors, many of whom, like him, were raised to the episcopacy, or the Roman purple, the abbey increased rapidly. In the space of a century it founded forty-five abbeys in France, Italy, and Hungary. (Of these M. Henry gives an account.) It enjoyed during three centuries the esteem of the Church and the veneration of the whole world. Sovereign pontiffs wrote letters to its abbots, which testify their regard towards it. Princes, princesses, and even kings, went thither in pilgrimage. Louis the younger, Philip Augustus, and St. Louis, visited the holy place, and enriched it with different privileges. It was the asylum of our persecuted English archbishops of Canterbury, of St. Thomas-à-Becket, (the holy and illustrious martyr) of Stephen Langton (during whose exile were composed the lines which describe so well the charity of the abbey,

' Est pontiniacum, pons exulis, hortus, asylum,

Hic graditur, spatatur in hoc, requiescit in illo)—

and of St. Edmund, who is held in great veneration, and his entire body, that precious relic, is yet in the basilica, placed in a reliquary, upon the high altar. The abbey lasted 676 years. The basilica was built about 1150, by Thibault-le-grand, count of Champagne. In the appendix are more than fifty bulls of different Popes, from Innocent II to Pius IV, and many deeds and instruments in the language of the time. M. Henry is publishing also the history of Seignelay, his birthplace. The first volume has appeared.

Abbaye de Cluny, 1 vol. 8vo. 12s. Par M. Lorain. This celebrated abbey was founded in 909, "In a spot," says the old chronicle, "so remote from all human society, so full of loneliness, of repose, and peace, that it seemed in some sort the image of the heavenly solitude." Its history carries us to the glorious days when the monastic spirit was represented by such men as its abbot, Peter the Venerable, St. Bernard, and Abbot Suger. M. Lorain is full of admiration for the former, and prefers him to the holy abbot of Clairveaux. Although the world has not formed the same opinion, it must be confessed that the life and actions of Peter will in some points bear the comparison; and he may, in the history of that age, hold a distinguished place by the side of the saint, whose life he who has undertaken it is every way worthy to write.

Amongst the biographical works we notice two lives of the venerable Archbishop of Paris, one by Baron Henrion (1 vol. 8vo. pp. 350. 4s.), the other by M. d'Exauvillez (2 vols. 8vo. 7s. 50c.), with an abridgment, by the latter, in 18mo. (80c.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

The works connected with instruction and education are *Exemples Moraux*, ou, *Suites d'une Bonne et d'une Mauvaise Education*, from the Spanish. By M. l'Abbé Mitraud, (12mo. 1f. 25c.) *le Code de l'Enfant du Christ*; ou, *Dissertations Religieuses d'un Pâtre Pyrénéen* (8vo. 5f.); *Traité des Sciences Géologiques considérées dans leurs Rapports avec la Religion*, by M. Jehan. *Cours d'Instruction Morale et Religieuse* (2 vols. 12mo. 5f.) *Explication des Evangiles* (2 vols. 18mo. 2f. 50c.)

Amongst the books intended to excite and inspire devotion, may be noticed the following musical publications of the Abbé Guillou:—*Douze Cantiques de la Vie de la Vierge*, with an organ or pianoforte accompaniment; *Douze Cantiques de Devotion à la Mère de Dieu*, (ditto); *Douze Cantiques à Marie* (ditto); each 18f. The same composer has published several other pieces of music, under the title of *Harmonies Religieuses*. Of books of devotion we may notice—*Le Chemin du Calvaire*, printed at Beauvais; and various books for the month of Mary. The most remarkable and most interesting is the *Livre des âmes*; ou, *La Vie du Chrétien sanctifiée par la Prière et la Méditation*; by Charles Ste. Foi. (1 vol. 4f.)

The following poems have appeared: *Le Dernier Jour*, par J. Reboul, (8vo. 7f. 50c.); *Un Martyr*; ou, *Le Sacerdote Catholique en Chine, Poème en cinq chants; tiré des annales des missions étrangères*, par M. Auber (18mo. 2f.), and *Le Voyant*, par M. l'Abbé J. P. Enjeloir, auteur des *Fleurs à Marie*.

Two books of travels, every way Catholic, have been published; one entitled *Les Pèlerinages de Suisse*, by Louis Veuillot. He had travelled into Italy to see and admire its wonders of art, and its beauties of nature, and he visited Rome. He went to visit St. Peter's, and as he entered he fell involuntarily upon his knees; prayer, like a spring freshly opened, burst from his heart; he prayed, and rose a Christian. Leaving the holy city, he visited the pilgrimages of Switzerland, Einsiedlin, Sachslen, and Maria-Stein, and his impressions of this delicious and pious journey are written in this book. He visited, too, some of the cantons of Switzerland, and has given us an account of them. The second work is M. Poujoulat's *Toscane et Rome*. The young author had journeyed to Jerusalem in company with Michaud, the historian of the Crusades, and on his return he passed through Rome. The portion that regards Tuscany is useful but not indispensable. The main feature of the work is the contrast raised in the author's mind between these two cities, in which the past, present, and future of Christianity are so well marked. Two or three passages are very beautiful, especially the parting of the travellers from the Franciscan monk at Jerusalem.

GERMAN CATHOLIC LITERATURE.

Der Abfall von den Lebens principien der Kirche und des Staats nachgewiesen in der Lehre des Abbé De la Mennais. Aus dem Französischen des Abbé Gerbet.—An apostacy from the vital principles of Church and State, demonstrated in the doctrine of the Abbé de la Mennais. By the Abbé Gerbet; translated from the French; Augsburg, 1839.—There is not, perhaps, a more melancholy phenomenon in the whole history of the Church, than the fall of the Abbé de la Mennais. The example of Tertullian bears the strongest resemblance to this deplorable case; yet Tertullian, soon after his apostacy, preserved, and defended with zeal and talent many catholic truths; but, in the instance before us, we find an absolute and total renunciation of Christianity. Tertullian, even after he left the Church, seemed yet to love to linger within its shadow; but this unhappy spirit, since he abandoned his Father's house, hath been plunging deeper and deeper into those frightful solitudes, where no fountain springs, no herbage grows, and the human voice itself sounds hollow and sepulchral.

How awful, indeed, is the change that hath come over this mighty spirit! We knew him a glorious seraph in the Church; the pride and glory of her sons; the terror of her enemies; and now behold him in his fall an object of mournful sympathy for all Christians, and of cruel derision to those very jacobins with whom he has associated, and who now insult him by their adulation. What a lesson of deep humiliation and self-distrust should this example be to us.

It is remarkable that at the very moment when, by this sad apostacy, La Mennais repudiated the noblest recollections of his life, blasted his own reputation, and renounced, if we may so speak, his very intellectual existence, those disciples whom he had reared with so much care, or who had, at least, received a powerful impulse from his genius, not only have condemned the revolt of their master, but are become the most able and eloquent organs of religion in France. The Abbé Gerbet, the most profound of French theologians; the Abbé Lacordaire, a most eloquent preacher; the Abbé Salinis, a very elegant writer; M. Rio, one of the most eloquent of the Catholic writers of France; Count Montalembert, one of its most learned and ingenious historians; M. de Coux, its deepest political economist; these have made to the Church ample compensation for the loss she has sustained in the services of their master.

The work before us is a masterly refutation of the religious and political errors of M. de la Mennais, as contained in the work, entitled "*Affaires de Rome.*" It originally appeared in the admirable periodical entitled, "*L'Université Catholique,*" and has since been published in a separate form. We have seen parts of the original, and the German translation before us is excellent.

The introduction, in which Gerbet makes allusion to the ancient friendship that had existed between himself and La Mennais; a friendship, says he, contracted at the foot of the altar; and when he declares his willingness, if possible, "to shed the last drop of his blood, if he could procure from the fallen Tertullian the grace of a single tear:" and where he declares how far more truly and sincerely he is devoted to La Mennais than all his new friends, who, with selfish flattery, pay court to his revolt; this introduction, we say, has a tone of pathetic dignity, that must go to every heart.

The work is divided into two parts: in the first of which, the new theological errors of M. de la Mennais are refuted, and in the second his new political doctrines are shown to be false and absurd in themselves, as well as inconsistent with Catholic dogma.

Our limits will not permit us to do more than give a general summary of the author's plan. M. Gerbet refutes, in his first chapter, the error of La Mennais, by which he teaches that the Church, though of divine origin, has, like the synagogue, but a limited duration; the second, the error that the gospel is no longer to be interpreted by the Catholic hierarchy, but by nations at large; and in the third, the error that all Christianity is to be reduced to the precept of love. In this first portion of his work, the Abbé Gerbet displays that clear, vigorous, dialectic, and sententious eloquence, which distinguish all his productions.

We can afford space but for one extract:—

"From the establishment of Christianity, Catholics have constantly maintained the opinion, that not only was the Church founded by Christ, but instituted in such a manner, that it should endure unchanged till the end of time. Almost all the sects which have separated from the Catholic Church, have lost the faith in its perpetual duration, only because they refused to believe in its divine institution. Yet the idea of a church, established by Christ for a limited period only, is not entirely new. From time to time there were men who expected and announced that the Holy Spirit would once more appear, and as Christ had founded the church in room of the synagogue, would institute a church in the place of the one established by our Lord. This idea, which, under various forms, was put forth by several heretics of the first ages, particularly by the Gnostics, was dexterously turned to advantage by Mohammed. He, in fact, represented himself to the Christians as a sort of Paraclete, who, according to the prediction of Christ, was to consummate the divine word. Even some illuminés of the middle age, the predecessors of Swedenborg, foretold the establishment of a new church, which should no longer receive and preserve the *gospel of time*, but the treasure of the eternal gospel.

"And thus, from time to time, did this idea emerge alternately as a child of the Gnosis, Islam, and Mysticism, the vision of minds diseased, who, after Christ, still look for God. In despite of the

singularity of this view, we are by no means astonished that M. de la Mennais, when he first transgressed the limits of Catholic obedience, should have taken refuge in opinions of this kind. When he abandoned the Catholic church, he must have felt an internal repugnance to looking for an asylum in Protestantism against which, in his last writing, he has manifested a deep indignation. In such a state men naturally seek to bring about a compromise between their ancient faith and their new opinions; but the notion which we have just pointed out, seems, at first view, to bear upon it this character. On the one hand it differs from Protestantism, inasmuch as it acknowledges the divine institution of the Catholic church.* But on the other hand, the destruction of the Catholic church, when it should take place, can occur only at the moment when it has ceased to correspond to its divine destination in respect to the world. And when in its days of decline, it should take a fancy, like the dying synagogue, to crucify the truth, will not their resistance to its unjust commands be the first act, whereby *the children of futurity* will hail the advent of the new kingdom of God? Thus the new heresy, separated from Protestantism at its outset, approximates to it in its progress, and terminates in the same common limit, by denying the obedience due to the authority of the church."—pp. 13, 14.

After showing that tradition constitutes the very essence of the Catholic church, and that the doctrine of the perpetuity of the church and its ministry to the end of days, forms a part of that tradition, M. Gerbet refutes the objection which La Mennais had drawn from the downfall of the ancient synagogue, in the following masterly manner:—

"It is said, if the synagogue, though of divine institution, were perishable, why should not the church be so likewise? Why? because the synagogue was the stone of expectation; but the church the finished edifice; because the one was the daughter of promise, the other the daughter of fulfilment; because the one expected a prophet greater than Moses, 'the desired of all nations,' in whom the human race from the beginning of time had been blessed; but the church since Christ looks for nothing more till the end of time. Lastly, because the synagogue had not, like the church, expressly taught that it had received all ages for its inheritance. And thus it follows, that so far from our being justified in inferring the destruction of the church from the downfall of the synagogue, we should deduce the very reverse, and say the church is perpetual, and for the very reason which will not permit us to ascribe the same perpetuity to the synagogue; for in the tradition of the one the promises of immortality have ever resounded, while in the traditions of the other those promises were not heard, or rather had given place to prophecies of change and decay."—p. 16.

In the second part of his work, M. Gerbet refutes the revo-

lutionary errors of M. de la Mennais, which he shows to be incompatible with Catholic doctrine, absurd and inconsistent in themselves, and most pernicious in their consequences. This portion of the work is extremely interesting; but our limits will not permit us to do more than allude to it.

Das Zweyte Jahres-gedächtniss des 20 November.—Second Anniversary of the 20th November; Ratisbon, 1840.—The pen of the illustrious Görres is still indefatigable in the cause of religion. Pamphlet after pamphlet doth this great man put forth, exposing the oppression of the church in Prussia, the hollow sophistry of its enemies, the wickedness and falsehood of their accusations; and while he proves the futility of all their attempts to enslave her, points with just triumph to the fulfilment of his predictions. The present work is distinguished, like the former productions of the author, for a lucid exposition of facts, profound views, and, above all, a keen irony. No writer, like Görres, varies with such exquisite felicity, his forms of reasoning. Sometimes it is by dialogue; sometimes by anecdote; sometimes by allegory; sometimes by the boldest personification, he enforces his argument, and illustrates his views, throwing over the whole a brilliancy of wit, and a warmth of eloquence that alternately agitate and delight.

In this pamphlet he introduces a cunning old woman, called State-Prudence, who disputes with another elderly lady, called Simplicity, the representative of orthodoxy. Nothing can be more amusing than the dialogue which is kept up between them.

Görres shows that the war against the church, which the Prussian government undertook, had failed when conducted by all the resources of the French Republic, and the Imperial despotism, though Napoleon was the master of the ecclesiastical states, and of a large portion of Europe. He argues that the Prussian government, so much inferior in power and resources to revolutionary France, is moreover a state which possesses neither territorial compactness, nor unity of race among its inhabitants, nor unity of historical recollections, nor unity of political feelings and desires, nor unity of religious principles. A state so weakened and divided in all its vital elements, can attain consolidation and stability only by great prudence, circumspection, conciliation, and tolerance.

The author remarks, that in the unholy war which this government has waged against the liberties of the church, it has received the co-operation of those whose alliance is fatal to every government, and, most of all, to a government founded on the principles of legitimacy. At the moment when the venerable Archbishop of Cologne was carried into prison, the Rationalists, headed by Dr. Paulus, of Heidelberg, the pantheistical Hegelians of Berlin, the revolutionary party represented by the Leipzig Gazette, and the Frankfort Journal, the most cynical and undisguised atheists and jacobins, who, with Hayne, "sigh for the emancipation of the flesh,"—

these all hastened to join in a chorus of approbation of the measure, and to stimulate the government in its fatal course.

The author passes in review all the important acts in the eventful struggle between the Prussian Government and the Catholic Church; the imprisonment of the Archbishop of Cologne; the defence which the Prussian Government attempted of that indefensible act; the energetic remonstrance of the holy see; the persecution of the inferior clergy in the Rhenish Province and Westphalia; the treachery of the Hermesians; the calumnies of the Protestant and infidel press against the doctrines, institutions, and ministers of the Catholic faith; the fluctuating policy of the Prussian Government; the prosecution of the Archbishop of Posen for enforcing the papal bull, relative to the benediction of mixed marriages; the second vigorous remonstrance of the Holy See; the pretext under which this zealous and intrepid prelate was inveigled from his diocese to Berlin; his sentence of deposition from the episcopal office, and of imprisonment for six months, adjudged by a lay Protestant tribunal, on account of the discharge of duties purely ecclesiastical; his escape from Berlin, and his imprisonment in Colberg; the universal grief which this measure has excited, not only among the clergy, but the nobility, middle classes and peasantry of Prussian Poland; such are the principal events in this momentous struggle, which our author brings before his readers in a rapid but vigorous outline. He shows, moreover, that in despite of all the acts of the government, the falsehoods of the Protestant press, and the timidity or truckling of a small minority of the clergy, especially in the diocese of Cologne, the good sense of the people has not been deceived; but that all orders of Catholics in Posen, Westphalia, and the Rhenish Provinces, clearly see that in this struggle are involved the freedom or the servitude, the existence or the destruction, of Catholicism in Prussia.

The work is closed with some very profound reflections on the present religious and political state of Europe, and on the causes which led first to the reformation, and afterwards to that ungodly revolution in Church and state, which is only its legitimate consequence. This is a favourite theme of Görres; yet it is wonderful to see what endless variations he introduces in the management of it.

Our limits will permit us to make but few extracts. The following passage, describing Napoleon's persecution of the church, and his sudden precipitation from power, when his wicked designs were about being accomplished, exhibits that fine union of eloquence, deep thought and irony, which is peculiar to Görres.

"Perhaps," says he, "this government (the Prussian), stood on the same pinnacle of power, as did Napoleon when he engaged in a similar enterprise; together with France; Spain, Germany, and Italy, then lay at the feet of this strong man, while Russia, in confederacy with him, was subservient to his views and interests. He

might with more confidence indulge in the idea of throwing down the spiritual power; the last barrier to his scheme of universal domination. After having incorporated the States of the Church with France, he might, without danger, venture to declare Rome a city of the empire, and after the formal deposition of the pope, and the occupation of his territory by the armed squadrons whom he had sent, under the command of Miollis, he might securely convey the Pontiff to France, to serve him there as the Grand Almoner of his policy. The work was undertaken under all the probabilities of infallible success, and was carried on amid ever growing probabilities; but on the very eve of its termination, met with a sudden and total failure. The excommunication of the old man, which the world had laughed at, received power and confirmation from above. *As the Pontiff went out of the opened portals of his prison, the trammelled church rose out of the ruins of an universal despotism, but to the sailors who passed by the island, a voice soon announced the tidings that Great Pan was dead."*

The following is a vigorous portrait of our times. The author asks the Prussian Government whether the moment when society is rocked to its basis by revolutionary principles, be the best chosen for subverting its last prop.

"But amid the disfavour of local position, are the circumstances of time more favourable? The earth quakes, the waters vibrate against their shores, the atmosphere is agitated by storms, minds are in fermentation, all the foundations of moral order undermined and bared, refuse to bear longer the superincumbent weight; the pillars tremble, the columns nod, the walls start from their foundation, and here and there the crash of subversion is heard. Was this the time to risk the last secure possession, and when one was scarcely able to stand on one's feet, to storm the last citadel of safety?"

Our author winds up his work with the following beautiful passage, calling to recollection the many signal triumphs which, by the aid of Divine Providence, the Catholic church hath achieved in our times, triumphs which should fill her sons with courage and confidence, and cover oppressors with shame and confusion.

"But, *Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt reges terræ, et principes convenerunt in unum, adversus Dominum et adversus Christum ejus. Dirumpamus vincula eorum, et projiciamus a nobis jugum ipsorum.*—*Qui habitat in calis iridebit eos, et Dominus subsannabit eos. Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua, et in furore suo conturbabit eos.* Will He, of whom the Scripture here speaketh, recede before the pomp of earthly power, and is His arm shortened in our days, more than it was in earlier times? Hath He not forced three of these modern confessions, the Greek, the Anglican, and the new state church by the Spree, to build up, in alliance with the ancient church, a Catholic state in Belgium on a free ecclesiastical basis? Hath He not, before our

eyes at the foot of the Alps,* brought to shame and ruin, by the right arm of the people that bragging, bullying radicalism? Hath He not in Ireland raised up anew the Catholic population, that for centuries had been trampled under foot, and doth not His hand now conduct it, together with the faithful portion of the British nation, amid the hostile array of its infuriated enemies, towards that destination which He hath assigned to it? How carefully hath He not watched over His church in the French empire? How hath He protected her amid all revolutions and insurrections, till, in her poverty, she hath become a marvel and a despair to her enemies? And do we not, at this hour, see Him still carrying on the same work in the Spanish Peninsula? So, *Et nunc reges intelligite, erudimini qui judicatis terram. Servile Domino in timore, et exultate ei cum tremore. Apprehendite disciplinam, ne quando irascatur Dominus, et pereatis de viâ justâ. Cum exarserit in brevi ira ejus; beati omnes qui confidunt in eo.*"

Die Geschichte Jesu Christi des Sohnes Gottes und Weltheilandes. Von Dr. Johann Baptist von Hirscher, Professor der Theologie zu Freiburg; Tübingen, 1839; Verlag der Laupp'schen Buchhandlung.

The History of Jesus Christ, the son of God, and the Saviour of the world. By Dr. Jean Baptiste de Hirscher, Professor of Theology at Fribourg; Tübingen, 1839. Sold by H. Laupp. Protestantism is in fact a denial of the Christian dogma. Great as were the efforts made by the heretics of the sixteenth century to constitute themselves into an essentially evangelical communion, history is at hand to prove to us, by the inflexible logic of facts, that Christianity cannot maintain itself along with the principles of the Reformation. If, at first, Luther and those of his school warmly maintained the faith in Christ and in his redemption, this faith was a remnant of belief and habits, which had passed from the ancient church to the new communion of dissenters. Life is seldom instantly destroyed, and it is by slow degrees that a powerful living organization arrives at dissolution; there is often an external appearance of vigour, while the canker has reached the seat of vitality, and death is inevitable. This is the history of the reformation. In proportion as the innovators withdrew further from the church, and as time widened the gulph which they had opened, the principle of Protestantism acquired more consistency, developed itself more powerfully, and sought to obtain its rights. From a given cause its effects naturally follow; they may be checked for a time by violent measures, but sooner or later they reach their height; it is thus that from reform to reform, from protest to protest, from negation to negation, the Protestant Church has reached that point when it cannot be said to have any decided dogma or rule of faith; by dint of critical enquiries, and rational notions, the Bible itself, that cornerstone of pure christianity, has become, in the hands of the German

* Görres alludes to the revolt at Zurich, which put down the irreligious government of that canton.

Protestants, a mere collection of traditions and oriental visions. The Deism of the eighteenth century shewed clearly enough the fatal effects of Luther's guilty separation; but it was reserved for the nineteenth to furnish the most convincing proof of the absolute incompatibility of Christianity with Protestantism, under whatever name or form. Dr. Strauss, in his life of Jesus Christ, has closed the cycle of reformers, and given reform a deathblow. This has been felt by all Protestant theologians. Refutations of Strauss have succeeded each other with astonishing rapidity. Men, the most distinguished by their learning and hierarchical position, have entered the lists. But though we acknowledge with pleasure the excellence of the works they have given to the public, we must still declare aloud, that every attempt to refute Strauss's book, made under the banner of the Reformation, must prove abortive; for life and truth cannot exist beyond the pale of the Catholic Church, to which alone the Saviour has promised his assistance. It may not be uninteresting to quote the opinion of one of the modern rationalists, whose books, anti-christian as they are, have made nevertheless considerable sensation. Salvador, in his work entitled "Jesus Christ and his doctrine," writes as follows respecting the work of Dr. Strauss: "And finally, the work of the professor of Tübingen is of great importance, as being the *last expression of the spirit of Protestantism. The Reformation deceived itself when it attributed to itself an entirely Christian movement, a pure and simple return to the evangelical doctrines.*"—vol. i. p. 19 of the preface.

It was in fact the tendency of the Reformation, to lead to a denial of the existence of the Christ, whose mission as Saviour of the world, must appear foolishness to the pride of reason. As is evident, the strife is here between the members of one family, the sons of one mother. The Catholic Church has no concern in the debate, unless to rejoice in the divine solidity of the principle upon which she rests, tranquil and unshaken, amidst the agitated waves that break around her. Yet as a scientific question, theologians are bound to notify the act. Only one formal refutation has been penned by a Catholic writer; we allude to the work of Dr. Kuhn, Professor of Theology at the university of Fribourg. This writer is ardently devoted to the cause of his Church; a profound scholar, and a correct appreciator of the wants of our epoch, M. Kuhn has successfully resolved the problem he proposed to himself. But local circumstances sometimes require different conduct; in Germany it is not difficult to find provinces, into which Protestant principles have penetrated amongst the faithful flock, and sometimes even succeeded in making disciples amongst the servants of the altar. The members of the Church are thus exposed to a double danger,—from enemies without, and from lukewarm or corrupted pastors from within; in such cases, it is important to arm the faithful against the seductions of error, by putting into their hands books in which religious science has been made popular; this has been the object of M. Hirscher in his *History of*

Jesus Christ. We should look in vain for polemics in this work. The author has given a simple recital of the life of Jesus Christ, as it has been left us by the four Evangelists, introducing into his recital a strict and logical chain of facts. When he allows himself to make reflections, they are for the purpose of shewing how completely in the Gospels everything is connected, and tends to the realization of a divine plan. After having narrated the facts which preceded and accompanied the birth of the Messiah, he points out how the infancy, the youth, and the obscurity of the Saviour, form a homogeneous whole, with the public ministry he began to exercise at the age of thirty years. The remainder of the book is employed in the development of the great truth, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the Messiah, that is to say, the Saviour of the world. The first manifestation of the Christ, was the symbol of his coming in the midst of men. At the moment when he was about to begin his august ministry, he took his stand as conqueror of the Prince of darkness; as conqueror of Satan. The temptation in the desert was not only to be the emblem of his own victory over the sensuality, pride, and ambition of the world, it was also to be a pledge of the same victory to be obtained in future by all true disciples, over the lying suggestions of the infernal spirit. The author next considers the object which Jesus Christ proposed to himself in his incarnation; and then develops, in a series of chapters, the realization of the glorious purposes of the Messiah, and the gradual establishment of his kingdom amidst the children of men. Everywhere we find our author taking up his position on the ground of the Gospel. And in every line we recognize the profound thinker and the Christian, zealous for sound doctrine. We wish that space allowed our quoting some of the fine passages which have most struck us; but we must be content with the general indications we have given of the plan. One remark will be sufficient to make our readers sensible of the value of the interesting work we are announcing. In spite of the anti-Catholic atmosphere in which he has lived, our author has held the true doctrine faithfully and firmly. In his present work, he has attacked modern incredulity at the root, without wearying his readers by any form of systematic science. While addressing himself to the most enlightened reason, he still touches the heart. His words penetrate the soul of the reader of the life of Jesus—for in it we find the noble simplicity and all-powerful unction of the old ecclesiastical writers. The work of M. de Hirschler is a valuable present to Catholic literature, and will not fail to do much good.

Warum bin ich Katholik, oder gilt es gleich, ob man diese oder jene Religion bekenne? Beantwortet in populären Kanzelvorträgen von Aloys Schloer, Doctor der Theologie und Weltpriester. Gratz, 1840, in der T. A. Kienreich'schen Buchhandlung. Why am I a Catholic; or, is it indifferent what religion we profess? this Question treated in a series of Sermons, made available for the use of all the

faithful, by Louis Schloer, Doctor in Theology, and secular Priest. Gratz, 1840; at the library of T. A. Kienreich.

Nothing can be a stronger proof of the great Catholic movement now taking place in Germany, than the matters commonly treated of by modern preachers. No longer limiting themselves to preaching morality in a vague way; the Catholic priests now venture upon the most vital questions of doctrine, well persuaded that faith cannot be maintained, unless the ministers of the Church are careful to develop the dogmatic truths upon which rest the whole theory of duties, and of morals. Now, more than ever, it is necessary to arm the faithful against that indifferentism which has sprung from the reformation; and this can only be done by announcing fearlessly and fully the truths of Catholicism. The greatest and most culpable intolerance is that which destroys the souls our divine Master has redeemed with his blood. It is a proof of the admirable manner in which M. de Schloer has fulfilled his task, that in two months the first edition of 3,000 copies has been exhausted.

Geistesübungen nach der Weise des H. Ignatius von Loyola, für Priester und Candidaten des Priesterthums. Von Dr. Aloys Schloer, &c., Gratz, 1840, in der T. H. Kienreich'schen Buchhandlung. Spiritual exercises according to the method of S. Ignatius Loyola, for the use of Priests and Aspirants to the holy ministry; by Dr. Louis Schloer, &c. Gratz, 1840.

Two things are requisite for the Catholic priest, that he may worthily fulfil his sacerdotal duties: he must have the spirit of the Spirit, and he must have science; these two qualifications should go together. Zeal without religious science may too easily become fanaticism, and science without piety destroys rather than edifies, because it nourishes pride—of all vices most opposed to Christianity. It had long been a received opinion in Germany, that enough was done for religion, when the intelligence was well developed, but the bitter fruits of this maxim were not long in displaying themselves; there were many men remarkable for their learning, who had received the imposition of hands, but amongst them there were few priests. While everything had been done to ornament the mind, the heart had been left empty, and given up to the illusions of the world. Theory was everything, practical life had been considered as a less important thing, which would be easily acquired. But since a better spirit has ornamented the German clergy, they do not indeed neglect science, but they seek to add to it the virtues most necessary for those who labour for the sanctification of souls. They have begun again to inculcate in the minds of the young students of theology the necessity of prayer, that their labours may be acceptable to the Most High. Clerical education begins once more to take its place beside theological science. Even ecclesiastics already employed upon the sacred ministry, require to renew themselves, as it were, if they would not lose something of their graces, by the contact with a world in the midst of which they exist: to afford them the means for this renewal of the sacerdotal

spirit, the Church has instituted ecclesiastical retreats, where, during a longer or shorter time, the clergy may devote themselves to meditation upon their holy duties, and seek to acquire fresh strength for their difficult task. These retreats have long existed in Italy and France; in Germany they become more and more frequent, and even where not at present established, the want of them is felt. The work we have cited, owes its origin to one of these retreats, which took place a short time ago in the diocese of Seckau. The author has taken for his basis the inimitable spiritual exercises of Saint Ignatius; and according to the plan and method of the great founder of the Society of Jesus, he has divided his materials over every day of the retreat. Besides the meditations of Dr. Schloer, which bear the impress of a soul seeking to sanctify itself and others, there is in the collection the opening discourse pronounced by Mgr. Zängerte, the Prince Bishop of Seckau; and three others held upon the same occasion by the Rev. Dr. Buchinger, director of the ecclesiastical seminary. This book has not only the merit of being useful and salutary, it is also another sign of the religious progress now daily making amongst us. We should think we failed in our mission if we registered and analysed, merely the productions of German Catholic literature: it is important that these publications should also be the mirror of the religious and social life of our epoch.

Geschichte der Kreuzzüge und des Königreichs Jerusalem, aus dem Lateinischen des Erzbischofs Wilhelm von Tyrus, von E. und R. Kausler. Mit 1 Kupfer, 2 Planen und 1 Karte. Stuttgart in der Krabbe'schen Buchhandlung, 1840. History of the Crusades, and of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; translated from the Latin of Archbishop William of Tyre, by E. and R. Kausler, with an engraving, two plans, and a map. Stuttgart; at the library of Krabbe, 1840.

There is perhaps no science of which the spirit of error has so greatly abused, in order to extend its own dominion amongst men, as that of history; and during three centuries, the partizans of schism have done all in their power to destroy one of the most solid bases of Christian Catholic truth; they have succeeded but too well, as is proved by the numerous and deplorable ruins which we meet with everywhere in the religious and also in the political world. History rests entirely upon testimony. The historian can neither invent nor alter facts; his duty is to show the chain of causes and effects, by the help of the materials with which time has furnished him. But it is evident, that from the moment when the authority of testimony was rejected in religious questions, and made to give way to the caprices of individual reason, the weight of testimony would become an inconvenient restraint, to be shaken off on the first opportunity. So indeed it was, and history, instead of remaining the science of truth, became the auxiliary of falsehood; instead of being the recital of facts, it became the organ of a party to whom truth was hateful. It became an ignoble romance, a chimera to which all reality was sacrificed.

But if error can pervert minds for a time, it cannot maintain its empire; sooner or later the time arrives when truth asserts her rights, and with the greater force, from having been longer and more forcibly kept back. Our own epoch presents us with this cheering phenomenon—never have historical studies been resumed with greater ardour, or in a spirit which promises better things to futurity. A new road has been opened, and that, in spite of the evil dispositions of some men, who seek to maintain the ascendancy of falsehood which their party has asserted. Instead of adapting historical facts to an idea, or a system; instead of swamping the story of events by reflections more or less paradoxical; we are beginning again to have recourse to the sources of history, to study the past in the documents which have come down to us, and to give a portraiture of each age, with the character belonging to it.

We have the strongest proof how beneficially such a study, brought back to its true principles, will act upon all minds, and turn to the profit of religious belief. A single work has been sufficient to show us all that posterity may expect from the new school whose principles are daily gaining ground; we allude to the *History of Innocent III*, by Hürter. The pontificate was never considered in a broader or juster point of view than in this history, although its author belongs to the Reformed communion. He has been just, because he has had the courage to seek his information, not in the fantastic inventions of the writers of these latter times, but in the recitals of contemporary chronicles, and in the works of the sovereign Pontiff himself, who has so long been misunderstood and calumniated. The result of his enquiries, the fruit of his conscientious watchfulness, is, that Hürter has given us a faithful portrait instead of a vile caricature. The new direction given to historical science deserves from Catholics the closest and the greatest attention; and on this account we think we cannot record works of this kind with too much solicitude, for they will furnish us with testimony in favour of our holy Church; so much the more valuable, because not to be suspected of partiality. The *History of the Crusades*, of which a German translation has lately appeared at Stuttgart, belongs to the class of works we have been speaking of; it has given to the public a document, of which the author was almost contemporary with that great movement, that drove the west upon the east, and prepared a new era. The Crusades were in their principle religious expeditions; they could not therefore have a better historian, than a man who occupied a high place in the Church, by means of which he could accurately discern the connexion of causes and effects; such a man was William, Archbishop of Tyre. It appears that he was born at Jerusalem, towards the end of the 12th century. He studied at the University of Paris, then the most celebrated in the Christian world. On his return to his country, he was named, through the intervention of king Amalic, to the Archdeaconry of Tyre, in the year 1167, and was sent the same year as ambassador to the Court of Constantinople. Shortly

afterwards he took a journey to settle some family affairs, and at a later period, Amalric entrusted him with the education of his son Baudouin, who appointed him chancellor of his kingdom, when, at the death of his father, he assumed the reins of government. In 1174, he was elected Archbishop of Tyre, and as such, assisted at the third Synod of the Lateran. The period of his death is uncertain. William of Tyre wrote two historical works—the one is lost, its title was *Gesta Principum Orientalium*. The other, entitled *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumet usque ad annum Domini 1184*. The second is the History of the Crusades, and obtained for its author the reputation of the greatest historian of the middle ages.

Having stated in his preface what he conceives to be the duty of every good historian, William of Tyre proceeds to give the motives which have induced him to transmit to posterity an account of the great actions by which the Crusaders have distinguished themselves, the matters which form the object of his book, and the sources from whence he has drawn them. "It is," says he, "the will of king Amalric, of glorious memory, and the reiterated orders we have received from him, and which we could not refuse to obey, which have principally determined us to undertake this work. We have likewise, in conformity with the will of the monarch, written another history, for which he furnished us with the Arabian books that we required. This book sets forth the events that have taken place since the time of the seducer Mahomet, until this present year, 1184 after the birth of our Saviour, and comprehends a period of 570 years. In our recital we have chiefly followed the statements of the venerable Seid, son of Batrick, patriarch of Alexandria. In the present work, in which we have not required to consult either Greek or Arab authors, we have adhered, (except in a few instances where we were ourselves eye-witnesses,) to oral traditions, and we have begun our recital with the expedition of those pious and valiant princes, who, in obedience to the will of the Most High, have come from the Western Kingdoms, and have conquered, by their bravery, the Holy Land, and almost all Syria; from thence we shall continue our history down to the Sieur Baudouin IV, who is the seventh in the succession of our kings, if we reckon the Sieur Duke Godfrey as the first. This period, at which we have laboured with much care, comprehends a space of eighty-four years. In order that the reader may acquire an exact knowledge of the state of the east, we have preceded the principal history with a succinct account of the beginning and duration of the slavery of these countries, of the state in which the faithful lived during this interval, under the dominion of Mussulmen; and finally of the causes which have determined the princes of the west, after this long and continual servitude, to take up arms to deliver the holy places from the yoke of the infidel, and to expose themselves to all the dangers and fatigues of such a pilgrimage..... We have divided the book into twenty-three books, and each book into chapters, that we might

make it easier for the reader to seek out such matters as particularly interest him."

William of Tyre, having travelled in the west, and lived there a considerable time, was better able than most people to describe the state of society in the 12th century. As an instance of the manner in which he judged of men and things, we will quote a passage from the eighth chapter of the first book, in which he describes the corruption that prevailed immediately before the commencement of the Crusades.

"But," he says, "it was not only in the east that the faithful groaned under the oppression of the wicked; in the west also, and over the whole universe, but particularly amongst those who called themselves faithful—faith had grown cold, the fear of the Lord had disappeared, justice was oppressed. Instead of uprightness and equity, violence had gained the mastery. Roguery, fraud, and cunning had everywhere extended their dominion. Everywhere probity, become now a useless virtue, had given way to iniquity. It seemed as if the universe was about to fall back into dark night, and that the coming of the Lord was at hand, since charity had grown cold in many hearts, since there was no faith amongst men, that all was in confusion, and that the ancient chaos had come upon the earth. The most powerful princes, who should have obliged their subjects to keep peace, broke it themselves; began wars upon slight pretences, ravaged whole provinces with fire and sword; pillaged everywhere, and gave up the goods of the poor to their guilty vassals. There was no security for the fortunes of individuals amongst these depredations. It was enough if public rumour pointed out any one as possessing wealth, and he was thrown into prison, and treated in a dreadful manner. The wealth of churches and convents was not spared, the privileges with which pious princes had endowed them, were no longer a security for the domains of the saints; nor could maintain them either in their ancient liberty, or their former consideration. Men did not fear even to break open the doors of the sanctuary, and take thence the sacred vessels; sacrilege made no distinction between sacred and profane; the ornaments of the sacerdotal vestments, the vases used in divine service, all became the prey of miscreants. Fugitives were arrested in the house of God, in the sanctuary, in the vestibules of the Basilicas, to put them to death. The high-roads were infested by armed and impious robbers, who assailed travellers, sparing neither monks or pilgrims. The same disorders prevailed in cities and villages; neither the streets nor public places could save the innocent from robbery. The more virtuous a man was, the more snares had he to dread. Disgraceful licence took place everywhere, without shame, and without punishment, as if it had been a thing allowed. The holy ties of marriage were neither respected by friends nor by near relatives. Sobriety, that virtue so agreeable to the Lord, was cast aside as superfluous. Economy, and moderation in enjoyment, could find no place where

drunkenness, prodigality, and midnight gambling, stood sentinels. The clergy did not live more regularly than the people; the words of the prophet were realized—'As the people, such are the priests.' (Osea iv. 9; Isaiah xxiv. 2). The bishops were become negligent, dumb dogs that barked not; they were respecters of persons; they oiled their heads with the oil of sinners; and like hirelings, forsook their flocks when they saw the wolf coming. Without considering the word of the Lord, who has said, 'Freely you have received, freely give,' (St. Matt. x. 8), they became guilty of the crime of simony; and defiled themselves by the sale of ecclesiastical benefices; in a word, 'all flesh had corrupted its ways before the Lord,' (Gen. vi. 12). The sinners were not troubled by the signs which God shewed in the heavens and on earth, to terrify, and turn them from evil. 'For there were pestilences, and famines, and the earth quaking,' (St. Matt. xxiv. 7), and other scourges, of which the Saviour speaks in the Gospel. But they continued all the more in the ways of iniquity, 'wallowing in the mire, like the sow that was washed,' (11 Epist. St. Peter ii. 22), and like animals in their uncleanness. As if the long suffering of God could have no limits: to them might be applied the words of the prophet—'Thou hast struck them, but they have not grieved; thou hast bruised them, but they have not received correction.' (Jerem. v. 3)." One sees in this picture an impartial historian, who fears not to shew in all their enormity the disorders of a period very near to that in which he lived—although an archbishop, although the minister of a king, he hides neither the faults of the clergy, nor those of the sovereign. We everywhere perceive upright intentions, sound judgment, a cultivated mind, a man profoundly religious. One is above all astonished at the variety of his knowledge, and his profound intelligence of the sacred Scriptures; and yet, William of Tyre lived in the midst of the 12th century. We think it right to draw the attention of the reader to this circumstance, because our separated brethren still persist in representing the Catholic Church, as having always, and especially before the reformation, been negligent of the study of the Bible. The first part, which we have before us, brings us to the seventh book, and concludes with the arrival of the Crusaders before Jerusalem. The translation is simple, like the text itself; it was in all respects desirable to preserve, in the recital of the illustrious Archbishop of Tyre, its proper characteristics. We can only repeat what we have already said, and give all praise to the Messieurs Kausler, for rendering accessible to the public an author who will do justice to the Crusades. By labours such as these, are prepared, for a future generation, the means of reconstituting the general plan of historical science upon its natural basis.

Vorträge über die in der päpstlichen Kapelle "übliche Liturgie der Hilfen Woche;" von Dr. Nicolaus Wiseman, päpstlichen geheimen Kammerer, und Rector des englischen Collegiums in Rom. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt durch Joseph Maria Aringen, Domkapitular von Erreux. Augsburg, 1840, in der Karl Kollmann'schen Buch-

handlung. Four Lectures on the Offices and Ceremonies of Holy Week, as performed in the Papal Chapels. Delivered in Rome, in the Lent of 1837, by Nicholas Wiseman, D.D.; translated into German by Joseph Mary Axinger, Canon of the Cathedral Church of Evreux. Augsburg, 1840; published by Charles Kollmann.

The name of Mgr. Wiseman is not less known and respected in Germany, than in England or Rome. In translating the last work of this celebrated defender of the Catholic faith, M. Axinger has only responded to the voice of the faithful in Germany. What makes the translator better able to enter into the spirit of the author, is his having very lately spent a holy week in the eternal city; he has, therefore, undertaken the work with impressions all fresh, and palpitating with the interest which Rome inspires in every Catholic—above all, in every priest, who visits the Church there founded upon Peter and his successors.

Über die Gemischten Ehen. Eine dogmatische Abhandlung von F. Perrone, Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu, der Theologie Doctor, und Professor am römischen Collegium. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt durch Joseph Maria Axinger, Domcapitular von Evreux. Augsburg, 1840, in der Karl Kollmann'schen Buchhandlung. Dogmatical Treatise upon Mixed Marriages, by F. Perrone, Priest of the Company of Jesus, Doctor in Theology, and Professor of the Roman College. Translated from the Latin by Joseph Maria Axinger, Canon of the Cathedral of Evreux. Augsburg, 1840; published by C. Kollmann.

Mixed marriages were a part of that system by which more than one Protestant government in Germany expected to strike the heaviest blows at the Catholic Church; and unhappily, indifference had already gained ground amongst the people, who were to be subject to all the dangerous and perfidious influence of a heretic government. The late events at Cologne have awakened the faithful from their stupor. Men of talent and of courage have taken up their pens, to explain the principles of the Church, and the conditions upon which alone such unions can be tolerated. In giving to the German public a translation of the works of the learned F. Perrone upon the same subject, the translator has done good service to the cause of truth. For it is of the highest importance for the Catholics of Germany to know, not only that the Holy See has determined the conditions upon which alone mixed marriages may be lawfully contracted, but also how this matter has been scientifically treated by the theologians at Rome. The work of F. Perrone deserves the unanimous praise of all learned men, who are attached to the unalterable doctrine of the Church; and in its new German costume, will doubtless contribute to strengthen the attachment of more than one ecclesiastic, and more than one faithful layman, to the Catholic Church.

Die Neueste Geschichte von Frankreich, vom Jahre 1789 bis 1836, von T. A. Boost. Augsburg, 1839, in der Karl Kollmann'schen Buchhandlung. Modern History of France, from 1789 up to 1836, by T. A. Boost. Augsburg, 1839; published by Charles Kollmann.

Die neueste Geschichte von Oesterreich unter den Regenten ausdem Hapsburg Lothringer Hamme, vom Jahre 1789 bis 1839, von T. A. Boost. Augsburg, 1839, in der K. Kollmann'schen Buchhandlung. Modern History of Austria, under the Sovereigns of Hapsburg Lorraine, from 1789 to 1839, by T. A. Boost. Augsburg, 1839; published by Charles Kollmann.

The author of these two works has endeavoured by a short statement of the great events which have taken place in the course of half a century, to shew the working of the two contrary principles, which now dispute the government of the world,—the Catholic and the Protestant principle. He has contemplated these events in a religious point of view, the only one from which we can obtain a correct and comprehensive idea of history. Having himself been a close observer of the scenes he describes; having taken an active part in affairs, and thus acquired a tact which is very necessary to every conscientious writer, but which experience alone can give; he has endeavoured to leave to posterity a just appreciation of facts, and to shew that there is no happiness for any people but in their fidelity to the Church: since this fidelity is at once the guarantee of all rights and of all duties. The epoch in which we live is one of struggle and transition; Protestantism has reached its height in the absolute denial of the historical foundation upon which Christianity is based. The revolution, after having realized in the domain of politics, ideas subversive of the Christian mission, has shown its complete inability to contribute to the happiness or the stability of nations. In his history of France, M. Boost points out that the revolution, which has three times driven the lawful sovereign from the throne, was in fact, only the result of the unfortunate system followed during three centuries by the Bourbons, of always protecting the principles of the Reformation abroad, while they repressed them at home. Such inconsistencies bring always their own chastisement. The French cabinet, which lent its strong assistance to the partizans of heresy in Germany, seeking by their means, to sow, and to keep alive discord; and encouraging continual attacks upon those powers who had opposed the strongest barriers against the encroachments of error,—which, in short, had given its assistance to the reformation every where beyond its own dominions, received but a just punishment, when rebellion and reformation assumed the supremacy in France herself, and overthrew the throne which had so long cherished them. On the other hand, in the second history, we find the personification of the contrary principle, in the government of Austria. If we cannot on all points agree with the author, we are bound to admit, that at least he has not concealed the deplorable innovations of Joseph II, which contributed in no slight degree to bring about the degradation of the Catholic Church in Germany. But in works of this kind, it will not do to give a too minute attention to details: we should seek rather to fix our minds upon the leading idea of the author, and by its assistance to attain the full comprehension of his meaning. Instead of entering upon an

analysis of facts which every one knows, we think we shall do better to give a quotation from the winding up of the history of the Austrian monarchy. The following reflections will shew the comprehensive view which M. Boost has taken of his subject, and how well his work deserves the attention of all who wish to study history as a science.

“Since the transcendental character of history, has for its principle, Christianity, that eternal institution by which God has chosen to work out the salvation and happiness of men; and since this same Christianity has hitherto served us, as a light, by which we may trace out and explain, in the past and the present, how divine Providence has regulated the destinies of individuals and nations; it ought also to serve us as a telescope, through which we may even now contemplate future events, since what is to be, must ever harmonize with what has been. If, then, history presents to us events, as a homogeneous picture of divine justice; if it shews us in the facts which God permits, or in which he more directly intervenes, the superior government of the world; if it convinces us that Divine wisdom, while leaving to the free will of man the power of abusing good, and thus, as it were, creating evil,—can, nevertheless, by his own methods, convert evil itself into good; the history of man acquires thus the character of a history of providence, and appeals rather to our hearts than to our understanding. Thus it is, that the man of feeling often, on these subjects, judges more correctly, and more accurately foresees the future, than one who merely calculates; and in this sense, it may reasonably be said, that the voice of the people is the voice of God! Thus it is, also, that the great men of the earth are so often deceived respecting the future. They attach too much importance to human arrangements, to their marriages, their armies, their pecuniary resources, and to their other political relations, while they almost completely lose sight of the higher principle of universal order, the destiny of men and of states. Thus was Charles VI deceived respecting his pragmatic sanction: instead of his vain foresight, depending upon men, God gave to his pious daughter, Maria Theresa, the strength of religious enthusiasm. Thanks to her confidence in the support of God, she triumphed over a multitude of enemies. Thus was Kaunitz always mistaken, in the conjugal alliances he caused the descendants of Hapsburg to contract with the Bourbons: instead of the happiness he hoped to secure for the house of Austria, he only rendered it a sharer in the disasters of France. Thus Napoleon, the great hero of reason, judged ill in every relation that he formed. Full of confidence in his strength, and in the ties of blood, he looked forward to a future most securely guarded; but the Master of Heaven overthrew speedily the projects of the man who had set himself to oppose the eternal designs of His providence, and gave success to the monarch who had, on the contrary, known how to understand and to follow them. It is this same Providence who alone knows the fitting moment for each event, and assigns limits to the raging tides; who loves to confound the pride of the great, when, placed at the head

of powerful nations and victorious armies, they consider themselves as the authors and masters of events, and to render their views of the future illusory. It is for this reason, that we so often find in history, that on many occasions the most trifling incidents decide great affairs; that things seldom happen according to human calculations and probabilities; that what does really happen is exactly what seemed most unlikely. But at the bottom of all this, we perceive a higher direction, which is no mystery for the man who believes in a more than earthly destiny for the human race. The result is, that religion presents to us the only beacon which can enlighten the past and the present, and unfold to us the mysteries of future times; the religious man alone can seize the thread which can conduct him through the labyrinth of ages. . . . If, then, we look without prejudice upon the present political and religious situation of so many European states; we are forced to own that it resembles the sea, whose depth cannot be sounded, by looking upon the stormy surface, lashed into fury by the winds of heaven. If we consider attentively these states, we shall see that society corrupts less at its base, than at its summit; that scepticism and epicurism gnaw the heart of the upper classes, and that the first is suicidal of itself, while the second exhausts the intellectual and physical faculties. We shall see that in many countries, a spiritual and moral apathy, stupid routine, ruinous custom, a want of will and energy, the absence of profound and independent convictions, a want of patriotism, and in a word, the utmost dryness of mind and egotistical indifference, are the predominant characteristics of those classes which give the tone to society. We see social order shaken to its foundations, since, owing to the many religious commotions that have taken place, no living faith, no deep conviction, can now take root in the hearts of men. From hence it arises, that in many lands, the domestic hearth is shaken by anarchy, and paternal authority set at naught; since domestic as well as public morals have become insecure, uncertain, and powerless. The hidden as well as the open struggle of our days, is therefore not to be looked upon as a mere political contest, between monarchy and republicanism, despotism and liberty; the question is not now of wars to conquer countries and crown: it is a more universal struggle, one which touches the very existence of humanity. It is the struggle between the affirmative and the negative principle: between Christian faith, and anti-Christian incredulity,—which latter, like religious truth, has its chiefs, its pulpits, its meetings, its mysteries, shewing itself sometimes in the domains of religion, sometimes in those of politics; following now one banner, and now another, as seems most expedient for helping on the great work of the destruction of all social institutions."

An historian who lays down such principles as these, must attain to satisfactory results; for it is clear that he comprehends his mission, as also the essential character of the science to the study of which he has devoted himself; and that such is the author's real method of

judging, is evident from the two works before us. The Almighty Creator, is at once the foundation, and the keystone of history, and must be, or it degenerates into romance. Out of the Divinity there is no truth, nothing but error and falsehood; whoever then would fulfil the first duty of an historian, that of being impartial and true, must learn to see in the succession of events, only the realization of the divine intention; and this M. Boost has endeavoured to do, with the most scrupulous attention. He judges of men and things without passion; he has rendered to all a due measure of justice, without respect to their belief or political opinions. He has shown men and events as they were, and not as he would have preferred to have had them. In a word, he is a faithful narrator.

Hermeneuticæ Biblicæ generalis principia rationalia Christiana et Catholica selectis exemplis illustrata exhibet usibus auditorum Joannes Ranolder, SS. Theol. Doctor, in Lyceo episcopali quinque; Eccles. linguarum Hebrææ et Græcæ, et studii utriusque fœderis professor p. o. Cum approbatione Reverend Ordinarii Episcopi quinque Ecclesiis, typis Lycei episcopalis, 1838.

One of the principal subjects of ecclesiastical instruction, is the study of the Holy Scriptures. We must therefore welcome with eagerness, whatever may contribute to diffuse an understanding of the holy books, amongst those who are called to distribute to the faithful the nourishment of the divine word, and to defend the Catholic Church against her enemies. Especially in our times, it is important that youth should be forearmed against the maxims which have prevailed in certain parts of Germany, by drawing distinctly the orthodox line, within which, only, we can move with security; this Dr. Ranolder has understood and done in his Hermeneutics. He has developed, with great depth of judgment and scrupulous care, the Catholic system, concerning the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. What distinguishes the present work from many others of the kind, is great clearness in the ideas, and an inviolable attachment to the maxims of our holy religion.

Christ Katholische Dogmatik, von Dr. Anton Berlage, ordentlichem Professor der Theologie an der Academie zu Munster. Erster Band, Einleitung in die Dogmatik. Munster, in der Theissing'schen Buchhandlung, 1839. Catholic Dogma, by Dr. Antony Berlage, ordinary Professor of Theology at the Academy of Munster: 1st vol. Introduction to the study of Dogmatics. Munster, published by Theissing, 1839.

The principal object of this work is to shew the incompatibility of Catholic doctrine with the Hermesian system; and how completely the condemnation pronounced by the Holy See against Hermesianism is justified by theological science. It is easy to see the great importance of giving full evidence to the truth in a country where error still propagates its doctrines, in defiance of the solemn condemnation of the Pope. The author has shewn tact and judgment in the task he has undertaken.

Handbuch der Patrologie, von T. Annegarn, Professor der Theologie in Braunsberg; Munster, in Kathol. Bucher-Verlage von T. H. Deiters, 1839. Manual of Patrology, by T. Annegarn, Professor of Theology at Braunsberg; Munster, at the Catholic Library of T. H. Deiters, 1839.

M. Annegarn is one amongst those German writers who have always possessed the recommendation of sound and orthodox doctrine. One of his first works is an universal history, written for the use of Catholic youth, in which he has taken remarkable pains to represent every fact in its true light, and to guard his young reader against the innumerable falsifications to be found in Protestant histories. It may be supposed, therefore, in what spirit this author has drawn up the Manual of Patrology, which he has just given to the public. The choice of the subject would be in itself a recommendation; even if we had not long known the writer as indefatigable and conscientious. It is indeed to the study of the ancient fathers, that we must bring back our students in theology: if they are to become worthy ministers of the Church. From this source, they will derive noble inspirations, animate their faith and zeal, and here they will find victorious arms wherewith to conquer the partizans of error. The pamphlets of the day may give a certain varnish of erudition; but true, deep, and practical science, must be learned by studying the works of those, who treasured up the teaching of the apostles and their successors, to transmit it to future generations. M. Annegarn's book must certainly inspire in the young pupils of the sanctuary, a strong and most reasonable predilection for the writings of the Fathers of the Church.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

A. *Tables of Logarithms*; London: Taylor and Walton, (under the superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,) 1839.

B. *Tables of Six-figure Logarithms, &c.* superintended by Richard Farley, of the Nautical Almanac Office. Longman and Co. 1840.

"There is a river in Macedon, and a river in Monmouth, . . . and there is salmons in both." No two books of our day, are more alike than these, yet with an essential difference, which makes them two perfectly different books, to be used by perfectly different people: with this advantage, that when those who use either, have occasion to use the other, they will find no change except the essential one, all other points agreeing. To begin from the beginning; A was suggested to the Useful Knowledge Society, by a gentleman holding a certain office in a certain scientific society. B was suggested to Messrs. Longman by his successor. Mr. Farley is the actual superintendent of the press in both, as proved by the preface of A, and the

title-page of B. In both, the old numeral figures, with their heads and tails, are used, to the exclusion of those which are all of the same length. In A, Mr. Babbage's Table of Constants is enlarged; in B, that of A is enlarged; both have the same printer, both are stereotyped. The methods adopted to insure correctness, are much the same in both; and in a variety of minor points, it is obvious that B is the imitation of A. If the old practice of using a motto had been adopted, and if, as was once done by a cobbler on the right-hand side of the street, *mens conscia recti* had been adopted by Messrs. Taylor and Walton, then Messrs. Longman and Co. could not have chosen but to do as was done by the rival on the opposite side of the way, and advertise *men and women's conscia recti*. We believe we may add, that both are exceedingly correct. The greatest apparent difference is, that Longman uses a white and dazzling paper, which is not so good for the eye as the dull and somewhat brownish paper of Taylor and Walton. This difference, however, can be avoided in the next *tirage*, and we hope this point will then be attended to.

The work B would have been the most servile imitation imaginable of A, but for the little circumstance of its giving six figures instead of five, which removes the two as far from one another, as from Macedon to Monmouth, and prevents their even being rivals of one another. Calculators, in general, have a tolerably distinct notion as to what number of figures they want; and those for whom five figures will be sufficient, know better than to trouble themselves with six. But, seeing that no tables of six-figure logarithms have yet existed in a separate form, which are at all comparable to the present ones, many computers for whom five figures are not sufficient, have been obliged to use seven. To those who cannot carry with them several tables, and find seven figures generally more than they want, these six-figure logarithms will be exceedingly useful.

As far as the logarithms of *numbers* are concerned, we decidedly prefer seven places to six: because, owing to their arrangement, the latter require actual multiplication in the interpolations, which is done by inspection in the former. So that, we have no doubt whatever, that the seven-figure tables can, thus far, be more easily used than those of six figures. With the *trigonometrical* logarithms, however, the case is different; and here the six figures may be more easily used than the seven. When the tenth of a minute is a sufficient amount of accuracy, five places of course are preferable to either six or seven.

For a great majority of actual calculations, five places are sufficient; and of those which are not trigonometrical, we doubt whether the greater number require more than four places. A four-figure table of logarithms and anti-logarithms, on two sides of a card of about nine inches by seven in dimension, has been lately published by Taylor and Walton. This small table was, we believe, first constructed for the star-reductions, and privately circulated among practical astronomers. It was then appended to the treatise on Algebra, in the library

of Useful Knowledge, and finally makes its appearance in a separate and cheap form. This is a table of wonderful power, when it is considered that no turning over of leaves is necessary, and that the operation of taking the number to a given logarithm, is made as easy as that of taking the logarithm to a given number.

In fact, the power of logarithms is made most obvious by a sliding rule, and next, by a small table, such as the one we are now speaking of.

In mentioning the appearance of the second volume of Dr. Arnold's *History of Rome*, we are obliged to confine ourselves, on this occasion, to assuring our readers, that the work exhibits increasing excellence. While the scholar will find the amplest satisfaction, to the statesman are presented very profound and just views of constitutional liberty; and to perhaps the largest class—the general reader,—we add the assurance that the book is among the most *readable* we have ever seen.

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MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

SPAIN.—Among the cheering indications of a revival of Catholic spirit in this unhappy country, we may mention, that in the Christino provinces there are no fewer than five journals dedicated exclusively to the defence of Catholic interests. One, *The Religion*, appears at Barcelona; the names of three of the remaining four are, *The Voice of Religion*, *The Genius of Christianity*, and *The Catholic*.

There is likewise, at Madrid, an academy of ecclesiastical sciences, under the title of St. Isidore, in which, among several opinions which unfortunately manifest a tendency towards Jansenistical and Gallican ideas, sound and pure doctrines are maintained. On the first of April, we find, the subject was discussed, how far kings are absolutely independent of ecclesiastical power in temporal matters. At a preceding sitting, M. Garcia Ruiz read an essay on the primacy of honour and jurisdiction possessed by the Roman pontiff over the whole Church. He defended the Catholic doctrines, and replied to several objections. A discussion arose, new difficulties were moved and answered. This was on the eleventh of March; on the eighteenth the subject was again discussed, and the question turned on the infallibility of the Pope. One of the speakers used the following expression in defence of the proposition:—"Infallibility is necessary, as without it error would spring up and grow with impunity." "This," said he, "would have happened in the case of the heresy of Jansenius, if the Sovereign Pontiff had not possessed the exalted quality of infallibility." The dogmatical bulls, *Vineam, Domini, Sabaoth, Unigenitus*, and *Auctorem Fidei*, are additional proofs; and the submission with which they were received manifests the sentiment of the Church on the subject of infallibility." We rejoice to find likewise that there exists at Madrid a society for the amelioration of persons confined in the public prisons. Its members began with the young prisoners confined in one of the houses of correction, and sought to obtain for them the blessings of a moral and religious education. For this purpose, they addressed themselves to the fathers of the *Scuole Pie*, who instruct the youth in many parts of Spain. They readily promised their aid, and two of their body attend every day for the purpose of teaching a school in the prison, and on festivals they say mass and give instructions.

We propose now to give a brief account of the melancholy state of the Church in Spain, compiled by the *Ami de la Religion*, from the *Catolico* and some private documents. It presents a melancholy picture of the ruin and desolation caused by a long internal war, and is a proof of the necessity of the attempts which are now being made by the Spanish authorities to obtain a reconciliation with the head of the Church.

The state of the bishoprics is deplorable. Twenty-six sees are vacant by death, and the Queen Regent has nominated administrators, who govern them, against the canons and the will of the chapters.

Seven bishops are in exile in foreign countries ; nine reside in Spain, but have been driven from their diocesses. Twenty-two only reside in their diocesses.

ROME.—On the 5th of October, his holiness solemnly consecrated the high altar of the church of St. Paul, which was destroyed by fire in 1823. He afterwards delivered a homily and celebrated mass. The homily has been since printed.

LUCCA.—The order of Malta has been restored in the states of the duke of Lucca.

AMERICA.—On Sunday, May 17th, 1840, the fourth provincial council of Baltimore was opened. Twelve bishops and one archbishop were present, five others were absent ; two sees are vacant. The religious orders were represented by father C. Montgomery, provincial of the Dominicans, and F. Joseph Prost, superior of the Redemptorists. The bishops of St. Louis and Boston were the promoters, and the rev. Messrs. Damphoux and White secretaries. The theologians were seventeen in number. The bishop of Charleston preached the opening sermon. Five prelates made their profession of faith according to the decree of the Council of Trent. Everything was conducted according to the Pontifical. The second session was held on the 21st of May. A solemn dirge was performed by the bishop of Vincennes for his predecessor, Mgr. Bruté, whose funeral panegyric was pronounced by the bishop of Cincinnati. On the same day, the first stone was laid of a new church in honour of St. Vincent of Paul. On the 24th the last session was held in the cathedral, the decrees of the council were read, and the fathers signed them at the altar. The kiss of peace was then given, and the *Te Deum* chaunted. It is said that the council has petitioned for the nomination of a bishop to the see of Richmond, in Virginia, which has been governed, since the translation of its former bishop to Waterford, in 1822, by the archbishop of Baltimore. The fathers have further prayed for the appointment of a bishop to the see of Natchez, erected in 1837 for the state of Mississippi; the rev. Mr. Haydon, priest at Bedford, has declined to accept it. The bishops addressed on the 23rd a pastoral letter to their flock, in which they congratulate with them on the advances that religion has made since the last council. Two new bishoprics have been erected, Dubuque and Nashville; the number of priests and students in the seminaries, and schools of religious women, increased, churches built, and the sacraments have been more frequented; the violence of the press against our holy religion has diminished; the formation of a fund for aged or infirm priests is recommended; the rules are laid down respecting mixed marriages, and the conduct of the king of Prussia justly condemned. The bishops merely express the feelings of their clergy and people in the letter they have addressed to the illustrious confessors imprisoned by him. The fathers describe the evils of secret societies, and pray the faithful not to allow themselves to be carried away by the immoderate love of wealth, or by the

spirit of agitation and exasperation that accompanies the elections. Pious associations, conducive to sobriety and charity are recommended. The faithful are invited to pray for the benefactors of the missions, and the generosity of the associations established in Austria and France is mentioned with gratitude.—The bishops then addressed to the confessor-archbishops of Cologne and Posen, the following affecting and apostolic letter.

To their venerable brethren in Christ Jesus, the glorious confessors of the faith, Clement Augustus Droste de Vischering, Archbishop of Cologne, and Martin Dunin, Archbishop of Posen and Gnesen, the Metropolitan and Suffragans of the province of Baltimore, and all the Bishops assembled in council in that city.

Health, grace, praise, honour and glory.

Members of one and the same mystical body, animated by one and the same spirit, united by the vivifying influence of one and the same head, great as is the space of land and sea which separates us, we cannot but feel, glorious confessors, a sympathy in all that you have suffered. For the charity of Christ moveth us and minglenth our tears with the tears of those that are weeping, as our joy with the joy of those who are in gladness. The glory of your heroic acts hath reached even to us. We have been informed of the adverse designs, the calumnies, the menaces, the persecutions, the torments of exile and imprisonment, the arms of the powerful of this world against you and against the Church. We have been informed of the unshaken firmness, the constancy, and the faith of your episcopal soul. We have been informed of your meekness, your patience, your prudence, your wisdom, truly worthy of successors of the apostles. We have heard these things with admiration, with astonishment; and, in truth, in this age, which so many commendations exalt and praise for the mildness of its manners, its perfection in the arts, the loftiness of its science, the liberality of all its conduct, we have reason to be astonished when we see revived in these days the perfidy and the cruelty of the persecutors, and that more especially in countries enlightened by the gospel, and under princes professing the Christian religion. But God, who hath promised to be with his church to the consummation of ages, has, in the mercy and wisdom of his providence, opposed to the Constantius, the Valens, the Julian of our days, another Athanasius and another Basil, who, acting as a bulwark to their Churches, might protect the ancient faith, the institutions, the rights, and the laws of our fathers. We have wept over the oppression of the daughter of our people, over the scattered stones of the sanctuary, over the flocks bereft of their pastors; we have wept, but joy hath superabounded in the midst of our tribulation, and we have bounded with gladness because of the perseverance of the confessors of Christ, of the constancy of the martyrs, of the victory of those who have fought for the faith. Glory to you, confessors, martyrs, soldiers of Christ! Glory be unto you!

He who hath fought for you, He who hath fought with you, He will crown you.

Disdain not this pledge of love, admiration, and respect, proceeding from the hearts of your brethren in Jesus Christ, in provincial council assembled.

SAMUEL, Archbp. of Baltimore.
B. J. Bp. of Bardstown.

JOHN, Bp. of Charlestown.

BENEDICT, Bp. of Boston.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS, Bp. of
Nancy and Toul.

MICHAEL, Bp. of Mobile.

FRANCIS PATRICK, Bp. of Arath,
Coadj. of Philadelphia.

JOHN, Bp. of Cincinnati.

ANTHONY, Bp. of New Orleans.

MATHIAS, Bp. of Dubuque.

RICHARD, Bp. of Nashville.

CELESTINE, Bp. of Vincennes.

Baltimore, May 24th, 1840.

END OF VOL. IX.

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2. *Popery as opposed to Knowledge, the Morals, the Wealth, and the Liberty of Mankind*—"A prodigious structure of imposture and wickedness." London: 1838.
3. *The Homilies appointed to be read in Churches; to which are added, the Articles of Religion, Constitutions, and Canons Ecclesiastical.* Printed for the London Prayer Book and Homily Society. 1833.

LET us resume our inquiries at that point at which we broke off in our last number. We shall be told that though parliament may have possessed great powers in the times to which we were referring, it was the upper and not the lower House that possessed them. Ought not the authorities we have already cited to shame the parrot-ers of such pretences into silence? In fact the Parliament rolls, since the period they have been regularly preserved, seem little more, with regard to matters of legislation, than journals of the House of Commons. We now consider it a most important matter that money bills should originate in the Commons; but from the reign of Edward III to that of Henry VII almost all bills, from the entailing of the crown to the enclosing of a common, originated with them. The "*qe la communalte aura eslu*" clause, in the coronation oath, was not a mere unmeaning formula. The business of legislation was left almost entirely to them, the Lords confining themselves, generally, to their duties as judges, and as counsellors to the king. The rolls of Parliament are the best authority on this question. For the first year of Edward III they are not preserved. All the states concurred simultaneously

in the election of Henry IV.* The first entail of the crown originates solely and expressly in the Commons, as if they, as the representatives of the entire community, had the best—we may almost say, the only—right to originate such a proposal.† The second entail originates also expressly with them. The right of inheritance to the crown is determined as a judicial question by the Lords alone, but to the subsequent arrangements the Commons are parties. Again, the settlement of the crown in the first year of Edward IV, originates with the Commons.‡ The bill for settling it on Richard III, appears as the work of Lords and Commons, without any data to shew with which it originated.§ That for settling it on Henry VII originates with the Commons,|| as does also the proposal to put an end to all controversy respecting it, by his marriage with the daughter of Edward IV; which last, being merely a verbal request, the Lords repeat after the Commons in an humble tone.¶ Petitions for the confirmation of a queen's dowry, and of the gift of the reversion of Richmond castle to the Duke of Bedford by Henry V, for the reversal of attainders, for grants of lands and privileges, &c. &c. when addressed to the king, are, in the first instance, referred to them, and after the significant entry, “a cest bille les communes sount assentuz,” are taken into consideration by the King and Lords.** The best possible criterion of their power, is the opinion entertained of them by their contemporaries, as indicated by the number of petitions presented to them. In early times most petitions were addressed to the king, or to the king and his council. In the reign of Henry IV many of them are addressed to the Lords and Commons, and some to the Commons only: in the reign of Henry V almost every petition on the rolls from commoners is addressed to the Commons, except a few from the universities and the king's own tenants. The same observation applies, but not with exactly the same strictness, to the subsequent reigns, up to that of Henry VII. Not only do all commoners petition them, but many persons belonging to

* See Rot. P. 1 Hen. 4, 423.

† See the entire proceedings, Id. 8 Hen. 4, 574, 5, 6; 580, 1, 2.

‡ Id. 1 Edw. 4, 462, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

§ See Rolls, 1 Ric. 3, 240, &c.

|| Id. 1 Hen. 7, 270.

¶ Ib. 278. “Eandem requestam fecerunt voce dimissa.” “The faction which raised Henry insisted, for their own protection, on his marriage with Elizabeth.” “The marriage was humiliating to him.”—Brod. Hist. vol. i. p. 21.

** See Id. 11 & 12 Hen. 6, 459, 461, 463, 465, 473-4; 4 Edw. 4, 548-9, 555; 14 Edw. 4, 166, &c. &c.

the peerage; who, if the upper house were then the exclusive depository of power, would not certainly have condescended to ask favours of the lower. The soldiers in Picardy and Calais petition them respecting their wages;* the Duke of Gloucester, being captain of Calais, petitions them to authorise the treasurer of England, if the subsidy granted for the payment of his soldiers there should not be sufficient, to pay them out of some other funds;† the Earl of Warwick petitions them, that whereas the king had appointed him captain of Calais and the tower of Risebanke, and he could not obtain possession of either, they would pray the king to ordain, by the authority of parliament, that he should not be impeached for anything that might happen to those places before he could get possession of them;‡ and the Countess of Warwick petitions them for the repeal of the act by which she was deprived of her titles and inheritances.§ It is unnecessary to swell this catalogue. There is not a single petition in the last volume of the rolls, embracing from the twelfth year of Edward IV to the last parliament of Henry VII, granted without their assent.|| Their assent is required to pardons;¶ to depriving a peer of his dignity;** to confirming the king's gift of a manor†† and a feoffment of lands to certain persons who were to stand seized thereof to the use of his will.‡‡ In short, it would be difficult to say what could be done without their assent; and we beg of their maligners to point out a single thing that cannot be done without their consent now, that could be done without it then. We find innumerable instances of their recommending persons for military or other services to the king's attention;§§ of their praising or impeaching ministers or others for their conduct in war or peace;|||| of

* Id. 2 Hen. 5, 55; 9 Hen. 5, 159.

† Id. 15 Hen. 6, 499.

‡ Id. 38 Hen. 6, 341. See a petition of the Duke of Bedford's to the King, to allow him, "by the authority of this present parliament," to appoint a deputy keeper of Berwick Castle.—4 Hen. 6, 301.

§ Id. 3 Hen. 7, 392; see also 4 Hen. 7, 424, 5.

|| There is a petition from the Countess of Richmond, praying for a reversal of a statute, by the advice and assent of King, Lords, and Commons, which is expressed to be granted by the advice of King and Lords. But this must be a clerical mistake, as no statute could be reversed without the assent of the Commons.—Id. 7 Hen. 7, 448.

¶ Id. 7 & 8 Edw. 4, 617, 18.

** 17 Edw. 4, 173.

†† Id. 31 & 32 Hen. 6, 253.

‡‡ Id. 7 Hen. 7, 444.

§§ Id. 2 Hen. 4, 459; 4 Hen. 4, 486, 7, 8; 6 Hen. 4, 562; Id. 7 & 8 Hen. 4, 577; Id. 9 Hen. 4, 610; 11 Hen. 4, 634; 6 Hen. 6, 318; 33 Hen. 6, 73; 22 Edw. 4, 197; &c. &c.

|||| Id. 7 Ric. 2, 153-7; 11 Ric. 2, 232-242; 21 Ric. 2, 364; 28 Hen. 6, 179, &c.

their interfering as to the treatment and exchange of prisoners of war.* Edward III consults them as to the propriety of making his son-in-law, the Seigneur de Coucy, an earl.† At their request John Holand is made Earl of Huntingdon,‡ Jasper of Hatfield, Earl of Pembroke;§ and the Bishop of Ely recommended to the Pope for promotion to the see of Canterbury.||

But if their power and importance be admitted, we shall be next told that they were indulged with both, merely because the king found them convenient tools for voting to him the property of the people, and executing his mandates with the forms of law. Again, we ask, where are the proofs? The precedents already cited, and the numerous statutes for the protection of the liberties of the subject obtained by them, are the best refutation of the latter part of the charge. Let us see what was their conduct with regard to money affairs. In 1339 they refuse an aid till they consult with their constituents.¶ At the following session they agree to give one, under certain conditions, comprised in indentures made for this purpose, so that if the conditions should not be granted they should not be bound to give the aid;** and thus force from Edward some most valuable laws.†† Those of the following year are granted also as the price of an aid.‡‡ In 1344 they give an aid for renewing the war in France, under several conditions, the two first of which are, that the money should be expended, by the advice of the peers, in the business pointed out at this parliament, and that the petitions which they had presented should be granted. To all the conditions the king assents.§§ The valuable statutes of the 25th

* Id. 21 Edw. 3, 165; 22 Edw. 3, 202 a; 50 Edw. 3, 343; 2 Ric. 2, 62 b; 5 Hen. 4, 527; 7 & 8 Hen. 4, 580; 2 Hen. 6, 247 a; 3 Hen. 6, 283, 4; 8 Hen. 6, 338 b; 11 Hen. 6, 440 a; 11 & 12 Hen. 6, 455; 14 Hen. 6, 488, 9; 28 Hen. 6, 178; &c. &c. It was one of the articles of impeachment against De Veer, Tresilian, and Richard's other favourites, that they delivered up John de Blois, "who was a prisoner, and a treasure to the king and his kingdom, without the assent of parliament and the great council of the king," &c. &c.—Id. 11 Ric. 2, 232. Henry VI remits the arrears of the Count de Vendome's ransom, by the advice and assent of Lords and Commons.—Id. 4 Hen. 6, 300. The Commons reckon the ransoms of the French and Scottish kings as part of the public resources.—Id. 50 Edw. 3, 322.

† Rep. on Dignity of a Peer, vol. i. 326.

‡ Rot. P. 11 Ric. 2, 250.

§ Id. 31 & 32 Hen. 6, 253.

|| Id. 32 Hen. 6, 450.

¶ Id. 13 Edw. 3, 104.

** Id. 107.

†† 14 Edw. 3, stat. 1, 2, 3.

‡‡ See Stat. of Realm & Rot. P. 15 Edw. 3, 131.

§§ Id. 18 Edw. 3, 148. See, for similar transactions, id. 22 Edw. 3, p. 200; 29 Edw. 3, 265; 47 Edw. 3, 317; 4 Ric. 2, 90; 8 Ric. 2, 204; 11 Ric. 2, 244; 15 Ric. 2, 285; 13 Hen. 4, 648; 4 Hen. 5, 95; 9 Hen. 5, 151; 2 Hen. 6, 200.

year of this reign appear on the rolls very much in the nature of conditions for an aid.* In 1376, they remonstrate, and say that if the king had proper officers to manage his revenues he would not want a subsidy. In Edward's last parliament they grant an aid, and request that four earls and barons should be sworn before them to receive the amount, and to expend it in the prosecution of the war and for no other purpose; and that the high-treasurer should not receive any of it, or meddle in any manner with it;† but, subsequently, considering the expenses of these treasurers, they allow the high-treasurer to receive it in the usual way.‡ At the first parliament of Richard II, they make several demands, and declare that when these are settled they will consider of the grant necessary for the defence of the realm.§ The following session they remonstrate on the demand of an aid; state the king's resources in excuse for not granting one; desire to know how the last subsidy was expended; and, on being answered that it had been paid away for the purposes of the war by the two treasurers assigned and sworn at the last parliament, and that not a penny of it came to the hands of the high-treasurer, or any one else, for the use of the king, they demand an account of the receipts and expenses, which they obtain, with a protestation from the king that he granted them not as a matter of right, or to form a precedent, but to please his Commons.|| This protestation availed little, as at the next session he informs them that the treasurer's accounts are ready to be laid before them, even before they ask for them. On his asking an aid, and telling them that the royal jewels had been pledged to raise money for the war, they answer, that had he been reasonably regulated in his expenses he would not want any subsidy, and exact, as the price of a supply, the grant of a commission to nine persons chosen in parliament, to inquire into all manner of abuses in every court, office, and place in the kingdom.¶ On obtaining a specification of the several sums required for the war in 1380, they declare the amount demanded "very outrageous and entirely unsupportable;** and at length agree to a reduced sum, on condition that it should

* See *id.* 25 Edw. 3, 237.

† "Que le haut Tresorier d'Engleterre n'eut prenoit rien ne se medieroit en aucune manere." *Id.* 51 Edw. 3, 364.

‡ *Ib.*

§ *Id.* 1 Ric. 2, 15.

|| 2 Ric. 2, 35. See other instances of treasurers appointed or charged in parliament to receive, disburse, and account for subsidies. *Id.* 8 Ric. 2, 204; 9 Ric. 2, 213; 6 Hen. 4, 546; 7 & 8 Hen. 4, 569-577. ¶ *Id.* 3 Ric. 2, 73-74.

** "Est moelt outrageouse et oultrement importable a eux." *Id.* 4 Ric. 2, 89.

be expended solely in the prosecution of the war, the defence of the realm, and the safeguard of the sea.* In 1383 they give a subsidy under several conditions; one of which is, that if a peace or truce should be agreed to before the second part of it should be due, *not a penny of it should be levied*;† and in 1454 they refuse one altogether, on the ground that the former grants were sufficient; adding, “for they *kan not, may not, ne dar not* make any moo grantes, considered the great povert and penurie that be among the communes of this land for whom they be comen at this tyme.”‡

But “in those times” the commons could have had no real freedom of speech or discussion. Perhaps not. One of the ablest Protestant constitutional writers, Petyt, declares, as we noticed in a former paper, the first violation of the privilege of freedom of speech for redress of grievances, to have occurred in the reign of Richard II, *the second in that of Elizabeth*.§ It is true that De La Mere was imprisoned in the last year of Edward III, for his activity against Alice Perrers and the king’s other favourites; but those who committed him dared not to charge him with what he had done as speaker, and the rows “kicked up” by the citizens of London and others, demanding his liberation or trial,|| and his re-election, as a member and speaker, to Richard’s first parliament, prove how highly the people then prized the rights of their representatives. The instance mentioned by Petyt is that of one Thomas Haxey—a priest by the bye—who proposed a bill in the Commons to provide that, “whereas the expenses of the royal household had been increased beyond what they had been in preceding times, by the multitude of bishops and ladies and their attendants living there, the bishops should be compelled to reside in their own seignories, to the relief of the king and his people,”¶ &c. &c. Richard being at the time inflated with his notions of the greatness and inviolability of his prerogatives, caused Haxey to be convicted by the Lords as a traitor, having made them first resolve, “That if any one, of what state or condition soever, should move or excite the Commons of the parliament, or any other person, to make

* Id. 90, 3, 4.

† “Q’alors *nul denier* de la darreign moitee du Quinzisme soit levez ne brief issez pur la levez.” Id. 7 Ric. 2, 151, 6. See similar conditions, Id. 8 Ric. 2, 185; 10 Ric. 2, 221; 16 Ric. 2, 301.

‡ Id. 31 & 32 Hen. 6, 240.

§ Dub. Rev. No. 13, art. 2, p. 41.

|| See Lingard, vol. iii. 104. Those who committed this first violation of the Commons’ privileges were the great patrons of Wycklyffe—a mere coincidence, of course.

¶ Rot. P. 20 Ric. 2, 406.

remedy or reformation of anything which concerned the king's person, his government, or regality, he should be held for a traitor."* On the application of the prelates, Richard spared his life, and surrendered him to the archbishop of Canterbury, and in less than four months gave him a full pardon.† With this, however, neither he nor the Commons felt satisfied; and in the first session of Henry IV, he petitioned that the judgment should be quashed and annulled as erroneous, being "against right and the course which had been before in the parliament."‡ The Commons pray in like manner, "as well for the accomplishment of right as for the preservation of their liberties,"§ that it should be quashed as erroneous, being "contrary to right and the course which had been before used in parliament, to the destruction of the customs of the said Commons."|| The king and Lords having examined the record and process, adjudged that it should be "quashed, reversed, repealed, and annulled, and held of no force or effect."¶ Such was the result of the first attempt to violate the privileges of the Commons. In the second year of Henry IV, they request him that, as it might happen on certain matters to be moved among them, some of their companions, to please him and advance themselves, might tell him those matters before they were determined, discussed, and accorded among them, whereby he might be grievously moved against all or some of them, he should not allow any such person to tell him such matters, nor give him any hearing, faith, or credit: whereupon it was answered, on the part of the king, that the Commons might commune and treat of all matters among themselves, to bring them to the best end and conclusion, according to their knowledge, for the good and honour of him and the entire realm, and that he would not hear any such person or give him credit, before such matters should be declared to him by the advice and assent of all the Commons, according to the purport of their prayer.** In

* Id. 407, 8.

† Id. 341, 339.

‡ "En contre droit et la course quel avoit este devant en parlement yeell juggement casser et adnuller come erroneus. Id. 430.

§ "Si bien en accomplissement du droit come pur salvation des libertes de lez ditz Communes."

|| "Encontre droit et la course quel avoit este use devant en parlement, en anientissement des costumes de les ditz Communes." Id. 434.

¶ Id. 430.

** "Coment sur certaines matieres a movers entre eux y purroit avenir q'ascun de leur compaignons pur faire plaisance au roy et pur avancer soy mesmes conteroit a mesme nostre seigneur le roy des tieles matieres devaunt qu'elles fussent determinez et discutez ou accordez entre mesmes les communes par ont mesme nostre seigneur le roy purroit estre moevez grevousement envers les ditz com-

1407, Henry, anxious to get a subsidy, asked the Lords what they would give; and being told by them what they thought would do, he sent a message to the Commons, desiring that a certain number of them should come up to hear and report what they should have in command from him. Twelve members having come up, he repeats to them the question he had put to the Lords and their answer, and desires them to report both to the whole House. "Which report being made to the said Commons, they were *greatly disturbed*, saying and affirming that this was in great prejudice and derogation of their liberties: and when our said lord the king understood this, not wishing that anything should be done now or hereafter, which could turn in any way against the liberty of the estate, for which they have come to the parliament, nor against the liberties of the Lords aforesaid, wishes, grants, and declares, by the advice and assent of the said Lords, in manner following: that is to say—that it may be lawful for the Lords to commune among themselves in this present parliament and every other in time to come, in the absence of the king, concerning the state of the realm, and the remedy necessary for it; and, in like manner, that it may be lawful for the Commons, on their part, to commune together respecting the state and remedy aforesaid. Provided always, that the Lords on their part, and the Commons on their part, shall make no report to our said lord the king of any *grant granted by the Commons and assented to by the Lords*, nor of the communications respecting the said grant, until the same Lords and Commons shall be of one accord and assent in this part; and *then in manner and form as has been accustomed, that is to say, by the mouth of the speaker of the said Commons for the time being.*"* This entire record was drawn up by the Commons and thus inserted at their request. In 1450 one Young, a lawyer, proposed in the Commons to declare the duke of York heir to the crown, and was com-

munes ou aucun de eux: sur quoi ils prierent molt humblement a nostre seigneur le roy q'il ne voloit accepter nule tielle persone de luy conter nules tielles matieres ne luy doner ascout ne aucune foie ne credence celle partie. A qoi leur feust responduz de par le roy qe sa volonte est qe mesmes les communes aient deliberation et advis a communer et traiter toutes les matieres entre eux mesmes pur les mesuer a meillour fyn et conclusion a leur escience pur les bien et honour de luy et de tout son roialme. Et q'il ne vorroit oier nule tielle persone ne luy doner credence devaunt qe tielles matieres feussent montrez au roy par advis et assent des tous les communes solonc le purport de leur dit prier." Id. 2 Hen. 4, 456. See also 5 Hen. 4, 523.

* "Quele report ensi fait as ditz communes ils eut furent *grandement destourbez* en disant et affermant ce estre en grant prejudice et derogation de lour libertees," &c. &c. Id. 9 Hen. 4, 611.

mitted to the Tower.* Notwithstanding the excitement of the period and the nature of the proposal, those in power did not dare to allege his conduct in the Commons as the ground of his committal. He afterwards petitioned the Commons for redress—thus setting forth the privilege and the breach of it in his person. “Notwithstanding that by *the olde liberte and freedom of the Comyns of this lande had enjoyed and prescribed fro the tyme that no mynde is, all suche persones as for the tyme ben assembled in eny parlement for the same Comyns ought to have their fredom to speke and sey en the hous of their assemble as to theym is thought convenyent or resonable, without eny maner, chalenge, charge, or punicion therefore to be to them en eny wyse.* Nevertheless, by untrewre sinistre reportes made to the kinge’s highnesse of your said bischer, for matiers by him in the hous accustomed for the Comyns in the said parlementes, he was therefore taken arrested,” and openly led to the Tower and put in fear of bodily pain and the loss of his life, “without eny enditement, presentemente, appele, due original, accusement or cause lawful had or sued agenst him, as it is openly known, the not mowyng come to eny answeere or declaration in that partie.”† Petyt is obviously right in not noticing this as a breach of privilege, more than he should the committal by rude force of any other subject.

The most characteristic argument of modern times against the power and influence of the ancient Commons, is that which is founded on the fact of there being no sufficient evidence of bribery and corruption having been practised in the house or at the hustings. Had the ancient assemblies of Greece and Rome no power or influence till they made them marketable commodities? Had the cortes of Spain, the states of France, the diets of Germany, the councils of the Italian republics, no power or influence till Protestantism rose to disenthral human nature? Are we to look upon all history as a fiction, because the events it records are inconsistent with Protestant practices? But, to descend to a level with Protestant notions, and to settle the matter according to the Stock Exchange—as soon as the limitation of the right of election in counties to forty-shilling freeholders rendered bribery and corruption sensible, they began to be practised. Then we find sheriffs, “now of late, for their singular avail and lucre,” making undue returns,‡ and the germ laid of that system of chicanery, intimidation, and corruption of all sorts, which, by the aid

* Lingard, vol. v. 141.

† Rot. P. 33 Hen. 6, 337.

‡ 23 Hen. 6, c. 15.

of Protestantism and enlightenment, has been brought to such maturity and perfection.* The great penalties then imposed for undue returns—100*l.* to the king, and another 100*l.* to the defrauded candidate†—equal together to 3,000*l.* in modern times—prove how highly a seat for even one short session was then esteemed. Even the very wages of the members, 2*s.* a day for citizens and burgesses, and 4*s.* for knights—equal to 30*s.* and 3*l.* respectively at the present time‡—afford another proof that the Commons were not then so very, very despicable. We question much whether more would be now given, were the nation to relapse into that worst of the political abominations of Popery. In early times we find men of the highest rank, under the peerage, members of the Commons; that very speaker, De la Mere, whom Wycklyffe's friends selected as their victim, stood next in lineal succession to the throne after Richard.§ Who ever heard of any of our Protestant sovereigns inviting Lords and Commons *en masse* to dinner? It would be profane to suppose that the regal divinity of Protestantism should sit at the same table with the representatives of "the disordered multitude." Yet Edward III—who, of course, however, when compared with any of those "gospel light" constellations, "twinkles but as a glow-worm,"—did not see any such immeasurable distance between himself and his people as to prevent him from treating their representatives with that courtesy.|| But not to waste time on trifles, which we should never notice, did we not feel desirous to meet those objections which have most influence on modern "enlightened" minds, let us direct attention to as regular a parliamentary invitation to dinner as the history of "Reformed" England can furnish. At the close of the session in 1402, and just before the chancellor was about to announce the dissolution of parliament, "the Earl of Northumberland, in the absence of the seneschal of the king's household, prayed all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and all the Commons aforesaid to come to dinner the following Sunday with our lord the king."¶

* See Lingard, Hallam and Brodie, and the Paston Correspondence, as to the fact of intimidation and corruption about that time.

† 23 Hen. 7, c. 15.

‡ Such being the difference, according to Mr. Hallam, in the value of money, between the reign of Henry VI and the present time, the difference must be as great again between the present time and the reign of Edward II, when the members' fees were first reduced to the above fixed sum.

§ Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. 262.

|| "Et demorerent et mangerent ove le roi meisme tous les grants et plusours des communes."—Rot. P. 42 Edw. 3, 297.

¶ "Et toutes cestes matieres ensi finiz et terminez a cel jour le cont de Northumbri en absence du seneschall de l'ostiel du roi pria as tous les seigneurs espi-

Thus, it is not merely in the free and fearless discharge of the highest parliamentary functions, but in all the minutest nicknackeries and courtesies of life, we trace the superiority of the ancient Commons to their enlightened successors. Where, then, are the evidences of their weakness and insignificance? Merely in the ingenious fictions of the agents of Protestantism and arbitrary power; which have been repeated so often, with so much cleverness, plausibility, and dogmatic confidence of assertion, that many worthy and learned persons, have, without examination, mistaken them for truths, and assisted in their propagation. But we can assure Englishmen, that when they begin to examine and think for themselves, they will find the calumnies against the politics as unfounded as those against the faith of their fathers.

The first blow at the popular and independent character of the House of Commons seems to have been inflicted by the statute which limited the franchise to forty-shilling freeholders in counties.* There is not a single ancient authority hinting even that, prior to that act, every man of full age, free and resident, had not a right to vote. Mr. Hallam says that 40s. in the reign of Henry VI was equal to 30l. at present.† See how this qualification alone, even if all the kingdom were held in freehold, must have limited the suffrage; but if we consider further, that at that time one-third of the kingdom was copyhold,‡ and that probably one-third of the entire kingdom was not in the possession of freehold tenants, we must see that that statute at once vested the choice of the representatives of shires in the hands of a few proprietors. We find, accordingly, that in some counties there were no more than a few electors, and that in most the aristocracy solely settled the representation. The people soon felt the loss of their privileges, and in Cade's rebellion one of the grievances complained of was, that "the people of the said shire of Kent may not have their election in the choosing of knights of the shire, but letters have been sent from divers estates to the great rulers of all the countrie, the which embraceth their tenants and other people by force to choose other persons than the Commons will is."§ This infusion of persons independent of the will and indifferent to the sufferings of the people must have tended to lower the general tone and character of

rituels et temporels et as tous les communes suis ditz d'estre le dymenge ensuant a mangier ovesque le roi nostre seigneur." Id. 4 Hen. 4, 493. The Commons are mentioned as the first at his coronation banquet. Id. 1 Hen. 4, 423.

* 8 Hen. 6, c. 7.

† Mid. Ages, vol. ii. 319.

‡ Coke is stated to have said so. Scriven on Copyholds, vol. i. 46.

§ Hollingshed, vol. ii. 633.

the house. Edward IV found them the comparatively pliant tools of his will, and his reign has been noticed as the first since the origin of the Commons, in which no statute was passed for the redress of grievances, or maintenance of the subject's liberty.*

We now approach that period which some writers have been ingenious enough to regard as the birth-time of the constitution. But it would be a waste of time to reason at any length with men who settle constitutions by what they are pleased to call philosophy. Hear, then, the Tory committee who prepared the report on the dignity of a peer. They observe that Henry VII, by his accession to the vast landed properties of the houses of York and Lancaster united, increased as they had been by the confiscations consequent on the commotions which had occurred since the deposition of Richard II, and by his economical management of the ordinary permanent revenue, and the other profits of the crown, "rendered himself in a great degree independent of that parliament which had created his title to the throne, and *particularly of the House of Commons, whose great influence had before been principally derived from the necessity for extraordinary aids to support the expenses of the king.*"† From the temporal peers he had nothing to fear, so reduced were they by the civil wars, that he could find no more than twenty-nine to be summoned to his first parliament, and during his reign their numbers did not amount generally to more than forty. Being thus, by fortuitous circumstances, made independent of his people, and relieved from the trammels which had so fettered his predecessors, he soon dispensed with annual sessions of parliament, procured an act transferring some of its powers to himself,‡ and for the last thirteen years of his reign assembled it only once. Such is the first indication of its rising importance.

Let us come next to the great and undisputed epoch of the "disenthralment" and "impulse"—begging *en passant* of the calumniators of our ancient parliaments to find in their records any precedent for Wolsey's conduct to the Commons in 1523. When the supremacy had been vested in the crown, and the monasteries confiscated, there was no longer any power in the state but the Commons to control the sovereign. The temporal peers were few, and could, by the new doctrines, be at any time swamped. As for the bishops, poor things, they lost even the semblance of independence and self-respect, and so late as the reign of Elizabeth were considered liable to be discharged

* Hallam, *Mid. Ages*, vol. ii. 409. † Report on Dignity of a Peer, vol. i. 372.

‡ An act to authorize him to reverse all attainders, "whether by act of parliament or the common law," since the reign of Ric. 3. Rolls P. 19 Hen. 7, 526.

and unfrocked whenever they did not behave themselves agreeably to the wishes of their royal maker.* The means by which the Commons were “disenthralled” into a similar state of abject dependence on the head of the Church, form a curious episode in our constitutional history.

Up to the reign of Henry VIII, the Commons never sat, except in two or three instances, beyond a twelvemonth from the time of their election. He introduced long parliaments and corruption—for having once, by means, which all “true Protestant” constitutional statesmen still admire and practise, got a pack to his taste, he retained them in his employment as long as he wanted them. His Protestant successors, of course, imitated his example;† thenceforth annual elections became an antiquated absurdity, and the duration of parliament was in exact proportion to its subserviency to the will of the monarch—Charles II retaining the *Pensioned Parliament* seventeen years in his service. But these means not being sufficient to secure that complete subjection to the pleasure of “God’s vicegerent,” which was so essential under the new dispensation, the sovereign assumed the right of swamping the Commons as well as the Lords. For the exercise of this right, peculiar facilities were now offered. Prior to the Reformation, as the representatives always exacted their wages, boroughs, which were unable to bear this expense, obtained exemption from the service by interest with the sheriff or license from the crown;‡ yet so highly was the privilege esteemed, that boroughs, which were rich enough to pay the wages, always maintained the right of sending representatives; and those which through poverty had discontinued it, reclaimed it, as a matter of right, when they became again able to defray the necessary expenses.§ By this practice the

* “Proud prelate. You know what you were before I made you what you are. If you do not comply with my request, by G—I will unfrock you. ELIZABETH.”—Letter from the head of the Church to the Bishop of Ely. Cited in Hallam’s *Const. Hist.* vol. i. 241.

† Henry’s first long parliament was from 1530 to 1536; the others varied from one to two or three years. Edward VI’s first parliament continued four years and five months; his second was dissolved by his premature death. “The bloody Mary” reverted, of course, to the ancient abominable system of annual and sessional elections; her longest parliament having continued nine months and twenty-eight days, the others varying from one month and three days to three months and four days. See Willis. *Not. Parl.* and Oldfield’s *Rep. Hist. Lists of Duration of Parliaments*.

‡ Willis, *Notitia Parl.* vol. ii. p. 243, and Preface.

§ Prynne’s *Brief Register*, &c. p. 612. According to Prynne, “it is as clear as the sun at noon-day” that the inability to pay the wages was a just and legal ground of exemption. *Brev. Parl. Red.* p. 166-237.

wealth of the population of all parts of the country were equally and fairly represented. But when the Commons began to prefer the royal bounty to the wages of their constituents, and to offer their services gratuitously to the electors, or rather received out of the national funds what they had before got out of the county or borough-rates—and something more—the necessity of an election by the people, to constitute a member of that House, became a legal fiction respectable from its antiquity; and the crown accordingly, when it wanted a majority, instead of shocking the national prejudices, by sending its nominees directly into that House, as it did into the Lords, by its “mere motion,” caused writs, precepts, or patents, to be issued for reviving old boroughs, or creating new ones, and of course returning “independent members.” The effect of this royal manufacture of “representatives of the people” on the independence of the House of Commons, which, we may observe, consisted of about 300 members up to the reign of Henry VIII, who added two from a place revived by his sole authority, four from the towns of Bucks and Berwick-upon-Tweed,* which had never sent any members before, and more than thirty from Wales, Chester, Calais, &c. by act of parliament, can be appreciated only by a glimpse at the actual numbers manufactured, as exhibited in the following list:†—

	RESTORATIONS.			CREATIONS.			Total No. of Members.
	Places.	Members.		Places.	Members.		
Time of Edward VI.	10	20	.....	14	28	.....	48
“ Mary	2	4	.....	10	17	.....	21
“ Elizabeth . .	6	12	.....	24	48	.....	60
“ James . . .	8	16	.....	6	11	.....	27
“ Charles I. .	9	18	.....	0	0	.....	18
“ Charles II .	0	0	.....	3	6	.....	6
		<hr/> 70			<hr/> 110		<hr/> 180

How satisfactorily do these simple figures account for all the absurdities of the Reformation epoch!!

As it would be an offence of the deepest dye to doubt the

* Willis does not say by what means these were authorised to send members, but merely that they sent them then for the first time. Oldfield intimates that Bucks was authorised by royal charter, in the last year of Henry's reign.

† See Glanville's Rep. Introd. Twelve of these boroughs were revived by the Commons in the reigns of James and Charles. Lord John Russell on the English Gov. 237.

legal and constitutional right of our Protestant sovereigns thus to erect a legislative star-chamber, and call it a House of Commons, especially when it is to houses thus constituted both nations are indebted for the establishment of "the true Protestant Church,"* we shall content ourselves with showing that the practice was one of the improvements of the "disenthraling" epoch.

With the questions how or when the House of Commons was originally formed, or what it was that at first constituted the right of the different cities and boroughs of England to send members to it, we have now no concern. In consequence of the loss of the early writs and other records, it is difficult to speak with any certainty as to what places did or did not send representatives to parliament in the reign of Henry III and Edward I, and therefore difficult to say whether those places, for which we find returns in the reigns of Edward II and Edward III for the first time, had made any returns before. There is, however, no pretence for saying that the returns from these places were made with any view to swamping the Commons. According to the latest authority, only eight such places made returns in the reign of Edward II, and three in the reign of Edward III.† Edward II, after the victory of Burton-upon-Trent, issued writs for forty-eight representatives from Wales; but it does not appear that any attended.‡ In the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, not a single borough was revived or created. In those reigns, and that of Henry VI, almost all the statutes were passed which regulated the kingdom generally to the time of the Reform Bill.§ It is one of the charges against Richard II that he practised illegally with the sheriffs to make them return knights not chosen by the people;|| but neither he nor his legal advisers dreamed of issuing warrants to swamp the representatives of the nation with his dependents. In the reign of Henry VI five boroughs, by some manage-

* See, as to the like manufacture in this country, Carey's *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*—a work which should be in the hands of every Irishman. "What is it to you," said James I to the Irish deputies who went to remonstrate against a swamping of seventy-six new boroughs and a due number of peers, "whether I make many or few boroughs? What if I had made forty noblemen and 400 boroughs? The more the merrier; the fewer the better cheer." Carey, 231.

† See Rep. on Dignity of a Peer, vol. i. 374, 376, 460.

‡ Id. 282.

§ 5 Ric. 2, stat. 2, c. 4; 7 Hen. 4, c. 15; 2 Hen. 4, c. 1; 1 Hen. 5, c. 1; 6 Hen. 6, c. 4; 8 Hen. 6, c. 2; 23 Hen. 6, c. 15, &c. &c.

|| R. P. 1 Hen. 4, 420.

ment, received precepts from the sheriffs, for the first time, to send representatives, but without any charter, patent, or authority from the crown.* So ignorant were lawyers then of the right of the crown to manufacture a House of Commons of its own creatures by its royal warrants, that they thought it could not make even the slightest change in the form of summoning them from that established by law and custom.† Edward IV was the first of our sovereigns who granted a royal charter authorizing a town to send members to parliament.‡ He made Grantham a free borough, after which it began to send members. Ludlow also first made returns in his reign.§ Not a single borough was revived or created by Richard III or Henry VII. Thus, from the time of Edward I to that of Henry VIII, only nineteen boroughs altogether made returns for the first time, and of these one only was authorized by royal charter. Great as were the powers assumed by Henry VIII, he did not imitate the precedent of Edward II as to Wales, but proceeded, by the assistance of parliament, to summon members from it, Chester, Calais, Monmouth, &c. &c., and confined the exercise of this “undoubted prerogative” to the three places we have already noticed. Such having been the practice, we may add, that one of the ablest and most learned writers on parliamentary questions declares himself clearly of opinion “that since the statutes of 5 Richard II, c. 4, 1 Henry V, c. 21, 23 Henry VI, c. 14, no sheriffs, by virtue of the king’s writ of summons and forecited clauses in them, can erect or enable any new-created or old long-discontinued boroughs to chuse and return burgesses to our English parliaments, whatever they anciently did or might do before these acts; and that no boroughs can, since these acts, be created or revived but by special act of parliament, as the statutes of 27 Henry VIII, c. 26, 34 Henry VIII, c. 13, 35 Henry VIII, c. 11,” “do more than intimate:” and, in reference particularly to the 5 Richard II, st. 2, c. 4, adds, that “it is as clear as the sun at noon-day” that “no sheriffs are bound by law to issue precepts to or cause any cities or boroughs to send citizens or burgesses to parliament

* Prynne’s Brev. Parl. Red. 236.

† See, in R. P. 38 Hen. 6, 367, a petition from the sheriffs of the kingdom that as they had proceeded to the elections by the authority of the king’s letters of privy seal, and not by writ, the returns should be confirmed, and they themselves indemnified, by statute.

‡ To Wenlock, in 1478. This is the first and only charter of the kind on record prior to the reign of Henry VIII. Willis, Not. Parl. 42-3.

§ It was not by royal charter these made the returns.

but such which of ancient times were accustomed to send them.* Thus, swamping the Commons with the creatures of the crown was another of the "ingenious devices" of the "disenthraling" Reformers.

But we shall be told, that though by "the Protestant constitution" the head of the Church could thus create majorities at its pleasure, so as to prevent the ungodly and "disordered multitude" from questioning the extent of "the Divine omnipotence," which Gospel light had assigned him, yet with the advance of Protestantism and civil liberty, the Commons asserted many glorious privileges which they had not dared to think of in the days of Popery and their infantile weakness. We beg of our readers to consider that all those privileges have been gradually passing away since the return of common-sense and rational liberty, just like the extravagant vagaries of Protestantism itself; that they have been all strenuously supported by the ministers of the crown; and that by no accident has it happened that any one of them has been ever exercised against the crown in defence of the rights of an injured subject. When the crown obtained the means of commanding majorities in parliament, it naturally looked on any extension of the powers or privileges of its creatures as an increase of its own powers; and hence, from Henry VIII to George IV, we find the servants of the crown invariably the most vehement advocates of the pretensions of the Commons. Of all those novel privileges, not one has been so eulogised as that by which the Commons claim to themselves the right of determining their own elections. This has been continually lauded as the best and almost only safeguard of that house; as of the very essence of its constitution, and associated with its integrity and independence just as Protestantism itself has been with civil liberty. Were we to be writing its praises for a year and a day, we could scarcely give more than a faint idea of the excellencies it possesses in the opinions of its admirers. Let us therefore examine it in operation and details, and see whether it is not exactly like Church-of-Englandism itself—a sort of superficially delusive system, which charms and captivates at first sight and on a slight inquiry, but which, on closer inspection, is found to have been designed for purposes the very reverse of its professed objects; and whether, as Church-of-Englandism was the prime actor in overthrowing the ancient liberties of England, this privilege was not

* Brev. Parl. Red. 236-238.

required to act a minor part in the drama, by completing the ruin of the independence of the Commons and the electoral rights of the people.

Suppose at a general election two opposing sets of candidates—whigs and tories for instance—start for the several constituencies of the kingdom. Suppose also the tories in office—the sheriffs consequently their friends, or at least nominees, and returning them contrary to the votes of the electors; this privilege then steps in, and instantly constitutes them, for no other reason but that they have been returned by the sheriffs, though thus, according to vulgar apprehensions, unduly returned, the sole judges of the entire transaction; of the return itself; the conduct of the sheriffs; their own rights; the rights of their friends, and the rights of their rivals. Such they literally were prior to the passing of the Grenville Act. We need not stop now to shew how utterly inconsistent with every principle of common-sense and common law such a privilege must be; but see how perfectly consistent it was with the whole spirit and operation of “the Protestant constitution;” which made the life, the liberty, the property, and every right of the subject depend solely on the nod of the—British sultan.

As, under this privilege, the election of a member, or, as it was called, the trial of an election petition, was considered as legitimate an object of contention in the house as at the hustings, or as the election of a speaker, or the voting of the supplies, and was decided in the same manner; and as the crown could in all ordinary times command a majority, by bribery, creation, or other “constitutional” means; each individual member held his seat, and his constituents—especially if they were citizens or burgesses—held their rights of election, at the will and pleasure of the royal majority.* The influence of such a state of things, both on the several members and the electors, need not be dwelt on. Yet we are gravely assured, that it was in self-defence against the encroachments of the crown the privilege was assumed. What are the facts? It is commonly said to have been first exercised in the reign of Elizabeth; her officers supported the exercise of it as then claimed.† Of the first celebrated committee of twelve, appointed on the 24th of February, 1580, four were members of her government.‡ She is stated, on

* See a paper on the subject of Controverted Elections, in the thirteenth number of this Review.

† See *Com. Journ.* for 11th Nov. 1558; 9th Feb. 1575.

‡ *Id.* 15th Jan. 1580.

very equivocal authority, to have reproved the Commons in one case for interfering,* but in no other did she attempt to check them. James, "as an absolute king," had by proclamation forbidden the election of outlaws and other bad characters, and was, it is said, anxious for the return of Fortescue; but after that case he never interfered,† and some of the officers of his government formed part of every committee which sat during the remainder of his reign.‡ After the Restoration, so anxious were the court party to uphold this "constitutional privilege," that when Hale and his colleagues, in the King's Bench,§ gave judgment for Barnardiston against Soame, and thus maintained the accountability of a sheriff in a court of law for an improper return, they raised to the bench the counsel who had been employed for the defendant; by them reversed, in the Exchequer Chamber, the judgment of the King's Bench, and confirmed the exclusive right of the members of the PENSIONED PARLIAMENT to—elect each other.|| The motive attributed to them at the time for this conduct was, that they thus expected to have the formation of the House of Commons absolutely, totally, and without any qualification or exception, at their own command; for having established the doctrine that the sheriffs could be punished for improper returns in that house only, and that the truth of the return was there only determinable, if they could prevail on the sheriffs—who were entirely at their service—to return "the friends of the monarchy and the constitution," these could decide their own elections, indemnify the sheriffs, and if any dangerous animal happened to get in along with them, could at once kick him out. Such alarm did the confirmation of this judgment by the House of Lords, after the Revolution, create, that the statute 7 and 8 William III, c. 7, was immediately passed to give an action against a sheriff for an improper return. When the Aylesbury case occurred, we find the members of the government supporting this "constitu-

* Norfolk case. Dewes' Journal, p. 394-5. There are many reasons for questioning the authenticity and correctness of Dewes' report of this case.

† When the committee of 1623-4 was about to restore some ancient boroughs, he thought to prevent them, but on consulting the judges, and finding them in favour of the ancient rights of election, he proceeded no further.

‡ See Journals, passim.

§ Twissden & Wylde; Rainsford doubting.

|| There were three judges then made in the Exchequer, and two in the Common Pleas; eight being the total of both courts. We find North, C. J., who had been leading counsel for the defendant, and who was afterwards selected to try the *Quo Warranto* against the city of London, and five others, reversing the judgment of the King's Bench. See State Trials, vol. vi. 1063; vol. xiv. 457-721.

tional privilege," and the solicitor-general adding the weight of his official character to the extravagant claims of the Commons.* Is the case of Wilkes and Luttrell already forgotten? When the Grenville Act was proposed, we find Lord North, his attorney-general, and other official friends, straining every nerve to preserve this "ancient and undoubted privilege of the Commons;" this "very essence of its constitution."† Need we extend our illustrations to modern times? When we thus find the court party advocating this privilege on all occasions, must we not be as doubtful of its tendency to secure the purity and independence of the Commons, as we must be of the tendency of Protestantism to secure civil liberty, when we find it the fosterling of every enemy of popular rights, whether on the banks of the Thames, the Rhine, the Speer, or the Neva?

But there is no room for doubt. Look to the result of its operation on the ancient popular rights of election. At the accession of Henry VIII there were 111 towns sending 224 representatives, and by him and his successors 36 were restored.‡ Of all these only two, or three at the utmost, were empowered by charter to send representatives; the rest had their rights of election dependent on immemorial usage or the common law.§ By the latter, popular rights were greatly favoured. There is not the slightest authority for saying that a property qualification was required for any electors before the passing of the 8 Henry VI, c. 7.|| The authorities, on the other hand, are abundant against such an hypothesis. In the second last year of Edward III, the Commons pray that the knights of the shires might be elected "by the common election of the better people of the said counties:" but Edward answers, like a chartist, that he wishes they should be "elected by the common assent of the entire county."¶ All the statutes preceding the act of Henry VI merely direct the sheriffs to make the

* See State Trials, vol. xiv. case of Ashby v. White.

† Par. Hist. vol. xvi. 907, 10, 11, 13, 15.

‡ Willis, Not. Parl. vol. i. pref. viii.-xi.

§ As burghage-tenure has been considered by many the qualification in most ancient boroughs, we may observe that there were only twenty-nine burghage-tenure boroughs in 1774 1 Dougl. 224. In all the newly created boroughs, the common-law qualification should have been allowed, when the charters specified no other.

|| Coke is perpetually electing sheriffs, coroners, knights of shires, &c. &c. by freeholders, directly against the language of the records, which he cites, and without any authority but his own mere dictum. His statements are, of course, adopted without examination by subsequent writers.

¶ "Par commune election des meillours gentz des ditz countees." "Le roi voet q'ils soient esluz par commune assent de tout le countee." R. P. 50 Edw. 3. 355.

elections by the suitors in their county courts, "and all others of their counties." The preamble to that very act ought to be conclusive on the question. It sets forth that elections "had now of late been made by very great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people dwelling within the same counties, and the most part was of people of *small substance and of no value*; whereof every of them pretended a voice equivalent as to such elections to be made with the most worthy knights and esquires dwelling within the same counties, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties, shall very likely rise and be, unless convenient and due remedy be provided." By common right, Prynne says, "every inhabitant and commoner in each county had a voice in the election of knights, whether he were a freeholder or not."* The statute of Henry VI not having extended to cities and boroughs, the qualifications of electors there remained the same as it had been before in cities, boroughs, and counties; and we find accordingly, when the Protestant House of Commons first began to determine the rights of its own electors, one of its ablest committees deciding "that the election of burgesses in all boroughs did of common right belong to the commoners, and that nothing could take it from them but prescription and constant usage beyond all memory."† In 1623-4 the most eminent committee of that house, which has ever yet sat, consisting of all the greatest lawyers of that day, was appointed specially to lay down the outlines of the legal rights of voting, as guides to the electors, the candidates, and the house; and they also decided that where there was no certain custom, prescription or constant usage beyond all memory, recourse should be had to "common right, which for this purpose was held that more than the freeholders only ought to have voices in the election, namely, all men, inhabitants, householders, residents, within the borough."‡ Such was the right of election by common law up to the Reformation—up to the time, when Protestant Houses of Commons began to determine the rights of their own constituents;—and how many places does the reader suppose retained it to the passing of the reform bill? One only.§

* Brev. Parl. Red. 186.

† Case of Boston. 2 Douglas, Hist. of Controvert. Elec. 220. See also 232, 291.

‡ Glanvil. Rep. Case of Pontefract, 107; Cirencester, 142. Residence was required by statute.

§ Pontefract. Even this was deprived of it for above 100 years, from towards the close of the seventeenth century to nearly the close of the eighteenth, when it was restored by a select committee under the Grenville Act. Oldfield's Rep. Hist. vol. v. 319.

In all the other ancient boroughs the rights of election were limited, by the votes of Protestant Houses of Commons, to freeholders, to persons contributing to church* or poor* rates, to freemen by apprenticeship,* to—But need we go through the list? Can the rotten-borough system, that perfection of reason, and glory of the Protestant constitution, be already effaced from the recollection of our readers?

The Reform Bill, which restored the representation of the people to something like what it had been prior to the Reformation, is regarded by most "pious Protestant" statesmen as an abomination which must be abated as speedily as possible. Of the folly of attempting this object openly and avowedly these gentlemen are fully aware. Let them, however, only repeal the Grenville Act, and all amendments of that act, bring this ancient, essential, and undoubted privilege into full operation, in all its former integrity, thereby give the constitutional conservative majority of England a right of electing representatives for the Papists of Ireland, and the radicals, infidels, and so forth, of the other portions of the empire, and soon shall we have the Protestant constitution restored to that perfection in which it had so auspiciously flourished for so many ages prior to "that cursed settlement." But, seriously, such is the real character of this never-to-be-sufficiently-lauded privilege, which if we had not thus analysed, we should be perpetually taunted with the mighty and multitudinous advantages it conferred on the House of Commons and the people, and told how helpless that house must have been in earlier times, when without such a privilege it could not protect its own constitution from the violence and inroads of royalty. Were we to compare the practice in both periods as to other privileges, we suspect that the moderns would not appear the transcendental creatures for which they are commonly mistaken. Let us, however, turn to matters about which there can be no dispute.

It will be said, whatever might have been the alterations in the mere material composition of the parliament, such was the mighty influence of Protestantism, that it imparted a tone, a dignity, &c. &c. to their proceedings, which made them pre-eminently superior to their Popish predecessors. Let us see.

In 1534 the supremacy was vested in Henry. At the opening of parliament in 1536, the speaker of the Commons,

* Though not known prior to the age of Elizabeth.

instead of contenting himself with the ancient protestation, delivers a long disgusting eulogy of Henry: compares him to Solomon, Sampson, and Absalom; and most humbly supplicates access for himself and his companions to his "sublimity" during the present parliament.* The Reformation is commonly dated from 1541. In that year the ancient protestation is entirely abandoned: the speaker's speech consists of three paragraphs; in the two first of which he extols Henry's corporal and intellectual excellencies, and in the last begs for freedom of discussion for himself and his companions, and liberty of access in matters *too perplexed and important for them to determine among themselves*. The royal majesty does not refuse a *decent* liberty of speech.† All that we are told in the journals, of the speakers in the reign of Edward VI and Mary, is, that they made ornate and excellent orations, except the third in the latter reign, who asked for freedom of speech, privilege from arrest, and access to the king and queen, for himself and companions.‡ In the first session of Elizabeth's reign the four requests, which are now repeated at the commencement of each parliament, were made for the first time.§ In the journals we are merely told that the speaker "made certain petitions for the ancient liberties," and that they were "granted by the queen, to be used *reverently and decently*."||

Just compare the ancient notions and usages on this point. In the days of Popish thralldom and darkness, the Commons considered themselves as much entitled to freedom of discussion in their councils, as the king was in his. To suppose that they could not discuss the interests of their constituents till they had got leave and licence from him, or that they were to be like a parcel of schoolboys, to study only the theses set them by the royal pedagogue, and in their tractation of them to be continually kept within the bounds of "reverence and decency" by the flourish or application of the royal birch, is an absurdity worthy only of Protestantism and enlightenment. Only imagine the men who graciously condescended to allow a Richard and a Henry as much freedom and liberty as any of their predecessors, begging for themselves the liberty of talking over the business for the consideration of which they

* Journals of the Lords, p. 86. See also Lingard, vol. vi. p. 366, &c.

† "In causis magis perplexis et gravioribus quam ut ipsi inter se definire sufficerent....Honestam dicendi libertatem non negare regiam majestatem." Id. 1, 167.

‡ Com. Journ. p. 37.

§ Oldfield's Repres. Hist. vol. vi. 344. || Com. Journ. 53.

had assembled. They might as well have asked for liberty of sitting, or standing, or meeting, as for liberty of talking. Of such an absurdity those slaves and fools were never guilty. From time immemorial, they had an undoubted right to the utmost possible liberty of speech within their own walls, without challenge or question from any man; and no stranger—not even the king himself—knew anything of what passed within them, till he was informed of the result by the mouth of the speaker, who, lest in reporting the substance of their wishes, he should commit any mistake, assumed his office with a protestation, that he should be at liberty to correct, by their advice, any mistakes which he might happen to commit. The first protestation on record, is that of De la Mere, in the first year of Richard II; and we owe it probably to the treatment he had received from Wycklyffe's patrons for his former discharge of his duty. It is simply, that as what he had to say was not of his own will and motion, but from the whole house, he requires that if he should haply speak anything without their consents, the same ought to be amended before his departure from the said place.* At the second next session, this latter part is amended to allowing them to correct such mistakes when they pleased.† This remained the substance of the protestation down to 1429, though a speaker occasionally threw in an additional request, that if he should say anything displeasing to the king or lords, it might be attributed to his ignorance or negligence, and not to the evil intentions of his companions, and that he might be corrected by them; or that they might enjoy all their ancient privileges,‡ &c. At length, in that year the whole protestation was thrown into the following form; and though in some subsequent sessions, also, we find occasional—perhaps in all about twenty—departures from it in verbal construction, and the speakers asking for themselves and the Commons such other liberties and privi-

* Cotton's Ex. Abridg. 155; Rot. P. 1 Ric. 2, 5.

† Id. 3 Ric. 2, 73.

‡ In the fifth year of Richard II the speaker would appear to have committed the mistake against which the protestation was intended to guard, for the Commons pray, in the following session, that the first and celebrated statute against heretical preachers, passed at the last parliament, should be abolished, as it had never been assented to nor granted by them; "*mes ce qe fuist parle de ce fuist souz assent de lour*;" for it was never their intention to bind themselves and their successors to the prelates more than their ancestors had been in past times:—Id. 6 Ric. 2, 141. In 1413 the speaker committed such a mistake; and it is so expressly stated in the Rolls, and remedy is granted. Id. 1 Hen. 5, 4. We may observe here, that the notion that the writ *de hæretico comburendo* lay at the common law, seems to be a mistake. See Emlyn's note to 1 Hale, P. C. 709.

leges as their predecessors had enjoyed, without specifying them, it may be considered thenceforth to have been, up to 1536, what in modern parlance would be called the constitutional and established form of protestation. It was,—“He most humbly prayed the lord the king, that all and singular the matters to be brought forward and declared by him in the name of the said Commons, he might be able to bring forward and declare under such a protestation, that if he should, by either additions or omissions, declare anything enjoined on him by his companions otherwise than they should have agreed to, he might be able to correct and amend the matters so declared by the advice of his said companions, and that this his protestation should be enacted in the roll of the said parliament; to whom it was answered by the chancellor, by the command of the king, and the advice of the council, that he might have and enjoy such protestation as other speakers in the time of the king’s noble progenitors used to have and enjoy.”* Such had been the long established form of protestation, which was now perverted to begging of the king the fundamental rights of the Commons.

In short, from the establishment of the Reformation, the ancient liberties of parliament and the people seem to have been entirely unknown, despised, or forgotten. “Freedom of speech” in the house of Commons became only a mockery. If a man said anything displeasing to the crown, or the majority of the house, he was at once taken into custody, and fined, expelled, and imprisoned, according to the humour of the privy-council or the house. No sovereign or minister would have dared at once to trample on the long-established rights of the representatives of the people, if those representatives had not

* “Eidem domino regi humillimè supplicavit quatenus omnia et singula per ipsum in parlamento predicto nomine diete communitatis proferend’ et declarand’ sub tali posset protestatione proferre et declarare quod si ipse aliqua sibi per prefatos socios suos injuncta aliter quam ipsi concordati fuerint aut in addendo vel omitendo declaraverit ea sic declarata per predictos socios suos corrigere posset et emendare, et quod protestatio sua hujusmodi in Rotulo parlamenti predicti posset inactitari. Cui per prefatum dominum cancellarium de mandato domini regis et avisamento consilii sui extitit responsum quod idem Willielmus tali protestatione frueretur et gauderet quali alii prolocutores tempore nobilium progenitorum suorum in hujusmodi parliamentis uti et gaudere solebant. Id. 8 Hen. 6, p. 336. See Rolla, also, for the commencement of every parliament to the close of the reign of Henry VII; and Lord’s Journals, pp. 4, 11, 19, 86, for reign of Henry VIII. Surely Mr. Hallam could not have examined this ancient protestation when he says, “liberty of speech and free access to the royal person were claimed (though not quite, in his modern language, as undoubted rights) at the commencement of every parliament.” Const. Hist. vol. i. 266. — He, of course, cites no authority.

shown their utter disregard for those rights, and proved themselves willing slaves. These creatures first begged for freedom of speech from the crown, next refused it to one another, and then were deprived of it altogether by the power that gave it. If the majority had a right to prevent the minority from expressing the wishes of their constituents, surely the crown could not be blamed for imitating so "constitutional" an example, and silencing the whole gang. It is only by degrees that even Protestantism could erase from the minds of Englishmen the vestiges of their former freedom. Up to 1548, no member had ever been punished by the house of Commons for anything said there; as the delegate of his constituents, he had a right to say whatever they instructed him to say, and was accountable to no one but them. In that year, however, we find one Story committed by the house to the custody of the sergeant on the 21st of January, and to the Tower on the 24th, for having said or done something that was deemed an "offence" against "his majesty and his council," and on the 2nd of March, an order made, "that the king's privy-council in the nether house shall humbly beg of the protector to procure his forgiveness, and that he should be enlarged."* In 1557, one Copley having "spoken unreverent words of the queen's majesty," the house votes it "to be a grievous fault," commits him to the serjeant, and orders the speaker to inform her majesty of it, and "to require her majesty to extend her highness's mercy upon him." "Her pleasure was, that he should be examined whereof such matter did spring, and, nevertheless, her majesty would well consider the request of this house to her majesty for him."† The house being dissolved the following day, nothing more seems to have been done. Peter Wentworth's treatment is notorious. In 1575 he "was, for unreverend and undutiful words uttered by him in this house of our sovereign lady the queen's majesty, sequestered," committed prisoner to the serjeant's ward, examined by "all the privy council being of this house," committed close prisoner to the Tower,‡ and after a month's confinement, released on the queen's sending word of her forgiveness, and his acknowledging his "offence" on his knees.§ Six years afterwards, a Mr. Hall is, "for sundry lewd speeches against the general authority, power, and estate of this house," committed, expelled, fined 500 marks, and

* See Com. Journ. for those days.

† Com. Journ. pp. 50-1.

‡ Id. p. 104.

§ D'Ewes, 260.

sent to the Tower till he should make a satisfactory retractation.* The gist of his offence seems to have been writing a book, in which he declared that the house was, to his own knowledge, guilty of gross injustice. In 1585 they expel the famous Dr. Parry for speaking spiritedly against the bill inflicting the punishment of death on Jesuits and seminary priests.† But need we enumerate more instances? When these creatures thus set the example of violating the fundamental principles of a deliberative assembly, can we wonder at or regret the contumelies subsequently heaped upon them? Better treatment would have been unfit for them.

As nothing can illustrate so fully the influence of the new principles of religion and government which were now spread abroad to “redeem, regenerate, and disenthral” mankind, as the contrast between the ancient and the reformed parliaments on questions affecting the very utility of their existence, let us direct attention to the conduct of James and Elizabeth to their “pious Protestant” Houses of Commons. When Elizabeth committed Strickland for exhibiting a bill for the reformation of ceremonies, his case is discussed by the house, and her right to punish for anything done against her prerogative is asserted and not contradicted.‡ She reproves them for agreeing to a motion for a public fast and daily preaching among themselves; and they, with one consent, make an “humble submission for the said offence and contempt.”§ She commits several for proposing a bill to entail the succession of the crown; and even the notice of a motion respecting them is crossed out from the Journals.|| The council having reprov'd one Bell for having “spoken somewhat concerning licenses granted by her majesty to do certain matters contrary to the statute:” so far was the house from remonstrating, that they were so alarmed that for many days “they durst not enter on any matter of importance.”¶ At one time they are ordered, when they ask for liberty of speech, “to meddle with no matters of state but such as should be propounded to them;”*** at another, to spend little time in motions and to avoid long speeches;†† at another, are forbidden “to meddle with matters of state or ecclesiastical causes;”‡‡ and at another, are dismissed with a reproof “for their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous folly, in calling

* D'Ewes, 291.

§ Id. 282, 3, 4.

∞ Id. 141-2.

† Id. 341.

|| Id. 470, 597.

†† Id. 159.

‡ Id. 168, 176.

¶ Id. 159, &c.

‡‡ Id. 474, 6, 8.

in question her majesty's grants and prerogatives, contrary to their duty and place, and the admonition given at the beginning of the parliament, meddling with matters neither pertaining to them nor within the capacity of their understanding."* In the year of light and liberty 1621, James reminds them of the ancient proverb about the cobbler and his last—asserts his right to punish as well during their sitting as afterwards—complains that some of them had been emboldened to debate "about matters far above their reach and capacity," and forbids them "to meddle with anything concerning our government or deep matters of state." Those wretched "cobblers," so far from wincing under these indignities, declared that it was not their intention to encroach on "the sacred bounds" of the royal prerogative, and "acknowledge that to the king alone does it belong to resolve of peace or war."†

How superior "the light of the gospel" must have made these men to those who forbid Henry IV to listen to any tell-tales about their proceedings till he should be informed of them through the mouth of the speaker, and without whose advice and consent no question of peace or war was decided!! "The light of the gospel" seems only to have emancipated them from the ancient notions of freedom, independence, and self-respect, which distinguished their fathers, and to have reduced them to a level with those oriental slaves whose conduct is noticed in Scripture. No mere material change in the composition of the house, could have effected the debasement, of which the Commons' journals contain such ample evidence. The cortes of Spain, after the loss of their power and independence, never addressed their king in language appropriated to the Deity, the Grand Turk, or Grand Lama. It required some such system of instruction as the Church of England was "reformed" to instil, to reduce Englishmen to such a state of degradation. The Commons' journals afford the best evidence of the zeal and success with which it propagated its doctrines. The members of that house seem to have had hardly an idea but such as was inculcated in the Homilies, or Canons of the Church, or in the "sayings and doings," essays and preachments of its head or its ministers. Thus, if we find these assigning a portion of God's omnipotence to their head, and saying, "Ye are Gods," and one of those heads exacting obeisances to her person and her table, which would have been

* Id. 151.

† See Com. Journ. for 5th Dec. 1621.

evidences of idolatry in Papists if offered to a representation or to the altar of their God, and another to whom his bishops in special manner attributed divine inspiration,* talking of adorning “his person with some sparkles of divinity,” and “of the mystical reverence of them that sit in the throne of grace”—so we find harangues in the Commons in reference to that SACRED *majesty* prefaced by “*a Jove principium*.”† But lest we might be suspected of perverting expressions which we had carefully culled from a vast heap of qualifying matter, just take the summary of the debate on monopolies in 1601, by England’s favourite historian:—“It was asserted that the Queen inherited both an enlarging and restraining power; by her prerogative she might set at liberty what was restrained by statute or otherwise, and by her prerogative she might restrain what was otherwise at liberty; that the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed, nor disputed, nor examined, and did not even admit of any limitation; THAT ABSOLUTE PRINCES, SUCH AS THE SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND, WERE A SPECIES OF DIVINITY; that it was in vain to attempt tying the queen’s hands by laws or statutes, since, by means of her dispensing power, she could loosen herself at pleasure, and that even if a clause should be annexed to a statute excluding her dispensing power, she could first dispense with that clause, and then with the statute. After all this discourse—more worthy of a Turkish Divan than of an English House of Commons”—the Queen sent word that she would cancel the most oppressive of the patents. “The house was struck with astonishment, and admiration, and gratitude, at this extraordinary instance of the Queen’s goodness and condescension. A member said, with tears in his eyes, that if a sentence of everlasting happiness had been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy than that with which he was at present overwhelmed. Another observed, that this message from the sacred person of the Queen was a kind of gospel, or glad tidings, and ought to be received as such, and written in the tablets of their hearts;‡ and it was further remarked, that in the same manner as *the Deity would not give his glory to an-*

* At the conference at Hampton Court, Ilrodie, vol. i. 334—“The spirit was foul-mouthed,” was the observation of a puritan doctor.

† Sir Thomas Crew’s speech, Com. Journ. 18-19, Jac. 1.

‡ “That which was delivered unto you from her sacred self I think to be gospel,” &c.—D’Ewes, 656.

other, so the Queen herself was the only agent in their present prosperity and happiness.* The house voted, that the Speaker, with a committee, should ask permission to wait on her Majesty, and return her thanks for her gracious concessions to her people. When the Speaker with the other members were introduced to the Queen, they all flung themselves on their knees, and remained in that posture till she thought proper to express her desire that they should rise. The Speaker displayed the gratitude of the Commons;† but we will give a part of the oration in his own words. After expressing his gratitude for being vouchsafed access to her "SACRED PRESENCE," he thus proceeds—"We cannot say, most gracious Sovereign, we have called and been heard, we have complained and have been helped; though, in all duty and thankfulness we acknowledge your SACRED ears are ever open, and your BLESSED hands ever stretched out to relieve us. We acknowledge, sacred Sovereign, that before we call, your PREVENTING GRACE and ALL-DESERVING GOODNESS doth watch over us for our good, more ready to give than we can desire, much less deserve. THAT ATTRIBUTE WHICH IS PROPER UNTO GOD, TO PERFORM ALL HE PROMISETH, APPERTAINETH UNTO YOU, OUR MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN QUEEN, OF ALL TRUTH, OF ALL CONSTANCY, OF ALL GOODNESS, never wearied in doing good unto us."‡ Need we give more of this? The oration being ended, "after three low reverences made, he with the rest kneeled down, and her Majesty began thus to answer herself," &c. After proceeding for some time, she ordered them to stand up, "for I shall yet trouble you with longer speech."§

Having thus traced the history of the parliaments of England, from the time they consisted of MEN, of ENGLISH MEN, till "enlightenment" putrified them into a mass of such loathsome, crawling reptiles, let us turn to the other evidences of the "disenthralment and impulse."—But what could be

* "Wherefore as God himself said, *Glariam meam alteri non dabo*, so may her Majesty say, in that she herself," &c. &c.—Id. 637.

† Hume, vol. v. 468. On this practice of kneeling before her most sacred majesty, he subjoins the following note:—"We learn from Hentzner's Travels that no one spoke to queen Elizabeth without kneeling, though now and then she raised some with waving her hand. Nay, wherever she turned her eye, every one fell on his knees. Her successor first allowed his courtiers to omit this ceremony. Even when Elizabeth was absent, those who covered her table, though persons of quality, NEITHER APPROACHED IT NOR RETIRED FROM IT WITHOUT KNEELING." Ib.

‡ D'Ewes, 659.

§ Ibid.

expected by any one, who was not a fool or a philosopher, from such kings, such a Church, such parliaments, and such principles? With such rapidity did "the true Protestant Church" produce the results, for which the class of political heresies to which it belongs, are so eminently calculated, that under Elizabeth the government was so changed as "*to bear some resemblance to that of Turkey.*" Such is Hume's opinion, and in support of it, he cites a multitude of facts for which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any more civilized country.* Brodie attempts to explain away most of Hume's statements,† but Hallam does not agree entirely with him, though he admits that he has succeeded in many points.‡ What a compliment to the genius of Protestantism, to have such writers disputing such a question! England, whose free government in Catholic times, had been the admiration of Europe, reduced under its first "true Protestant" sovereign§ to the state of Turkey! And this the opinion of the arch-enemy and libeller of Papists, and England's favourite historian! But as few will dispute the justness of the comparison under its second and third "true Protestant" sovereigns, and it was the boast of the latter's pacha,|| that in this country at least, he had made him "as absolute a prince as any in Europe," let us examine the means wherewith Protestantism succeeded so rapidly in overthrowing the liberties of the nation.

The principal of these were, in addition to the management of parliament, the prostitution of the judges, the packing and punishing of juries, the Star Chamber, the High Commission, the rack, impressments, impositions without consent of the people, monopolies, martial law, libel law, &c. See how by these appliances the constitution was brought into perfect conformity with the theory of the established Church, as to "the gospel rights of princes."—The judges decided whatever "the Lord's deputy" desired to be law; juries were compelled to condemn the victims he selected for capital punishment; the

* Vol. v. Appendix.

† Introd. c. 2.

‡ Const. Hist. vol. i. 306.

§ We call her the first, as it was in her reign the articles were settled as they have since remained.

|| "I had been defamed," says Strafford, "for barbarous and cruel usage . . . and reported to all the world rather for a *basha of Buda*, than the minister of a pious and Christian king."—Letters, vol. ii. p. 27.

Star-Chamber disposed of all others; the High Commission punished whatever he proclaimed to be heresy; the rack was necessary to give completeness and perfection to the system; by impressment he had the personal service of all his subjects at his command; by impositions all their property, real and personal; by monopolies the controul of all their trade and industry; by martial law he was the very "grand Turk;" and by libel law, he prevented the complaints of the faithful. We might go through the entire catalogue, but it would be worse than useless; we shall content ourselves with proving that for the discovery of these—the principal,—we are indebted solely to the advance of enlightenment. For this purpose we might rely on the ground on which they all, with the exception of the libel law, were severally suppressed,—their being contrary to the ancient laws and liberties of England; but we prefer making the matter so plain, that even Protestant "piety" will be ashamed of its slanders.

All modern writers agree in eulogizing the judges from the reign of Edward III to that of Henry VII.* The only exceptions to the general eulogy are Thorpe, who was convicted of bribery, and hanged in the twenty-fourth year of Edward III, and the judges of Richard II. The light in which judicial corruption was regarded in that day, may be conceived from the circumstance of Thorpe's taking bribes from three persons, who were to have been tried before him, being declared a traitorous and rebellious act, and a breach of the king's oath.† The judges of Richard II, when put on their trial, declared that they signed those unconstitutional answers solely through fear of instant death.‡ Belknap, on two separate occasions, refused to do so, though threatened with immediate death, and when at last he did sign them, he declared that he deserved death for so doing.§ This compulsion he urged as a palliation of his offence. The others make similar defences, except that the majority admit they signed them on the first occasion they were threatened. It should be borne in mind, that it was not in open court in Westminster Hall they gave

* See the eulogies of Coke on "*the honourable and true-hearted courage*" of the clergy, who were judges in early times, in maintaining the laws and customs of the realm from encroachment, and in the discharge of their duty, not looking above them or about them. 2 Inst. 265, 573.

† 3 Inst. 223.

‡ We, of course, except Tresilian, C. J., who was one of the conspirators. Only six other judges signed the questions.

§ Speed, 731.

those answers, but in the castle at Nottingham, where they were beset by Richard's ruffians, and had no chance of escape or protection; and that the very worst opinion they signed was, that the procuring of the parliamentary commission of the tenth year of that reign was an act of treason against the king. The conduct of the parliament proves that they believed in the truth of their defences, for though they hanged Tresilian and sergeant Blake, who drew up the questions for the judges, and the indictment against the commissioners, and Huske, who procured the office of subsheriff of Middlesex for the purpose of packing the juries to try such as were commoners, they only banished the judges who made those defences, allowing them small pensions for life; they make it the first charge against Richard, that he compelled the judges, "by fear of death and corporal suffering," to support the plot against the commissioners;* their second demand, in the first parliament of Henry IV, is, that "neither the lords spiritual or temporal, nor the justices, should be allowed, in future times, to excuse themselves by saying, "that they dare not execute or declare the law nor their minds for fear of death,—or that they are not free of themselves, SINCE THEY ARE MORE BOUND IN REASON TO KEEP THEIR OATHS THAN TO FEAR DEATH OR ANY FORFEITURE;"† and in the following year they restore two of them—probably then the only survivors—to all their rights; these reiterating in their petition their former statement, as to having signed the opinions not of their own free will, but by duress and compulsion, and adding, that they could prove it by those who were present at the time.‡ What higher eulogy could be passed on any men than the above, clearly implying, that they were not to be induced by anything short of death, to speak against their conscience and the law? Richard, in the parliament in the twenty-first year of his reign, was anxious to find a pretext for setting aside the proceedings against his favourites and the judges, but could get only two sergeants and one other lawyer to say that the answers were good and lawful.§ "The proceedings against those judges served," says Petyt, "as an excellent almanac for the meridian of Westminster Hall, and *circumspecte agatis* to many succeeding judges, until about the end of queen Elizabeth's

* "*Metu mortis et cruciatus corporis violenter attraxit.*" R. P. Hen. 4, 418. They make his conduct to his judges on other occasions the subject of two other charges.

† Id. 2 Hen. 4, 461.

‡ Id. 433.

§ See 21 Ric. 2, c. 1.

reign.”* No one of our sovereigns prior to the Reformation, thought he had a right to change the judges of his courts as he would the scullions of his kitchen. One of the ancient titles of the justices of the king’s bench was “*perpetui*, for that they ought not to be removed without just cause.”† The judges were then regarded as the impartial interpreters of the law, as well between king and subject, as between subject and subject, and from the earliest times he was entitled to no more favour than the meanest of his lieges.‡ By their oaths and duty, they were bound not to delay or refuse justice to any man in consequence of any letters, commands, writs, messages, or protections from him,§ and to give “advice or counsel to no man, great nor small, in no case where the king is party.”|| As they were to decide strictly according to law between the parties, of whatever rank, it was not deemed conducive to the proper discharge of this duty, that either party should consult them beforehand; and on this point, the practice of our judges for the last few years, is merely a return to that which prevailed before the Reformation. We find the judges refusing to declare their opinion beforehand to Edward II, till they should obtain the assent of the peers in parliament.¶ When the Lords, in the name of Henry VI, order them to find objections against the duke of York’s claim to the throne, one of the grounds on which they excuse themselves is, “that they were the kyng’s justices, and have to determyne such maters as come before them in the lawe betwene partie and partie, and in such maters as been betwene partie and partie *they may not be of counseill, and seth this mater was betwene the king and the said duke of York as two parties, and also it hath not been accustomed to calle the justices to counseill in such maters,*” &c. &c.** Coke, whose anxiety to restore this practice, and reprobation of “auricular taking of opinions,” as being against the custom of the realm, are well known to legal readers, directs attention to a like answer given by the chief justice of the king’s bench to Henry VII in the first year of his reign. He appears to have enquired privately what their opinion was in “the case of Humfrey Stafford, that arch traitor,” whereupon the chief-justice begged him “not to desire to know their opinions

* Jus. Parl. p. 211.

+ 4 Inst. 75.

† “Rex in justitia recipienda minimo de regno suo comparatur.” Bracton, lib. i. c. 8, f. 5, b; lib. iii. c. 9, f. 17.

‡ 2 Inst. 56.

|| 20 Edw. 3, c. 6.

¶ Rot. P. 9 Edw. 2, 354.

** Id. vol. v. 367.

beforehand, for they thought it should come before them in the king's bench judicially, and then they would do that which of right they ought; and the king accepted it."* He also cites another decision of the same character in the reign of Henry VIII, as to the peers not consulting the lord steward or judges in the absence of a prisoner.† Empson and Dudley seem to have stood alone in infamy among the judges of Henry VII; and even they did not probably overstep the strict bounds of the law, as a statute had been made by which they could, without the intervention of a jury, decide complaints under the various laws, which they made such fruitful sources of exaction;‡ and Empson complains in his defence, that "the people, on whose equal trial I should put my life, seek my destruction only because I endeavoured to execute those laws *whereof themselves were authors.*"§ *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*, is true of professions and nations, as well as of individuals. It required time and training to transmute that body—which through so many ages had, with these few exceptions, preserved their character untainted by the breath of suspicion; whose fearless and impartial administration of the laws had won the love and esteem of Englishmen; whose conduct has been the pride and boast of every lawyer since, and is now held up as the model for their successors in this nineteenth century;||—into such beings as under our first half-dozen "true Protestant" sovereigns, presided in what were still called the courts of justice. The germ of the "enlightened" improvement seems to have been laid by Henry VII,¶ and so rapidly did it produce its fruits, that the judges

* 3 Inst. 29. In the Year Book, 1 Hen. 7, f. 26, the passage is, "Car ils entendent q'il viendra en Banc le Roy judicialment et donq'il veul' faire ce qe de droit ils doivent faire. See also 2 St. Tr. 871.

† 3 Inst. 30. ‡ 11 Hen. 7, c. 3. See 2 Inst. 51. § 1 St. Tr. 285.

|| Having, in a former paper, given Clarendon's contrast between the ancient and the Stuart judges from his history, we cannot resist the temptation of the following tribute also from his speech against the ship-money judges,—“It was once said, by one who always spoke excellently, *that the twelve judges were like the twelve lions under the throns of Solomon—under the throne in obedience, but yet lions.* Your lordships shall, this day, hear of six who were no lions—who, upon vulgar fears, delivered up the precious forts they were trusted with, almost without assault; and, in a tame and easy trance of flattery and servitude, lost and forfeited (shamefully forfeited) *that reputation, awe, and reverence, which the wisdom, courage, and gravity of their venerable predecessors had contracted and fastened to the places they now hold,*” &c. Rushworth's Collec. Part. 2, 1360.

¶ Sir Thomas More, among the various new schemes, which he represents as having been suggested to the king, states that some recommended him to send for the judges frequently to the palace, and make them argue before him those matters in which he was interested; “since that how unjust soever any of his

had become such undisguised advocates of the crown in state prosecutions, and their conduct had attracted such attention, that Mary, soon after her accession, on appointing the chief-justice of the Common Pleas, was obliged to express her desire, "that all her justices should not persuade themselves to sit in judgment otherwise for her majesty than for her subjects," and especially to charge him "to minister the law and justice indifferently, without respect of persons, and notwithstanding the old error amongst you, which did not admit any witness to speak, or any other matter to be heard in favour of the adversary, her majesty being party,* her pleasure was, that whatsoever could be brought in favour of the subject should be admitted to be heard."† In the early part of Elizabeth's reign, they are commonly said to have acted with great integrity and independence; thenceforth they degenerated, by rapid degrees, till they laid aside every semblance of decency under Charles I. Ere we part with this subject, let us notice a rather singular—coincidence. The chronicler of the Reformation tells us, that in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, "the lawyers in the most eminent places were generally favourers of popery; but," adds the Whig constitutional historian of England, on citing the statement, "if he means the judges, they did not long continue so."‡

pretensions may be, yet still some one or other of them, either out of contradiction to others, or the pride of singularity, or that they may make their court, would find out some pretence to give the king a fair colour to carry the point," &c. &c. "And they being thus gained, all of them may be sent to the Bench to give sentence boldly as the king would have it. For fair pretences will never be wanting when sentence is to be given in the prince's favour. It will either be said that equity lies of his side, or some words in the law will be found sounding that way, or some forced sense will be put on them: and, *when all other things fail, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended as that which is above all law, and to which religious judges had need to have a special regard.*" Utopia, lib. i. 76.

* Another of the devices of the disenthraling epoch charged, according to custom, on *ancient* and *early* times. Blackstone (vol. iv. 359) says "it was an ancient and commonly received practice," and refers for proof to "St. Tr. i. passim." In the index to the State Trials, title Witnesses, we find "Instances in early times of the refusal of judges to hear witnesses against the crown in criminal cases, 1 vol." &c.; and on looking to the references we find not a single instance of such a refusal prior to the Reformation. Coke says, "we never read in any act of parliament, ancient author, book case, or record, that in criminal cases the party accused should not have witnesses sworn for him, and therefore there is not so much as *scintilla juris* against it."—3 Inst. 79.

† 1 State Trials, 888.

‡ Strype, 269, cited in Hallam's Const. Hist. vol. i. 129. The inns of court were in that reign one of the strong holds of Catholicism, and were more than once purified by examining the members and sending them to the Fleet. Const. Hist. ib. & 152.

There is not a single instance to be found of any jury being punished by fine, or imprisonment, or any other means, for an improper verdict prior to the Reformation, except by the ancient process of attaintr. It had been from time immemorial a fundamental principle of law, and one which was observed with a scrupulosity at which modern lawyers would almost wonder, that the judges should answer only to the law, and juries to facts, and that neither should encroach on the jurisdiction of the other. All the authorities up to the Reformation, without a single exception, are clear against the practice of the days of enlightenment; and even the statute of Henry VII, for reviving or establishing the star-chamber, though many Protestant writers say its principal object was to punish the corruption of jurors, enumerates the various offences of which that court was to have cognizance, but contains not a syllable as to punishing juries for their verdicts.* It does not appear satisfactorily whether it was in the reign of Henry VIII or Edward VI, that this practice commenced: but in the case of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, in the first year of Mary's reign, the committal of the jury for acquitting him seems to have taken place as a matter of course, and without exciting any observation as to its being novel or extraordinary.† We find no notice, however, of any other case in that reign.‡ In succeeding times this practice became the usual and "constitutional" mode of taming refractory juries, till at length, in the reign of Charles II, the judges declared it illegal, as being unknown and opposed to the common law.§

* 3 Hen. 7, c. 1. See also Fortescue de Laudibus Leg. Angliæ, c. 20, 25, 27, 30, and notes by Amos. 5 Edw. 3, c. 10; 34 Edw. 3, c. 8; 38 Edw. 3, stat. 2, c. 1; Rot. Parl. 8 Edw. 3, 376; 6 Ric. 2, 140; 9 Hen. 5, 162-3; 29 Hen. 6, 213; 14 Edw. 4, 160; 6 St. Trials, 951 to 1026, and authorities there collected, especially the ancient cases cited in 1019 and 1020. In the reign of Edward III it was specially provided, as being "according to the course of the good laws anciently used," that "after the jury depart with the charge, no judge or other person should speak to them, to move or procure them, but that on their peril, and on their oaths, they should say the very truth." —Rot. P. vol. ii. 259-266. In the same reign it was provided that the clergy should in every parish excommunicate false jurors.—Id. 8 Edw. 3, 376.

† 1 St. Trials, 899. Griffin, the attorney-general, who prayed for holding the jury to bail, and obtained their committal, had held the same post under Edward VI. (Petyt, Jus. Parl. 137.) Some of the judges, too, had exercised themselves in packing juries in a former reign. (See Throgmorton's Speech, 1 St. Trials, 871.)

‡ Sir Thomas Smith, in the reign of Elizabeth, referring to two instances of juries having been punished for their verdicts, of which the above is supposed to be one, says they were then considered, by many, very violent, tyrannical, and contrary to the liberty and custom of the realm.—Commonw. lib. iii. c. 1, cited in Hallam's Const. Hist. vol. i. 52; where also, p. 53, see an instance of the Duke of Norfolk's refusing, in 1536, to question a jury for their verdict.

§ See Wagstaff's case, 2 Hale, P. C. 312, and Bushell's 6 St. Tr. 968.

Sir Edward Coke puts forth all his learning to prove that the star-chamber existed as a court of separate jurisdiction prior to the act of Henry VII, and cites fifteen cases, out of which, Brodie says, "nine are misrepresented, or quite inapplicable to the question. Of the two first cases quoted by him, Prynne could not discover a trace in the records referred to." The third was decided in chancery, the fourth and fifth in parliament. "The eighth, which the venerable author quotes as the most irrefragable, announcing that Lord Dyer had reported it under his own hand in the first of Elizabeth, when he thought it necessary to vindicate by authority the legality of the court, Prynne proves by the production of the record not to have had the most distant relation to the star-chamber."* We might however be content with what Coke himself acknowledges; he says, "THIS COURT IN ANCIENT TIMES SAT BUT RARELY, for three causes; first, for that enormous and exorbitant causes, which this court dealt withall only in those days, rarely fell out; secondly, this court dealt not with such causes as other courts of ordinary justice might condignly punish, *ne dignitas hujus curiæ vilesceret*. Thirdly, it VERY RARELY DID SIT, lest it should draw the king's privy council from matters of state *pro bono publico* to hear private causes, and the principal judges from the ordinary courts of justice."† After citing the statute of Henry, he next quotes Camden, who says, that Henry so increased and established the authority of the star-chamber by the aid of parliament, "*that some falsely supposed he was the first that instituted it.*"‡ Henry's own judges thought so:§ but this Sir Edward calls "a sudden opinion." With all his researches and inventions, he however pretends not to have found one case in which any man's ears or nose suffered dissection, for the maintenance of the constitution, or a jury was fined or imprisoned, or a proclamation voted to be law. He tickles the fancy with some pompously expressed "reasons of state" for the jurisdiction of this tribunal, but cites not one ancient writer. He could not; the people in those ages of "darkness" would no more endure such a court, than they would any other instrument of despotism. Fortescue counts it among the felicities of Englishmen,|| "that they are not sued at law, but before the ordinary judge,

* Hist. of B. Emp. Introd. p. 177-8. See the entire subject very ably discussed by this writer. † 4 Inst. 61.

‡ "Nonnulli primum instituisse falso opinantur." So cited by Coke, *Ib. supra*.

§ Plowd. Com. 393, and Y. B. 8, Hen. 7, 13.

|| De Laud. Leg. Angl. c. 26.

where they are treated with mercy and justice according to the laws of the land; neither are they impleaded in point of property, ~~or~~ arraigned for any capital crime how heinous soever, but before the king's judges, and according to the laws of the land." So jealous were they of any departure from the common-law mode of trial, that we find them opposing with the utmost zeal the equity jurisdiction of the Chancery and Exchequer, even though at first, all matters of fact seem to have been determined there by juries;* procuring an enactment in the last year of Henry V, that it should be a sufficient exception to discharge any matter in chancery, that the party had a proper remedy at common-law; and praying in the first year of Henry VI, that no one should be compelled to appear before the council or chancery for any matter, unless two judges of the King's Bench or Common Pleas should first certify that the complainant could not have any remedy at common-law.† So obnoxious was the star-chamber in the reign of Henry VII, even with the moderate jurisdiction it then exercised, and the caution with which it proceeded, that after a few years it was abandoned altogether; Henry VIII revived it, and his "true Protestant" successors brought it to perfection.‡

That the court of High Commission was first established by Elizabeth, is a matter which we believe even the Protestant association could not question.

Torture had never been known in England prior to the Reformation. The practice of it in continental countries is denounced by one of her "benighted" chancellors, as not deserving the name of a law, but as "*the very short cut to hell.*"§ Coke says, "there is no one opinion in our books or judicial records, (that we have seen and remember), for the maintenance of tortures or torments;" declares that it is against the great charter, cites a multitude of authorities as to the principles of the common-law not suffering a prisoner to be even chained prior to his conviction, adds that "all the said ancient authors are against any pain or torment to be put or inflicted upon the prisoner before attainder, nor after attainder, but

* See Rot. P. 4 Hen. 4, 507.

† Id. 1 Hen. 6, 189. Mr. Hallam mistook these and some other entries for evidence of the antiquity of the star-chamber, but Coke is obliged to refer them to their proper object. See 4 Inst. 82-3.

‡ See Brodie on this subject. Introd. p. 174-191.

§ "Vere non lex ritus talis esse perhibetur sed potius semita ipsa est ad Gehennam."—Porteus De Leg. Laud. Angliæ, c. 22.

according to the judgment;” and compares the proceeding with that of “Rhadamanthus, that cruel judge of hell,” who

“Castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri.”

“First he punished before he heard, and when he heard his denial, he compelled the party accused by torture to confess it.”* Yet Coke himself, on the solicitation of Lord Bacon, signed a warrant for its infliction.† Blackstone says, “trial by rack is utterly unknown to the law of England: though once, when the Dukes of Exeter and Suffolk and other ministers of Henry VI had laid a design to introduce the civil law into this kingdom as the rule of government, for a beginning thereof they erected a rack for torture, which was called in derision the Duke of Exeter’s daughter, and still remains in the Tower of London, where it was occasionally used as an engine of state, not of law, more than once in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.”‡ Thus Blackstone proves her title as the first English Rhadamanthus.—“The rack,” says Hallam, “seldom stood idle in the Tower for all the latter part of Elizabeth’s reign.”§ Archbishop Whitgift looked upon the practice as so Christian and laudable, that in drawing up the

* 3 Inst. 35.

† See Luder’s Tracts, chapter on the judges of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and 2 St. Tr. 774.

‡ 4 Com. 326.

§ Const. Hist. vol. i. 159. It is painful to find one of Mr. Hallam’s high character repeating, without consideration or authority, all manner of charges against Mary. Thus he says (vol. ii. p. 45), “The torture is perhaps more frequently mentioned in her short reign than in all former ages of our history put together.” He refers to Burnet, ii. app. 256, iii. 243, and Haynes, 196. What does Haynes prove? In the instructions for the council in the marches of Wales, given by him as in the first year of Mary, but without further date or any proof of their authenticity, authority is granted to the commissioners to “*put to tortures*” any person accused or suspected of treason, murder, or felony. It is strange that *tortures* is the only English word, not the name of a person or place, printed in italics in the entire document, though this extends to nine pages; that there is nothing in the context to prove that this was the word really used, as to *put to bail*, *to prison*, &c. would answer equally well; and that in the index the only two articles of these instructions which the author notices, is this one and another which he there describes as empowering the commissioners “*to dispense with acts of parliament*,” but which merely authorises them to compound for forfeitures under penal statutes. (See vol. i. p. 195.) In Burnet, ii. app. 256, there is not a single syllable as to torture. The document there given is merely a commission to certain persons to remove such bishops as they should ascertain, by “summary examination,” to have married against their vows, &c. In the second reference we find Burnet stating, “On the 9th of June, letters were written to the Lord North, and others, to put such obstinate persons as would not confess, to the torture, and there to order them at their discretion,” and then arguing against the impropriety of the practice; thus leaving it to an incautious reader to infer that the orders were carried into execution, without compromising his own veracity by asserting it. He does not give any of the letters, nor say that any one was tortured, nor does Haynes.

counts of an accusation against a member of the Commons, he founds two of them on the fact, that the culprit "condemneth (without exception of any cause,) racking of grievous offenders, as being cruel, barbarous, contrary to law, and unto the liberty of English subjects," and "thereupon giveth a *cauent* to those in the marches of Wales, who execute torture by virtue of *instructions under Her Majesty's hand*, to look to it," &c.* This system was the law of England till the assassination of Buckingham by Felton, when the ministry fearing that, if the latter were racked he would accuse some of themselves, caused the judges to come to a resolution, declaring that its infliction was illegal.† It has been inflicted since the Revolution in Scotland with the authority, and under the warrant of William III.‡

Imprisonments, impositions, and monopolies, without consent of parliament, have been so frequently discussed, are so palpably against the first principles of the constitution, and the history of them is so well known to the generality of readers, that it would be a waste of time and space to dwell on them.

Never, since the wars with John and Henry III, had there been any attempt to supersede all ordinary law by martial law, except during open flagrant war or insurrection, till the Reformation. From the time of Henry VIII to the breaking out of the civil wars, all the north was governed by martial law, or the sound discretion of the president.§ The putting a man to death by martial law during peace was murder by the common law. Even Mr. Hallam, disposed as he is to make admissions against the ancient administration of justice, says, "there hardly occurs an example of any one being notoriously put to death without form of trial, except in moments of flagrant civil war."|| It would be absurd to discuss such a question. Elizabeth's ordering the execution of Burchett, the riotous apprentices, and the vagrant paupers about London, by martial law¶ is a clear proof of England having then risen to the meridian of Turkey. Strype represents her as having been influenced in the proposition respecting Burchett by, perhaps the law and usage for some centuries before the Reformation?—No, but by the solitary precedent of Mary

* Strype's Whitgift, vol. i. p. 402.

† 3 St. Tr. 367, and Ellis' Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 267.

‡ 10 St. Tr. 754. William orders them to proceed "with all the rigour the law allows in such cases."

§ See 12 Rep. Case of the Lords Presidents.

|| Mid. Ages, vol. ii. p. 363.

¶ See Brodie, Introd. 224-6.

hanging Wyatt by martial law. It is notorious that Wyatt was regularly tried in the ordinary way, as well as all his followers. Brodie suggests that if any one were executed by martial law, it must have been some soldier who deserted from the queen's forces.* But there is no hint in any other writer† that any one was so disposed of. We must therefore attribute the precedent to Strype's pious invention.

The libel law, prior to the Reformation, was in a very barbarous state. No wretch could be punished for any libel or slander, even on royalty itself, unless the charge was false, and even then, the only punishment was a moderate fine and a moderate imprisonment. It could not be expected that such a vestige of barbarism should stand long before the full effulgence of gospel light and Protestant liberty. Accordingly, we find Edward VI making a law by proclamation that justices of the peace, without the intervention of a jury, should send tellers of false tales and lies to row in chains in the galleys; Elizabeth cutting off a pamphleteer's right hand, and issuing a proclamation to punish all libellers against her by martial law;‡ and finally, the star-chamber, in the reign of James I, passing a law to make all libels, whether true or false, little less than capital offences. In the account which has been transmitted to us of the making of this law, there is not the slightest allusion to the pre-existing statute and common law, or a pretence that it was sanctioned by any ancient authority or precedent, but merely by reasons of state, sound policy, and—SCRIPTURE.§

We might easily prove that each and every of the various other devices adopted from the time of Henry VIII to the Revolution for making slaves of the people was unknown to the lawyers of England before the time of that illustrious Reformer; but having directed attention to the source and the epoch of the preceding, we shall leave the discovery of the remainder to the common-sense of our readers. Nor shall we dwell further on the hostility of "the true Protestant Church" to free and liberal institutions, as exhibited in that period, or on the closeness of the resemblance between England and Turkey; nor contrast the cant of Protestants of every class and creed and order, and in all their various phases, in behalf of li-

* Introd. p. 210-16.

† Mr. Hallam repeats the statement of Mary's hanging men in Wyatt's rebellion in this way,—but cites no authority.—It was not worth while to examine the charges against such a monster.

‡ See Hallam's Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 40, 249, 250, 259.

§ See 5 Rep. 125. *De Libellis Famosis*. It would be an abuse of words to call it a decision. This remains in force up to the present moment.

berty and equality, with their practical devotion to despotism ; nor notice the ingenuity, with which they perverted the ancient forms of the constitution to promote the thralldom they loved, and opportunities for securing the rights of the nation into means for procuring some private personal advantages, by laying the people in fetters at the feet of a despot : for all these things are familiar to every reader of our history, and to every indifferent and impartial observer must prove to demonstration that the justice, the equality, the freedom, and the disinterestedness of their Catholic fathers, as embodied in the constitution, were things which they could not understand, that that constitution was an inheritance which they were utterly unfitted to enjoy, and that the best proof of worldly wisdom they exhibited, was in disposing of it, whenever they could, after the fashion of Esau, their worthiest Scriptural prototype.

Let us come now to that epoch to which Protestantism is so fond of reverting, from which the Church of England dates its hostility to arbitrary government, and for which it is still in the habit of annually chanting its pœans. Protestant ingenuity has been so employed to heap on Catholicism the opprobrium excited by the conduct of James II, that plain and palpable as the facts are to all who examine history for themselves, we deem it necessary to direct attention to the real culprits.

What were James's crimes ? He continued the duties, which had expired with the death of Charles, without the authority of parliament. Was this a crime in the eyes of Protestants ? It was his Protestant ministers who sanctioned and advised it. His Protestant parliament made no observation on it, his Protestant subjects made no objection, but professed their readiness to pay them, his Protestant universities maintained its lawfulness by the law of God, and the society of the Middle Temple, by the law of the land, adding that it had never been disputed, except by persons engaged in rebellion against his father.* He dispensed with acts of parliament by his declaration in favour of liberty of conscience. Eleven out of his twelve Protestant judges solemnly decided that he had a legal right to do so ;† the laws of England were the king's laws, and it was therefore an inseparable

* Fox, 90-2 ; Lingard, vol. xiii. 3-4.

† It is a matter of dispute whether one of the eleven was not a secret convert to Popery. The twelfth, who denied the dispensing power, was so little thanked for his conduct that he was left out of the commission after the Revolution, and was not even received at court by William. See 11 St. Tr. 1198, and Mackintosh's Hist. 59.

prerogative of the crown, to dispense with them when it saw occasion.* The society of the Middle Temple again volunteered an address of thanks for his "asserting his own royal prerogatives, the very life of the law and of their profession," and declared their resolution to defend "with their lives and fortunes, that divine maxim *a Deo Rex, a rege Lex*;†" addresses, thanking him for this assertion of his royal prerogative, came up "from every description of persons, the clergy, the non-conformists of all denominations, the grand juries, the justices of the peace, the corporations, the inhabitants of towns,"‡ and all other classes whose creeds had taught them to rejoice in thralldom. "The truth," says Mr. Fox, "seems to be, that the king in asserting his unlimited power, rather fell in with the humour of the prevailing party, than offered violence to it."§ The dispensing power had been claimed by all our sovereigns, since the time of Elizabeth; was asserted by the great modern father of the law, with all the vehemence to be expected from a Stuart placeman;|| was admitted in its full extent by the House of Commons which extorted the petition of right from Charles, and by Hampden's counsel in the ship-money case;¶ even in the Declaration of Rights, was not denounced in all cases, but "as it had been assumed and exercised of late;"—in the Bill of Rights was expressly recognised as legal, up to the end of that session, by a clause providing "*that from and after this present session of parliament, no dispensation by non obstante of, or to any statute, or any part thereof shall be allowed,*" except in such cases as should be provided for by statute; was looked upon by the House of Lords as so inherent a part of the constitution, that it was with extreme difficulty they could be induced to assent to the above qualified denial of it;** in 1766, was strenuously maintained by Lords Camden and Chatham, in a public debate in the House of Lords;†† and regarded as so unquestion-

* Hallam, Const. Hist. vol. ii. 407, referring to case in 11 St. Trials, 1165, 2 Shower's Rep. 475.

+ Id. p. 418. What an inversion of the barbarous Popish maxim, *Lex facit Regem*!

‡ 1b. § Hist. of Reign of James, p. 155.

|| 12 Rep. 18.

¶ Hume, vol. viii. 259.

** See Hallam, Const. Hist. vol. ii. 451.

†† See "Debates on the Bill of Indemnity for those concerned in the late embargo."—Parl. Hist. vol. xvi. 245. "Some of the ministry and their friends, who had been not only the warmest advocates for liberty, but who set up as the patrons and defenders of it, were charged with such a change in their minds and opinions that they vindicated the present exertion of prerogative not only from the peculiar circumstances that seemed to influence it, but they also supported it as a matter of right, and asserted that a dispensing power in cases of necessity was one of the prerogatives inherent in the crown."—Id. 247, and "they cited the opinion of Mr. Locke," &c. 248.

able a prerogative, that it was with the greatest difficulty Lord Mansfield could persuade that House to allow a bill to pass for indemnifying those officers, who had violated the law under the royal authority ; and even in this nineteenth century has been considered by the Whig constitutional historian of England, as so consistent with law, that he declares himself in favour of the correctness of the decision of the eleven Protestant judges.* Was this a crime then in the eyes of Protestants ? He might have dispensed, not only with impunity, but with glory, with all the laws that ever appeared on the statute book, provided he did not restrict the ability of the Church of England to persecute dissenters from her articles. This was "the head and front" of his offending. It is acknowledged that the second declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, was published more for the benefit of the dissenters, than of the Catholics, as these were sufficiently protected by the decision of the judges.† He established a court of high com-

* Const. Hist. vol. ii. 407. As Mr. Hallam considers this an *ancient* prerogative, and following the unscrupulous misrepresentations by Coke in his reports—edited under the care of James I.—of the case in the Year Book, 2 Hen. 7, f. 6, says it was solemnly resolved in that case that a patent of the office of sheriff for life, with a *Non Obstante* clause dispensed with the 23 Hen. 6, c. 8, which expressly provided that no such clause should avail to make such a patent good ; we may remind him that Coke, in his 2 Inst. 559, gives an "advised resolution" of all the judges, in 34 Hen. 6, to the contrary effect, and that Petyt (Jus. Parl. 75 to 180) proves beyond contradiction, that no such doctrine was known or recognised in law even so late as the reign of Mary ; that in that case, in the Year Book, the 23 Hen. 6, c. 8, was not even mentioned, and that "there was never any resolution at all given," the court causing the following singular entry to be added after the observations which had been made in the discussion of the question by a few of their number:—"But as this is the first time, the justices and serjeants, and the king's attorney, agree that they shall study well for the matter and that they shall be heard, and that what they have now said goes for nothing, as they wish to be at their liberty to say what they please, and to hold for nothing what they have now said." "*Mes pur ceo qu'il le fust le primer temps les justices et serjeants et l'attorney le roy agree que ils student bien pur le matter et ils serra oies et ceo que ils dient fuit pur nient car ils voile este a lour libertes a dire que ils voile et pens pur riens que ils ussent a ore dit.*" Reference is also made to the Year Book, 11 Hen. 7, f. 12, as to the difference in dispensing power in cases of *mala prohibita* and *mala in se*. Petyt points out that all that appears there is merely the *gratis dictum* of the chief-justice. Such are the only cases which the Protestant advocates of despotism could find in those annals of Catholic jurisprudence, though extending through so many "dark" and tyrannical ages. In 1391 the Commons allow Richard II, with the advice of the Lords, to relax the statute of provisors till the next parliament, under several conditions, and with this protestation recorded on the roll, "*qe cest assent q' est une novellerie et n' ad mys este fuit devant ces heures, ne soit trait en ensamble n'en consequence en temps avenir*"—"that this assent which is a novelty and has not been done before this time, shall not be drawn into an example or precedent in time to come." Rot. P. 15 Ric. 2, 285.—Contrast this with the above "glorious" &c. "as it has been assumed and exercised of late." See also R. P. 5 Ric. 2, 114; 17 Ric. 2, 327; besides authorities collected in Petyt.

† Const. Hist. vol. ii. 416.

mission. Did it consist of Papists? He dispensed with some statutes in the universities. The right of the crown to do so since the Reformation had not been doubted.* He scoured the corporations. Charles did it by a worse, but more circuitous process, corrupting and packing the courts and juries. Who were James's principal agents in this business, and who gained the greatest number of corporate offices by it? the dissenters.† He maintained a standing army. A Protestant parliament voted him ample funds, which enabled him to do so. He attempted to influence the elections unduly. What a crime in the eyes of Protestants! It had not been the practice since the Reformation,—peculiar facilities were not provided for it immediately after the Revolution,—it has not been known since. Of course, not! Had he, instead of nibbling at trifles, issued royal certificates, transmuting all the hamlets and cottages on his estates, and the estates of his friends, into "free and independent" boroughs, with them swamped all opposition, and thus abolished "the true Protestant Church," by the same process by which it was established, he would have been acting in the most constitutional manner imaginable—according to Protestants. He ordered the clergy to read the declaration in favour of liberty of conscience in the churches. As head of the Church he had a right to do so.‡ They had never before refused to read anything ordered by their head, and would have made no objection to read any injunctions of an opposite character.§ "The injunction," says Hallam, "to read the declaration of indulgence in churches, was less offensive to scrupulous men, than the similar command to read the declaration of Sunday sports in the time of Charles I; nor was any one punished for a refusal to comply with the one, while the prisons had been filled with those who had disobeyed the other."|| The seven bishops he only tried for a libel, in denying his dispensing power, and might have convicted, had he pursued the long-established Protestant practice of packing, bullying, or bribing the jury. "No man," says Hallam, "had been deprived of his liberty by an illegal warrant; no man except in the single, though important instance of Magdalen college,

* Const. Hist. vol. ii. 421.

+ *Ib.*

† See, as to this being still a disputed question with the dignitaries of the Establishment, "An Appeal on behalf of Church Government." London: 1840. Supposed to have been published under the sanction of Archbishop Whately.

§ They read Charles II's declaration respecting the dissolution of his two last parliaments, and his proceedings against the Rye-house plotters. See Sir J. Macintosh's Hist. of Rev. 242-3.

|| *Id. supra*, 429.

had been despoiled of his property, and even in that case Elizabeth would have probably acted as he did.* If he deferred assembling the parliament for a few years, that was no offence in the eyes of Protestants, and he did so contrary to the wishes of the Catholics who eagerly pressed for its convocation.† Where is the proof of the Catholics having, even in that hour of their triumph, shewn a disregard for the liberties of England? Amidst all the servile addresses which poured in on James for his assertion of his dispensing prerogative, why have not our calumniators pointed out one from any body of Catholics, eulogizing him for maintaining that first principle of despotism?‡ Even Hume admits that all judicious persons of the Catholic communion were disgusted with his measures, and foresaw their consequences; and that Lords Arundel, Powis, and Bellasyse, remonstrated against them, and suggested more moderate measures.§ The Pope himself, and the Spanish ambassador, pointed out the indiscretion of them.|| It was the great misfortune of the Catholics, that he took a few of them into his council; as thereby his Protestant advisers and enemies, had the opportunity of throwing on them the whole opprobrium of his conduct. As Fox observes, he had no need of Catholics to establish a despotism, if he only adhered to the Protestant Church; for effecting this object *“he could not take a more judicious resolution than that which he had declared in his speech to the privy-council,”* at his accession, *“of making the government of his predecessor the model for his own.”* He therefore continued in their offices, notwithstanding the personal objections he might have to some of them, *those servants of the late king, during whose administration that prince had been so successful in subduing his subjects, and eradicating almost from the minds of Englishmen every sentiment of liberty.”*¶ The same writer, after detailing the violent and arbitrary proceedings of James in the first year of his reign, observes that the most furious supporters of those measures were not Catholics. “There is no reason therefore to impute any of James’s violence afterwards to the suggestions of his Catholic advisers, since he, who had been engaged

* Id. 421.

† Mackintosh, 419, note.

‡ See Lingard, vol. xiii. 58, as to differences amongst the Catholics with regard to his declarations. Of 180 addresses presented to him in 1687 there were only two from Catholics; the rest were divided almost equally between the Church and Dissenters.—Mackintosh’s Hist. of Revolution, 176.

§ Vol. viii. 265.

|| Butler’s Memorials of the Catholics, vol. iv. 190.

¶ Hist. 78-9.

in the series of measures above related *with Protestant counsellors and coadjutors, had surely nothing to learn from papists, (whether priests, Jesuits or others) in the science of tyranny.* Lastly, from this account, we are enabled to form some notion of the state of Scotland at a time when the parliament of that kingdom was called to set an example for this; and we find it to have been a *state of more absolute slavery, than at that time subsisted in any part of Christendom.*"*

Whoever, says Hallam, looks at the conduct of his first parliament, "their large grant of a permanent revenue, to the annual amount of two millions, rendering a frugal prince in time of peace out of all dependence on his people" &c. &c.; "their supply of £700,000, after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, for a standing army, will be inclined to believe, *that, had James been as zealous for the Church of England, as his father, he would have succeeded in establishing a power so nearly despotic, that neither the privileges of parliament, nor much less those of private men, would have stood in his way.*"†

In short, his "true Protestant" subjects, are universally acknowledged to have been the most pliant tools of despotism he could have selected. They declared his royal word a better security for their religion and liberties, than any which the law could devise;‡ and so long as he did not interfere with the Church, would have been only delighted to clothe him with the most absolute civil authority.§ In fine, the best possible defence of the Catholic party under him, is the fact, that all the grievances complained of in the Declaration of Rights were, and had been, Protestant practices, and that they had been all without a single exception originated, promoted, and carried into execution by Protestants.

But, omitting all other considerations, and granting that James really was guilty of some transgression against the laws and liberties of England as understood by Protestants—that the resistance to him was not caused solely by his thwarting the religious prejudices of the nation—and that, in short, the Revolution was something more respectable than the successful ebullition of those opinions and pretences, which we have witnessed in our own days, as to the toleration of Catholics being a violation of the constitution deserving to be punished with the forfeiture of the throne—granting that William was

* Id. 125.

† Const. Hist. vol. ii. 396, and note as to reasons why he represents the 700,000, as being offered for the support of a standing army.

‡ Fox, 78.

§ Id. 154-5, &c.

influenced by some more "glorious, pious," and laudable object than that of making himself king of England, and England a cat's paw in the war against France—that the Whigs were actuated by the most exalted and disinterested motives, and entirely free from any taint of personal ambition—and that the Tories had no other desire than to assert and secure the rights and liberties of the people—let us see whether the mode in which they proceeded was worthy of the eulogies and admiration so lavishly bestowed on them.

The Commons resolve, on the 28th of January, "That King James the Second, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant;" and on the following day, "That it has been found by experience to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of the Protestant religion, to be governed by a Popish prince."* These are sent up to the Lords, who agree, of course, to the latter without any delay; but, in a house of ninety-nine, agree only by a majority of seven, that there was an original contract between king and people, or, in other words, that the king had not a divine right to the throne. They and the Commons squabble for four or five days on the question whether the king had *deserted* or *abdicated* the government; they resolve, by a majority of eleven,† that, though James had committed all the aforesaid offences, the throne was not vacant; the squabble proceeds; and it is only on the 6th of February, and after William had exercised a proper degree of influence, that they agree by a majority of four to the resolution as first presented by the Commons. The crown is then settled on William and Mary, the offer of it being preceded by the Declaration of Rights. The former is accepted; of the latter "our glorious deliverer" takes not the slightest notice. The regal dignity being thus disposed of, the convention voted themselves to be a parliament.

Protestants look on this affair as sufficient to counterbalance all their past and present devotion to despotism. We readily admit, that as a Protestant sort of re-assertion of the first rights of mankind, it is well enough; but we defy all the calumniators of Popery to point out any such specimen of shuf-

* Lords' Journ. 110.

† In a house of 99.

fling, quibbling, and fiction, in the history of the whole Catholic world. It was decided by a majority of seven that James had not a divine right. If he did violate the compact between king and people, and the fundamental laws, why not state what they were, or why resort to the fiction—the gross, palpable, unbelievable fiction—that he abdicated the government? Why condescend to put such a falsehood on record? Is it not a legislative admission of what is notorious without it, that had James the sense or courage to remain in the kingdom, he could not, under Protestant principles, be deposed, whatever might be his transgressions? But the paltry, contemptible character of the entire proceeding is too self-evident to all but those educated in the slavish doctrines of the Established Church to require further comment.

Mr. Hallam says that in the “revolution of 1899 there was as remarkable an attention shown to the formalities of the constitution, allowance made for the men and the times, as in that of 1688.”* How very kind and considerate! Never was a suit at law determined with a more scrupulous regard to even technical niceties of form and expression, than the deposition of Richard II. The men of that day merely did what they knew they had an unquestioned right to do, and in the manner which had been accustomed from time immemorial; and met, as it were by anticipation, all the objections urged by Tory lawyers against the Convention. With them you find no shuffling, no quibbling, no fiction. The writs for the assembling of the parliament issued in Richard’s own name; but, as the day before the members assembled in form, he signed a document renouncing all claim and title to royal power and dignity, releasing his subjects from their allegiance, and confessing his own incompetence to govern them, and the propriety of deposing him for his notorious demerits,† they assumed not the title of a parliament, but that of states of the realm,‡ and allowed as many people as could get into Westminster Hall to take part in the proceedings with them. Richard’s renunciation being read before the Lords, “*and the people of the said kingdom assembled then and there in a very great multitude*,”§ “all the states and people there present were asked if they wished to admit it for their own interest

* Mid. Ages, vol. ii. 289.

† “*Propter mea demerita notoria non immerito deponendum.*”—R. P. 1 Hen. 4, 417.

‡ Id. 415-422, &c.

§ “*Populoque dicti regni tunc ibidem propter factum parliamenti in maxima multitudine congregato.*”—Ib.

and the profit of the kingdom;" and each separately, and in common with the people, unanimously and cordially admitted it.* They next, "for the purpose of removing all scruple and sinister suspicion,"† set forth in thirty-three articles the various crimes of which he had been guilty, stating the mode and time and place of the commission of each—and, above all, opening with his coronation oath—that was their "original contract." The articles having been read, and the charges having been deemed notorious, and sufficient to authorise his deposition, regard being had also to his renunciation and confession, they agree unanimously that they ought, "ex abundanti et ad cautelam,"‡ to proceed to his deposition in due form, and then publicly appoint seven commissioners to carry the sentence of deposition into execution, AS IN LIKE CASES HAD BEEN OBSERVED BY THE ANCIENT CUSTOM OF THE REALM.§ This having been done, "as soon as it was MANIFEST that the kingdom of England was VACANT,"|| Henry of Lancaster made his claim to it; and all the states being severally and collectively asked what they thought of such claim agreed, together with the entire people, without any difficulty or delay, that he should reign over them.¶ Henry was then made king in due form; and—instead of the states voting themselves to be a parliament—he issued new writs, and made proclamation for the assembling of a new parliament.** The contrast does not end here. These men committed no perjury; they had never taken an oath of unqualified, uncondi-

* "Status iidem et populus reputantes &c. &c. renanciationem et cessionem huiusmodi singuli singillatim et in communi cum populo unanimiter et concorditer admiserunt"—Ib. b.

† "Pro omni scrupulo et sinistra suspicione tollendis."—Ib.

‡ Id. 422, a, b.

§ "Prout in casibus consimilibus de antiqua consuetudine dicti regni fuerat observatum."—Ib.

|| "Et confestim ut constabat ex præmissis et eorum occasione regnum Angliæ cum pertinuis suis vacare."—Ib.

¶ "Iidem status cum toto populo absque quacunque difficultate vel mora ut dux præfatus super eos regnaret unanimiter consenserunt." Id. 423.

** Mr. Hallam concludes that as there was only an interval of six days allowed for the meeting of the new parliament, and the same members appeared under both writs, there was not a second election. But if they could dispense with the ceremony of a re-election, they might have dispensed with that of issuing new writs. This is a matter which can be satisfactorily settled only by an intimate knowledge of the rate at which couriers travelled in those times. The shortest time for assembling was, we believe, eleven days. Members of parliament in their accounts with their constituents, fixed their average day's journey at from thirty to forty miles. (Mid. Ages, vol. ii. p. 323.) See the protestation in the rolls on the part of Henry, that the above "abbreviation" of the time of summons was not intended to prejudice the states for which the parliament came, &c. &c.

tional allegiance; they had never made an affidavit against the lawfulness of resisting oppression. On the contrary, the Lords and Commons, ten years previously, had compelled Richard to take his coronation oath a second time, they themselves merely swearing to support the judgments, ordinances, and statutes passed in that parliament, and the ancient good laws and customs of the realm.*

When Mr. Hallam thinks that allowance must be made for those men and their times, before they can be compared with the pensioners of the Convention, what would any other Protestant writer say of them?

But whatever be the opinion as to the mode in which the Convention acted in settling the crown on the Deliverer, yet when they made themselves a Parliament, they established some imperishable titles to the gratitude of Englishmen—by the Bill of Rights, for instance. Look at that document—first of all recollecting, that not one of the abuses which it purports to condemn was known before the Reformation—and say, could we have desired any better illustration of the real tendencies of Protestantism? See how vague and indefinite are the declarations about obvious rights and palpable abuses. It would seem as if they feared and hated liberty, and wished to mask their feelings under the specious unmeaning phraseology which they were compelled to employ, in order to make some show of justification for the commotion they had excited. So much eulogy has been passed upon this document, that we may as well lay it before our readers. It declares, that the pretended power of suspending and dispensing with laws (the latter “as assumed and exercised of late”) “the levying money by pretence of prerogative,” “the raising or keeping a standing army in time of peace without consent of parliament,” the “commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other courts and commissions of like nature,” and “all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction,” are illegal: “that it is the subject’s right to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecution for such petitioning are illegal;” “that the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law;” that “election of members of parliament ought to be free;” that “proceedings in parliament ought not to be questioned out of parliament;” “that ex-

* R. P. 11 Ric. 2, 252.

cessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted; that jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high-treason ought to be freeholders;" "and that for redress of grievances, &c. &c., parliaments ought to be held frequently." Did this add one single security to popular liberty beyond what was enjoyed prior to the Reformation? Will any lawyer or statesman say so? See how they frittered away the ancient fundamental principle of the constitution as to annual sessions of Parliament, by the clause that "Parliaments ought to be held FREQUENTLY." How expressive! How illustrative of the men of the "disenthralment and impulse!" From the time of Alfred it had been the law and custom to summon the great council of the nation once a-year at least, for the redress of grievances, making and amending the laws, and providing against all sorts of danger. Since the regular institution of the Commons as a separate house to the Reformation there had been three statutes passed, providing that Parliaments should be held once a-year, "or more often if need be."* The triennial bill, wrested from Charles I, had been repealed, when, after the Restoration, the doctrines of the Church of England recovered the ascendant. Now an opportunity of guarding against long parliaments and corruption, or even the dispensing with parliaments altogether, was afforded; but the genius of Protestantism prevailed; and if we have since had annual sessions, we owe them to the accident of the immense permanent revenue granted to William not being sufficient to meet the expenses of the wars in which he at once plunged the kingdom.† Up to the Reformation, for each session there was a fresh election. Since even this "glorious revolution," the "true Protestant" doctrine has been, that a parliament once met is entitled to sit during the life of the sovereign that summons it. Such was the law and custom in this country up to the year 1768, when the octennial bill was reluctantly conceded.‡ In England the triennial bill§ was extorted from William's ministry by the Tory and country party, "by ex-

* 4 Edw. 3, c. 14. By the 5 Edw. 2, c. 29, "the king shall hold a parliament once in the year, or twice if need be. By 36 Edw. 3, c. 10, "For maintenance of the said articles and statutes, and redress of divers mischiefs and grievances which daily happen, a parliament shall be holden once every year as another time was ordained by statute."

† Bolingbroke's Diss. 165.

‡ See Plowd. vol. i. 388.

§ 6 & 7 W. & M. c. 2.

press bargain as the price of the supply;* but so detrimental to the constitution did the Whigs—the only true and acknowledged Protestant guardians of popular liberty—feel this to be, that at the first feasible opportunity they repealed it, and fixed the duration of parliament at what was commonly considered the average duration of human life. If, then, the “constitutional” doctrine has not been carried into practice up to the present moment, we owe it not to the Bill of Rights, or to any Protestant regard for popular liberty—for no one accuses the Tories of any such unscriptural predilection—but to a compromise between those rival factions, with a view solely to the best mode of conducting their contests for their own private interests.

But why need we pursue this theme? Is there a doubt as to the tendency of the supporters of the Established Church from that period to the present? When and where have they shown any attachment to popular liberty? Has not that Church maintained to the present moment her original character of hostility to all free and liberal institutions? Is she not the great enemy of the people’s rights?—and are not her friends invariably the antagonists of the people? Can any wild rhodomontade persuade us that she is the friend of freedom? We beg of our readers, when they hear any one lauding her devotion to civil liberty, to ask for some distinct palpable proofs; not to be satisfied with the philosophical declamation to which, in the absence of facts—or rather in the teeth of all history—her advocates are driven as their last resort; and, if possible, to cross-examine those gentry as to certain trifling historical incidents, of which they are sure to be oblivious. For instance, after hearing a long vapid oration about those best possible specimens of “true Protestant” lovers of liberty—the Old Whigs—let them ask, are these the worthy gang who for half a century held the government of these kingdoms in their hands, and with liberty and the people continually on their lips, never passed a law for the promotion or protection of either, but did all they could to crush the one and degrade the other, and of whom it was truly said that in their boastful search after liberty, they reminded one strongly of—Herod in search of the Innocents? After hearing a similar oration on those colonists of freedom, the Irish Cromwellian Protestants, let them ask, are these the dregs, and *saints*, and sweepings of all England, who, after having

* See Ralph, vol. ii. 409-10, 534-5.

canted, robbed, and murdered during a regular apprenticeship, in "the good old cause" of rebellion and regicide, like genuine Protestant Esaus, sold the inheritance of a parliamentary constitution for the Act of Settlement "mess of pottage," and from the time of their being again allowed, after the Revolution,* to assemble, until the Union, proved themselves such samples of gospel light, liberty, and godliness, as we hope will never again disgrace human nature? Queries of this kind may be multiplied to any number—for, in fact, the history of "true Protestantism" is the history of slaves and slavery. The facts are plain, and palpable, and obvious to every one; but such has been the success of this system in deluding the world with the notion of its "disenthraling" and "impelling" qualities, that men—and especially *philosophers*—have tortured their fancies to assign to some other cause those events which, if they had made use of their common-sense only, they would have seen, were the genuine and inevitable results of "the true Protestant Church." The circumstance also of the Parliament having been preserved while similar assemblies had been long superseded on the Continent, aided the delusion, most persons supposing that this preservation was owing solely to the influence of the Establishment; whereas it was in spite of that Church, and in consequence of the love of freedom ingrafted in the hearts of Englishmen by centuries of Popish tuition, that such an unscriptural nuisance was continued. But was that Parliament anything more than the vampire phantom of that which, before the Reformation, made the English people the first among the nations in glory, freedom, justice, and happiness? Did it render the monarch less absolute? Was there a contemporary monarch in Europe out of Russia and Turkey, less absolute in matters where juries could not interfere than either of the two last Georges? If they did not indulge in what Mr. Hallam appropriately styles the lunacy of despotism, neither did their continental contemporaries; and to the respective subjects of either it made little difference whether it was by parliamentary or military mercenaries that their royal whims were carried into execution. When the people of England awoke from the trance into which the drugs and devices of the Establishment had thrown them for centuries, they saw how slight was the real difference between them and their neighbours; they became conscious by degrees of the extent to which they had been

* They had not met since 1636.

enslaved and plundered ; insisted on some reparation ; threatened rebellion, rather than remain longer in the thralldom to which they had been reduced ; succeeded, through the aid of Irish papistry, in obtaining some improvement of their condition, are still struggling for further improvement, and will, we humbly hope, never relax in their efforts till they are restored to that political influence in the state which they possessed before the Reformation.

The consciousness of having trespassed too much already on the patience of our readers, compels us to omit innumerable illustrations of the tendencies of "the true Protestant Church," which it would require some philosophical ingenuity to explain away satisfactorily. We therefore must simply beg of our readers to recollect that the history of England from the Reformation to the middle of the last century, and of Irish Orangeism to within the last few years, is the history of the genuine, unadulterated, pure, and undefiled working of "the true Protestant Church ;"—that all the atrocities, all the desecrations which it records, of those principles of truth, and right, and equity, that are regarded with veneration even among the untutored children of nature, had the support and sanction of that establishment, and were considered by it and its friends essential to its salvation ;—that it is only since "dissent, and Popery, and infidelity have been stalking stark naked through the land, seeking whom they may devour," that the administration of justice has been improved, and public men have affected the slightest regard for what are commonly called public virtues—that those of whom the nation is proudest were by no means the idols of the Establishment, or believers in its infallibility—that up to the present moment its greatest friends are the patrons of all manner of corruptions and abuses—that it has ever been the chief agent in crushing, degrading, and libelling the people, and in robbing them of all their ancient privileges—that it still continues the chief agent in opposing all their attempts at improvement—that, in short, in every quarter of the globe where it has been able to rear its head, it is invariably found leagued with the enemies of the first and dearest rights of mankind—and then conclude that it is the only cradle and ægis of human liberty—the only palladium of the British constitution.

But whatever Protestants have been, or whatever Catholics were before the Reformation, since that event these have been as devoted to arbitrary power as the most "enlightened" of their opponents. When, where, and how have

they proved this devotion? The principal charge against Mary was on the score of religious persecution. She did not attempt to set up a despotism or rule without Parliament, or make it a cipher. When a "disenthraling" fellow, "that had been Cromwell's servant, and much employed by him in the suppression of monasteries," wrote a book to show how she might raise herself above all law, "and rule according to her pleasure," and caused it to be delivered to her through the Spanish ambassador, she, poor benighted creature, utterly ignorant of the gospel rights of princes, "disliked it, and judged it contrary to the oath she had made at her coronation,"* but gave it to Gardiner, and begged of him to state his honest opinion of it; who, after reading it, declared it a pity "that so noble and virtuous a lady should be endangered with the pernicious devices of such lewd and subtle sycophants, for the book is naught, and most horrible to be thought on."† The noble, wise, excellent, and "well-worthy-of-observation" provisions, whereby the laws and customs of England, and the rights and privileges of the subjects, were secured from danger, and Spaniards and other foreigners were forbidden to be appointed to any offices in these kingdoms, by the statute settling her marriage with Philip, extort eulogy from Coke.‡ That these provisions were owing "almost wholly" to Gardiner, is acknowledged by Burnet, who says he adopted them in consequence of the preceding incident, lest the queen should by any chance, after her marriage with Philip, fall into such designs against the liberties of the people. Of what Protestant bishop can such a tale be told? "The singular and wonderful liberty" of the people, and their freedom from taxation, under Mary, are the theme of admiration with even the Venetian ambassador.§ The Catholics supported Charles I against his opponents. Will that be a charge against them by the Church of England? But whom else could they join? Were they to throw themselves at the feet of the men who, "for the honour and glory of the Lord," would butcher, pauperise, and enslave them? They had not been taught so to disregard the first rights of human nature as to submit to voluntary servitude on any terms, even though their own enthrallment might serve as a decoy to secure the enthrallment of others. Such feats of Helot heroism they left to the disciples of "enlightenment."|| Did the Catholic Parliament in this coun-

* Burnet, ii. 559.

† *Ib.*

‡ 3 Inst. 225.

§ Lingard, vol. vii. 245, note.

|| See the conduct of the Dissenters as to the passing of the Test and Corporation Act. 25 Ch. 2, c. 2.

try under James II, imitate his Protestant Parliaments in Scotland and England? By one of their statutes they deprived him of even the power of pardoning; and his own attorney-general, Sir Richard Nagle, refused to pass a warrant of his for a pardon, contrary to the statute, telling him plainly to his face, it was not in his power to grant one. How unlike a "true Protestant" dispensing prerogative lawyer! By another act they did that very thing which ninety years afterwards acquired such glory for the Protestants, and compensated in some slight degree for their preceding devotion to thralldom—they declared that the Parliaments of England could not bind Ireland, and provided that no writs of error should be sued in that country, the preamble containing the very same principle afterwards relied on in 1782, that though the Irish people were not represented in those parliaments, yet "of late times some have pretended" that their acts were binding on Ireland; "and as those late opinions are against justice and natural equity, so they tend to the great oppression of the people here, and to the overthrow of the fundamental constitution of this realm,"* &c. &c. Yet it required ninety years' experience and "enlightenment," the example and excitement of the American revolution, and the convincing arguments and fiery eloquence of a man, (whose very name, by-the-by, was presumptive evidence of his being only a professional believer in the Thirty-nine Articles), to inculcate this first principle of human right and the British constitution on the Protestants of this kingdom. It was because our Catholic fathers could not be bribed or bullied into betraying the rights and interests of their country, that those illustrious specimens of Protestantism—the old Whigs—contrived by a manoeuvre to rob them of the franchise. In short, it was by an Irish majority the slave-trade was abolished, and the Reform Bill carried; it is by an Irish majority the friends of popular privileges are now kept in office; and by such a majority will the people of England finally recover all those ancient rights, of which the "disenthraling and impelling enlightenment" has robbed them.

Why, then, charge papists with devotion to arbitrary power? Why charge them with the great fire of London?

* See "An Account of the Transactions of the late King James in Ireland." London: 1690.

ART. II.—*Histoire du Pape Pie VII.* Par M. Le Chevalier Artaud, ancien Chargé-d'Affaires de France à Rome, à Florence, et à Vienne, de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, &c. &c. &c. 8vo. Deuxième Edition. Paris: 1837.

IT is not easy to account for the apparent indifference with which the history of Pius VII has been regarded in these countries. Nearly twenty years have been permitted to elapse since the close of his long and interesting reign, without a single permanent record in the Catholic literature of England. It is true, that the exigencies of our literary position have left but little leisure from duties of absolute necessity; but it is almost incredible, notwithstanding, that, in a country for which it possesses a peculiar interest, not even a single volume should have been spared, to a period the most eventful, perhaps, since the early struggles of Christianity—a period of alternate triumph and humiliation for the Church—crowding together within its chequered history, incidents of the most opposite character, and events which by their nature might almost seem whole centuries asunder.

Never were the prospects of religion on the continent more gloomy and, to speak humanly, more desperate, than in the years which immediately preceded the pontificate of Pius VII. The hurricane, which desolated the social world, seemed to have spent but little of its fury; the gore was yet fresh on the crimsoned floors of the Carmelites; the shattered altar and desecrated temple, still told that Impiety had firmly enthroned herself where the holy place once stood. The national councils of France heard, without a murmur, save, perhaps, of applause, open professions of the atheistic creed,*—scornful disavowals of any "God save Nature;" faith became all but synonymous with imbecility; the name of Christian was a bye-word of reproach; the last trace of Christian history was blotted from the annals of France; and the silly dates of an anti-social republic, had usurped the place of the blessed era of the world's redemption!

And it would seem as if this monstrous state of things had begun to acquire permanence and consistency. The earlier impieties of the revolution might be regarded as a passing frenzy, whose very violence must produce a certain and speedy re-action. But the unholy spectres, whose gambols had then

* Dec. 14, 1792, and again Nov. 14, 1793.

appalled the world, now seemed to assume a form equally revolting, but less vague and undefined. Infidelity took upon herself the guise of religion. The churches of St. G n v  ve and N  tre Dame were profaned by her service; and the miscalled rites of *L'Etre Supr  me* proclaimed, more significantly than even atheism itself, the hopeless corruption of all true worship. How were the glories of the "eldest daughter of the Church" humbled in the dust, when, in the face of once Catholic France, a solemn decree of the convention declared, that "the French people acknowledged the existence of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul?"* It was, indeed, an awful period; fearfully were men "become vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart darkened," when even this mockery of religion was among the causes which brought its proposer, Robespierre, to the scaffold!

The "Reign of Terror" had passed in name; but its influence on religion still subsisted. The respite of which the commencement of 1795 had given hopes, was but the lull of the storm, gathering strength for a new outburst. The decrees of 1792 and 1793 were soon revived; and when, in the following year, men began once more, in very satiety, to sicken of these enormities, the fatal 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4), by restoring the power of the Directory, renewed the same bloody scenes. They were now extended to the Low Countries; and in the proscriptions of the Isle de Rh  , the world witnessed a rehearsal of the horrors which had desolated France in the first years of the revolution. The nominal toleration of religion only rendered its subjugation more complete. The constitutional Church of France was among the worst of its scandals; its bastard hierarchy and cringing priesthood were despised by the people, whom they had the baseness to betray. On the 7th and following days of November, 1793, twenty-seven of these wretched men laid down, in the presence of the National Assembly, the insignia of the office which they affected to despise; rejected the cross and ring as consecrated baubles, unworthy a citizen or a philosopher. The scandals from within lent double energy to the assaults from without; infidelity spoke aloud, and with impunity. And what wonder? The sentinel had fled from his post, or held back in crouching silence; and thus the writings of the earlier school were piety and innocence itself, when contrasted with those which ap-

* On the motion of Robespierre, May 7, 1794.

peared under the rule of the Convention and the Directory. Dupuis' *Origine des Cultes*, Nageon's *Dictionnaire de Philosophie Ancienne et Moderne*,—worthy fruit of that mind which gloated over the savage wish to "see the last of kings strangled with the entrails of the last of priests,"*—these, and a host of similar publications, were scattered among the people. Poetry was called in to the aid of philosophy, and Parny's horrible poem, *Guerre des Dieux Anciens et Modernes*, undermined by ridicule what was attacked by Maréchal and La Lande, in the ponderous sophisms of the *Dictionnaire des Athées*.

Nor was this revolting state of things confined to France : the successful arms of the republic had carried its principles everywhere in their train.

" France got drunk with blood to vomit crime,
And fatal have her Saturnalia been
To Freedom's cause, in every age and clime."

Unhappily, many of the cities of Italy were but too well prepared to receive, at least in part, these pernicious principles. The anti-papal policy of Joseph II, had crowded the universities of Austrian-Italy with enemies of the legitimate authority of the holy see. The opinions of Tamburini and of Zola, led, by a transition at all times easy, but in a period of anarchy almost inevitable, to a contempt of all ecclesiastical authority, but too well evinced in the subsequent conduct of those who were most distinguished in the controversy. The most zealous upholders of the imperial usurpation, now, with few exceptions, countenanced, by their silence, if they did not openly approve, the proceedings of the irreligious party. Tamburini wrote in favour of the revolution ; and, in common with Zola, was deemed worthy the scarcely equivocal honour of a place in the *Collegio dei Dotti* ; while Solari, the most active opponent of the bull *Autorem Fidei*, was actually appointed a member of the revolutionary government. The Tuscan states, under archduke Leopold, had been deeply infected with the same contagion, through the influence of Scipio Ricci, the well-known innovator of Pistoia ; nor, however anxiously Leopold, now relieved from the domination of Joseph, desired it, had the deposition of this discontented man succeeded in removing the

* Thus versified by Diderot,—

" Et ses mains ourdissent les entrailles du prêtre
A défaut d'un cordon pour étrangler les rois."

See the passage of Nageon in Picot's "*Mémoires du XVIIIème siècle*," tom. iv. 648-9.

effect of the patronage bestowed on him in the commencement of his career. The condition of Naples was, perhaps, now worse than that of Tuscany. The unholy war which Ferdinand, or rather the regent, Tanucci, and his ministers, had so long maintained against the see of Rome, had already recoiled upon themselves. Ecclesiastical disobedience led, by a natural course, to social insubordination; and Ferdinand, in an inglorious exile, was paying the penalty of the fatal policy which he had suffered his ministers to pursue. The prospects of the Church in Austria were scarcely less lowering. The system pursued by Joseph, in undermining the pontifical jurisdiction, had gone far to exile all religion from his states. The decree of the four archbishops at Ems, is a startling monument of the spirit of the time.* The abolition of the papal institution of bishops, was but a step removed from the republican forms of their election, ordained by the civil constitution in France; nor was it easy for the simple faithful to draw the line between the overthrow of the nunciatures, and the utter denial of the primacy, and renunciation of communion with the holy see. Germany and Prussia were filled with the same spirit, still somewhat disguised, which had taken a form upon itself in France. Belgium, sternly as she resisted the attempts of Joseph to force his favourite opinions upon her, nevertheless had scarcely come forth scatheless from the struggle; and even Spain, removed by position, as well as by interest, from the scene of the contest, had not altogether escaped its withering influence.

Such, as far as human eye could reach, was the internal condition of the Church throughout Europe. From without, every thing was calculated to lend power to these evil influences. The greater part of Italy was in the hands, or under the direction, of the French republic, and all in a state every way favourable to the progress of their views; Lombardy involved in the anarchy consequent upon its recent dismemberment; Naples in open revolution; the Legations, Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, severed from the holy see; Benevento and Ponte Corvo filled with the licentious soldiery of France; there needed only, in order to complete the work, that Rome herself should be the seat and centre, in which all the operations of the enemies of religion were organized and arranged!

* See this extraordinary document in a work on the state of the Catholics in Germany, "*Die neuesten Grundsagen der Kathol Kirchen-verfassungswesen*," pp. 216-32; see also Cardinal Pacca's "*Memorie storiche sul di lui soggiorno in Germania*," for a minute history of the period.

Every human obstacle to success was withdrawn ; every hold of religion on the minds of the people torn asunder ; the pontiff a captive in an obscure exile ; the cardinals scattered throughout Europe ; the ecclesiastical courts suspended ; churches and convents plundered and suppressed ; the citadel of the Church would seem left without a single watchman, a defenceless prey to the spoiler ! The prisons were flung open ; the apostles of impiety and sedition wrested from the just vengeance of the law, and were in many instances thrust into the most influential places in the new government ; and it is scarcely necessary to add, that when to the zeal of the new cause was joined the rancorous remembrance of the merited severity of the old, the labour of proselytism was industriously performed.

But, crushed and humiliated as she appeared to human eye, at the accession of Pius VII, the principle of Divine vitality was not yet extinct within her. How different her condition when, twenty-three years afterwards, the sacred college was once more called together for the election of his successor ! How many changes, what a complete resuscitation, had the interval witnessed. How full of interest even the minutest events of its history ; the causes by which this counter-revolution was accomplished, by which religion was re-established in the possession of her legitimate authority, and the social system, so long infected to its core, restored to a natural and healthy tone ! History, whether sacred or profane, presents not, within its vast extent, a period so pregnant with great events as that which falls to the historian of Pius VII—an office yet vacant in English literature.*

On the continent the interest of the subject has been better appreciated. As far back as 1815, a detached history, in two volumes, of the early years of the pontificate of Pius was published at Venice ; and in 1825 a complete life appeared at Rome. A few years later the venerable Cardinal Pacca gave his memoir of the time during which he held the office of secretary of state ;—a work of the deepest interest, which has been translated into almost every language but our own. Nor have the French been less active than their brethren of Italy. Picot's admirable memoirs of the eighteenth century comprise the most important years of his reign (1800-15). A collection of his correspondence with Napoleon was published at Paris in 1814 ; Beauchamp's *Malheurs et Captivité de Pie VII.*

* We have heard that an English life of Pius VII is at present in preparation.

passed through two editions in the following year; and De Pradt's *Quatre Concordats*, and Schön's *Contestations qui ont eu lieu entre Napoleon et le Saint Siège*, are but a few of the partial histories which appeared in France before the death of the pope. The years 1824 and 1825 produced the complete life by Simon—a short but interesting memoir; and that of Gaudet, *Esquisses Historiques et Politiques de Pie VII.* We may judge, too, how new the interest still continues, from the fact that besides having passed through repeated editions at Paris and Louvaine, Chevalier Artaud's work was, within a year from its publication, translated both into Italian and German.

The circumstances in which Chevalier Artaud was placed were peculiarly favourable to the composition of his history. On two different occasions, both of great interest, he resided for several years as French secretary of legation at Rome. During his first residence, enjoying the full confidence of his principal, M. Cacaault, and living on the best understanding with the officials of the Roman court, he possessed opportunities beyond all his rival biographers (for the cardinal-secretary can scarcely be deemed such); and it is impossible not to feel that he has used them with great judgment and impartiality. The plain and unpretending style, the tone of simple sincerity which runs through the narrative, and the absence of that affectation of sentiment which so often nauseates in French biography, wins the confidence of the reader insensibly and without an effort. It is rich in official documents, many of them hitherto inedited; and so skilfully are they interwoven into the train of the narrative, that, while the life, on the one hand, possesses all the authority, it is free, on the other, from the almost unavoidable dulness of a purely documentary history.

We have not been able, nevertheless, to bring ourselves to feel that Chevalier Artaud has done full justice to his noble subject. We fear he is somewhat too much a diplomatist to be a very philosophical historian. As a political history of Pius nothing could be better: but we are disposed to regard it as very little more. Not that it is wanting in ecclesiastical details; but they are treated too much in the tone of a politician; there is a smack of diplomacy upon them all. He dwells with far more of evident complacency on the negotiations of the concordat than the history of its working in France. He gives whole chapters to matters of little general interest; to the minutest changes in the ambassadorial de-

partments, even down to the gold boxes presented to the officials after each negotiation; while he passes over the council of Paris, in 1810, with scarcely a page of notice! He is never so completely at home as amid powers and credentials, waxing eloquent at the very name of a protocol or a dispatch; he betrays far more of indignant sympathy for the "insult offered to a great nation" by the arrest of the plenipotentiary Chevalier Vargas, or the exile of M. de Vernegues, than for the imprisonment and dispersion of the whole sacred college; and, with all his evident admiration of the saintly pontiff, it is often difficult to avoid suspecting, that in his heart he regards Cardinal Consalvi as the greater man.

In saying so much, however, of M. Artaud's work, let us not be understood to speak lightly of its very great merits; we seek rather to explain to what class of biography it belongs. He has written the life of Pius according to his own lights; as such his work is perfect in its kind, and although for the student of general history he has left something still to be desired, he has also accomplished a great deal; far more, and in a much more agreeable manner, than any of his predecessors.

In the period which had been already treated by Cardinal Pacca, Chevalier Artaud has wisely followed, with little deviation, the footsteps of his venerable predecessor. But from his official position, he has had the good fortune to fill up a gap in the authentic history of the earlier part of the pontificate. During the long and complicated negotiations of the concordat of 1801, and from the first dawn of dissatisfaction down through the long series of remonstrance against the *Articles Organiques*, he was confidential secretary at Rome. In the more tedious, and scarcely less entangled, discussions of the concordat of 1817 he enjoyed the same opportunities; and the kindly feeling which subsisted between the Papal court and the French embassy on both occasions, increased the facilities of obtaining accurate information, incidental, under any circumstances, to his position.

In bringing these interesting volumes before our readers at this eleventh hour, we owe them an apology for our too tardy notice. It would appear, however, that, even still, they are comparatively unknown in this country. But, attractive as is the subject, we must confine ourselves to a brief analysis of Chevalier Artaud's narrative; drawing, however, without scruple, upon various other sources of information.

The arms of the republic, under Napoleon, had been crowned in Italy with complete success. The rapid campaign

of 1796, extorted from Pius VI a harsh and unequal truce. In 1797, he was compelled by the treaty of Tolentino to cede Avignon and the three legations absolutely and for ever; and to give up possession of Ancona till the end of the war. In the December of the same year, the death of Duphot at Rome, in an affray provoked by his own culpable rashness, and, as Artaud clearly proves (i. p. 54), fomented by French influence, furnished the pretence long sought by the Directory. Berthier was ordered to march on Rome: he encamped on Monte Mario, the position selected three centuries before by the more honourable invader Bourbon, and took possession of Rome in open violation of the treaty of Tolentino. February 15th, 1798, the republic was proclaimed at Rome. The reckless daring of the Directory was at its height; unhappy Pius was rudely seized. He was told, in mockery of his former visit to Vienna, that he should have an opportunity of "indulging his taste for travel." In vain his indignant protestation against this unheard-of violence! in vain alike his touching prayer to be left to die in peace in the city of his predecessors! "*Vous mourrez partout,*" was the harsh reply! He was forced to assume a secular dress, in order to conceal his sacred character, and in the darkness of a tempestuous morning hurried off, at four A.M., from the city which he was never more to see. He was dragged to Siena, afterwards to the now celebrated *Certosa* (Carthusian convent), near Florence: thence he was removed to Grenoble, and ultimately to Valence, where, worn out by age and suffering, he died, August 29, 1799, in the eighty-first year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his pontificate—the longest since the days of St. Peter.

The condition of the Church, thus widowed by his death, was almost without a precedent in her history. The supreme pontiff consigned to an unhonoured grave in a remote exile; the electors of the sacred college scattered throughout the most distant countries of Europe; the holy city itself in the hands of a hostile and anti-Christian republic—it might almost seem as though, in punishment of her prevarications, the promises of Christ to his Church had been forgotten, or suffered to fall into a temporary abeyance: nor can we fail to recognize the finger of Providence in the chain of events by which religion was raised from this prostrate condition. "Amid so many tempests and wars," writes the eloquent Picot, "who would have conceived it possible to proceed to the election of a successor? But the providence of God, by a signal interposition, came to the assistance of his humiliated Church;

making political events subserve the triumph of religion, and using the revolution of empires for the accomplishment of his designs. Italy, within a brief space, had seen great changes wrought within her. While she was entirely under the rule of the French, all at once the whole face of affairs was reversed; a league formed by the great continental powers arrested the ambitious progress of the Directory. The emperor of Germany, supported by a Russian army, recovered the Milanese, the Venetian territory, and the entire north of Italy; the ephemeral republics disappeared; the university of Pavia, which was charged with fomenting heterodoxies in politics as well as religion, was suppressed; Rome was once more wrested from the yoke. The English and Neapolitan troops attacked the French garrison, and forced them to a capitulation. At the same moment the Turks took possession of Ancona. Can it be disguised that, in the views of Providence, the union of so many powers was destined to bring about the deliverance of the Church, and the election of the sovereign pontiff? In days of old He had called together the barbarian hordes of the north to chastise pagan Rome. In our days He assembles, for the deliverance of Christian Rome, twenty nations—themselves amazed at their union—and guides their steps to Italy at the very moment when the successor of St. Peter is sinking under the weight of his infirmities and sufferings!"*

This happy and unexpected revolution enabled the sacred college to proceed to the election of a new pope. Mutilated in its members, and dispersed, not only through the cities of Italy, but even the most distant parts of Europe, this meeting was attended with no little difficulty. By the treaty of Campo Formio, Venice had fallen into the hands of Austria; and it was considered a more fitting place of meeting than Rome, which, but a few days before, had been the theatre of war, and still held tranquillity by a precarious and uncertain tenure. The number of cardinals was forty-six. Of these eleven were prevented by sickness and other causes from attending; and the remaining thirty-five met in conclave, December 1, 1799. The proceedings, which are given at length by Artaud (chap. v.), were protracted—partly from want of the necessary agreement of two-thirds among the voters, partly awaiting the answer to a message despatched to the emperor—

* *Memoires*, tome iii. pp. 365-7.

until March 14, 1800, when they terminated in the unanimous, though unexpected, election of the cardinal bishop of Imola.

Barnabas Louis Chiaramonti was the son of Count Scipio Chiaramonti and Giovanna Ghini. He was born at Cesena, August 14, 1742. From his early youth he selected the religious state of life; and, having made his first studies at Parma, took the Benedictine habit, under the name of Gregory, at Monte Cassino. Removed by his superiors to Rome, he entered the convent of *S. Paolo extra muros*; and afterwards taught theology with great success in several schools of his order. His distinguished virtue and learning drew upon him the favourable notice of Pius VI, his kinsman and fellow-citizen. He was appointed titular abbot, still, however, continuing to reside at San Paolo, where he had charge of the library—an occupation to which he seems to have been at all times extremely partial. This was but a step to higher dignities. He was named Bishop of Tivoli; and the zeal with which he discharged all the duties of a bishop, establishing schools, founding and endowing libraries, and watching in everything over the moral welfare of his flock, united the voices of all in joyful approval of the decree by which, February 14, 1785, he was appointed to the see of Imola, and the seat in the sacred college, vacant by the death of Cardinal Bandi, in the preceding year.

His unaffected piety and mildness made him the idol of his new flock, and nothing could be more happy than his exercise of the influence which he thus possessed. His charity was without limits. Independently of private alms, he distributed every month one-half of his revenues to the poor, scarcely retaining the mere necessities of life; and it is a fact beyond all question, that, at his departure for the conclave at Venice, from which he returned as sovereign pontiff, he was obliged to borrow the money requisite for the expenses of his journey! During the stormy season of French domination in Italy, his prudence and moderation restrained his flock from the vain and fruitless resistance to the too powerful usurpers, which, in the neighbouring cities, only served to rivet the chain more strongly, by affording a plausible pretext for that system of oppression which, even unprovoked, was but too sure to follow in the train of the revolutionary armies. Thus his people suffered comparatively little; and while his prudence and moderation were the theme of praise throughout Italy, the firmness with which, through all the terrors of the campaign of 1797, he maintained

his ground among his flock, even when the French army marched upon Imola, shadowed forth, not obscurely, the meek, but unbending courage which distinguished the chequered history of his subsequent life. It is not a little remarkable that the very conduct which was thus admired in the cardinal, should, on a future occasion, be made the ground of accusation against the pope. So it has been, however, with those impracticable persons among the royalist party in France, who, in their blind adoration of the crown, forgot, with the Abbé Blanchard, the duty of reverence for the tiara. It was alleged that the moderation of the bishop of Imola was the result of his devotion to the principles of the revolution. His toleration of the existing state of things, which it was beyond his power to ameliorate, was construed into a direct approval; and a homily which he addressed to his people on an occasion of peculiar excitement, was represented as a panegyric of the republican government of France. All these charges are solidly refuted by Artaud: and, in truth, for the refutation of that which regards the homily, it is only necessary to read the document itself: a bare perusal will shew that the object was simply to meet a difficulty put forward, even from the pulpit, by the friends of Austria—that it is unlawful to obey the laws of a republic. In order to calm the scrupulous objections of the pious, the homily merely declares in general, without any reference to the French republic, that the republican form of government is not *in itself* opposed to the principles of the gospel, nor inconsistent with the duties prescribed therein.

In grateful memory of his predecessor, Cardinal Chiaramonti took the name of Pius VII. He was crowned in the church of San Giorgio, at Venice, March 21, by Cardinal Antonio Doria. In the encyclical letter addressed to the cardinals and to all the bishops of Christendom, he expressed in the strongest language, that feeling which was always nearest his heart—a paternal sympathy for the condition, and a prayer for the relief, of the oppressed and suffering children of the Church in France. It might seem as if Providence had inspired the prayer. The overthrow of the Directory, long tottering, but more virulent from its very imbecility, had called to the head of affairs, as first consul, with powers even then almost arbitrary, a young and distinguished, but profoundly ambitious, man. We shall not here discuss the motives which guided the early ecclesiastical policy of Napoleon. Chevalier Artaud would seem to insinuate that truth lies between the extreme opinions which are commonly entertained. However

this may be, certain it is that his policy was well calculated to promote that scheme of universal dominion, which, even from the moment of his first successes in Italy, he had begun to cherish. The old revolutionary faction, those especially whose hands were stained with the royal blood of France, had ever viewed the altar and the throne with the same sullen hatred; and opposed, with equal animosity, any attempt, however modified, for the restoration of either. These he resolved were to be shaken off. The less violent of the emigrant party, those whose attachment to the cause originated less in affection for the exiled family, than in fear and horror for the anarchy of the blood-stained republic, were expected to hail with joy any return to a form of government, which, in contrast with the existing state of things, might seem almost monarchical. Among these, no less than the high aristocrats, the attachment to religion had remained unshaken through the storm. They regarded the constitutional clergy as apostates from the faith and unity of the Church; and to these, also, no measure could be devised more grateful, than a return to the communion of the holy see, and a re-establishment of the legitimate worship of the country. The brilliant campaign of Marengo, while it restored the French power in Italy, where it had been shaken to its base under the imbecile arms of the Directory, at the same time strengthened and extended at home the growing power of the first consul. The measure so hateful to the remnant of the Robespierre party was taken; and while Pius was yet upon his way to Rome, a communication, through Cardinal Martiniana, bishop of Vercelli, almost from the battle-field of Marengo, signified to him, that it was the wish of the consul to resume the friendly relations with the holy see, and to treat about the re-establishment of religion in France.

We shall not delay upon this most important negotiation, which, by the special providence of God, was made the opening of better days for France. Nothing can be more satisfactory than M. Artaud's account, which comprises a brief explanation of the previous ecclesiastical relations of France with the see of Rome established by the Pragmatic Sanction, and afterwards the concordat of Leo X with Francis I, which, with a few modifications, continued in force till 1789. In the very opening of the discussions, M. Artaud reached Rome as secretary, his principal being M. Cacault, a man of great prudence and moderation. Even at this early stage, we find an outbreak of that imperious and arbitrary temper, which marked

the subsequent conduct of Napoleon towards the holy see. Amid the theological and canonical difficulties in which it was involved, the discussions of the concordat were necessarily tedious, to a degree for which the prompt and decided habits of the soldier-diplomatist could make no allowance; and, in the midst of the proceedings, an imperious dispatch was received, commanding Cacault to leave Rome, if, within three days, the concordat was not duly signed. It was only the extreme prudence of the ambassador which prevented a rupture. By his advice, Cardinal Consalvi, who enjoyed the fullest confidence of his holiness, repaired in person to Paris without a moment's delay; and, by his prudence and address, secured a successful termination of the slippery and precarious discussion, on which depended the peace of religion, and the interests of the suffering Church of France. It was not, however, without great sacrifices that this blessing, so long and anxiously desired, was obtained. The three legations, which the irregular and invalid treaty of Tolentino (signed only by Cacault, who had not full powers, and Napoleon, who had no powers at all) had wrested from the holy see, were suffered to remain unclaimed. But it was with more difficulty that the pope consented to the demand of a new ecclesiastical division of France, and of the resignation of the bishops of the existing sees.

The concordat was signed at Paris, July 15, 1801, and ratified at Rome on the fifteenth of the following August. In France, however, it was not published for many months. In order to explain the cause of the delay, it may be well to transcribe this remarkable treaty. We give it, in the original French, as it was officially published at Paris.*

"Convention entre Sa Sainteté Pie VII et le gouvernement Français.

"Le gouvernement de la republique reconnait que la religion Catholique, Apostolique, Romaine, est la religion de la grande majorité des citoyens Français.

"Sa Sainteté reconnait également, que cette même religion a retiré, et attend encore à ce moment, le plus grand bien, et le plus grand éclat, de l'établissement du culte catholique en France, et de la profession particulière qu'en font les consuls de la republique.

"En conséquence, d'après cette reconnaissance mutuelle, tant pour le bien de la religion, que pour le maintien de la tranquillité intérieure, ils sont convenus de ce qui suit :

* 1 vol. 8vo. containing several other most interesting documents. By authority of the Cardinal Legate. Paris: 1802.

" ARTICLE I. La religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine, sera librement exercée en France. Son culte sera public, en se conformant aux réglemens de police, que le Gouvernement jugera nécessaires pour la tranquillité publique.

" II. Il sera fait par le Saint-Siège de concert avec le gouvernement une nouvelle circonscription des diocèses Français.

" III. Sa Sainteté declarera aux titulaires des évêchés Français, qu'elle attend d'eux avec une ferme confiance, pour le bien de la paix et de l'unité, toute espèce de sacrifice, même celui de leurs sièges.

" D'après cette exhortation, s'ils se refusaient à ce sacrifice commandé par le bien de l'Eglise (refus néanmoins auquel Sa Sainteté ne s'attend pas), il sera pourvu par de nouveaux titulaires au gouvernement des évêchés de la circonscription nouvelle, de la manière suivante.

" IV. Le premier consul de la republique nommera, dans les trois mois que suivront la publication de la bulle de Sa Sainteté, aux arch-évêchés et évêchés de la circonscription nouvelle. Sa Sainteté confèrera l'institution canonique suivant les formes établies par rapport à la France avant le changement du gouvernement.

" V. Les nominations aux évêchés qui vaqueront dans la suite seront également faites par le premier consul; et l'institution canonique sera donnée par le Saint Siège en conformité de l'article précédent.

" VI. Les évêques, avant d'entrer en fonctions, prêteront directement entre les mains du premier consul, le serment de fidélité que était en usage avant le changement du gouvernement, exprimé dans les termes suivans :

" Je jure et promets sur les saints Evangiles, de garder obéissance et fidélité au gouvernement établi par la constitution de la république Française. Je promets aussi de n'avoir aucune intelligence, de n'assister à aucun conseil, de n'entretenir aucune ligue, soit au dedans, soit au dehors, qui soit contraire à la tranquillité publique : et si dans ma diocèse, ou ailleurs, j'apprends qu'il se trame quelque chose au préjudice de l'état, je le ferai savoir au gouvernement.

" VII. Les ecclésiastiques du second ordre prêteront le même serment entre les mains des autorités civiles désignées par le gouvernement.

" VIII. La formule de prière suivante sera recitée à la fin de l'office divin, dans toutes les églises catholiques de France :

" ' Domine salvam fac rempublicam.'

" ' Domine salvos fac consules.'

" IX. Les évêques feront une nouvelle circonscription des paroisses de leurs diocèses, qui n'aura d'effet qu'après le consentement du gouvernement.

" X. Les évêques nommeront aux cures. Leur choix ne pourra tomber que sur des personnes agréés par le gouvernement.

" XI. Les évêques pourront avoir un chapitre dans leur cathédrale,

et un séminaire pour leur diocèse, sans que le gouvernement s'oblige à les doter.

"XII. Toutes les églises métropolitaines, cathédrales, paroissiales, et autres non aliénées, nécessaires au culte, seront mises à la disposition des évêques.

"XIII. Sa Sainteté, pour le bien de la paix et l'heureux rétablissement de la religion catholique, déclare que ni elle, ni ses successeurs, ne troubleront en aucune manière les acquereurs des biens ecclésiastiques aliénés; et qu'en conséquence, le propriété de ces mêmes biens, les droits et revenus y attachés, demeureront incommutable entre leurs mains, ou celles de leurs ayant-cause.

"XIV. Le gouvernement assurera un traitement convenable aux évêques et aux curés dont les diocèses et les cures seront compris dans la circonscription nouvelle.

"XV. Le gouvernement prendra également des mesures pour que les catholiques Français puissent, s'ils le veulent, faire, en faveur des églises, des fondations.

"XVI. Sa Sainteté reconnaît, dans le premier consul de la république, les mêmes droits et prérogatives dont jouissait près d'elle l'ancien gouvernement.

"XVII. Il est convenu entre les parties contractantes, que, dans le cas où quelqu'un des successeurs du premier consul actuel ne serait pas catholique, les droits et prérogatives mentionnés dans l'article ci-dessus, et la nomination aux évêchés, seront réglés, par rapport à lui, par une nouvelle convention.

"Les ratifications seront échangées à Paris dans l'espace de quarante jours.

"Fait à Paris, le 26 Messidor de l'an ix de la république Française. (15 Juillet, 1801)."

Among the provisions of this concordat, there was none which created so much interest, or involved so many difficulties in its execution, as that contained in Art. III. The division of sees made by the civil constitution of the clergy, was advisedly passed over as of no effect; but, as a preliminary to the new circumscription, the first consul insisted on the resignation of the ancient bishops of the existing sees. This was a matter of great difficulty, and only warranted by the extraordinary circumstances of the times; it was not, however, without a precedent, at least in principle. During the stormy discussion of the civil constitution in 1791, thirty bishops of France, with a disinterestedness worthy their sacred calling, had tendered to Pius VI a formal resignation of their sees, for the peace of the Church, and the accommodation of the dangers by which religion was then encompassed. The hope of a similar spirit in circumstances of equal, if not greater, difficulty, induced Pius VII to consent to the proposal of a

new division. He addressed a feeling and paternal, but authoritative, brief to all the titular bishops of France, and of the countries newly attached to the French republic. While he reminded them of the generous self-devotion of their body in 1791, he assured them it was not without a great struggle he had consented to require, for the peace of religion, in the new crisis which had arisen, a similar sacrifice of existing rights.

The details of this interesting correspondence are incompatible with the limits of an article like the present. They are given at considerable length by Artaud, and the reader will find many additional particulars, much more methodically arranged, in the third volume of Picot. Of the one hundred and thirty-five bishops who, in 1789, held the sees of France, fifty-one had since died, and three had renounced the ecclesiastical profession; so that there remained but eighty-one from whom it was necessary to require an act of resignation. Of these forty-five cheerfully consented to the sacrifice. The remaining thirty-six, without absolutely declining at once, represented the dangers and inconvenience of a measure so completely without precedent; and pressed upon his holiness the expediency of deferring, if not utterly abandoning, a project which, in one hour, must reduce the whole Church of France to a state of precarious and dependent widowhood. But the necessities of the time deprived Pius of the choice. The disease, no less than the remedy, was without a precedent; the wounds of France were still bleeding; the weal of the many in this afflicted Church, took place in the mind of him who had the "solicitude of all Churches," of the interests of the few, however dearly cherished; and, deeply though he was pained by the necessity, he had no choice but to enforce the severe and sweeping provisions of the third article of the concordat. It was solemnly published April 5, 1802. At the same time were published two bulls: the first, *Ecclesia Christi*, is merely explanatory of the concordat; the other, *Qui Christi Domini*, expresses the great unwillingness of the pope to take, without the full assent of the bishops of France, any step in a matter of such importance to religion, and so essential to the restoration of peace and unity in the Church: it proceeds, nevertheless, to withdraw the jurisdiction of all, even those who had refused to resign, and cancels the ancient division of dioceses in France. The new division comprised sixty sees, of which ten were metropolitan; and embraced not only the ancient dioceses of France, but also those of the new territories—the Low Countries, Savoy, Liege, Worms, and

Spire. The nomination to these sees, which is but lightly touched by M. Artaud, was a matter of great delicacy and difficulty; nor was it till the close of the year that all was definitively arranged. On Easter-day, April 18, 1802, the Church of France witnessed the comparatively happy scene to which her faithful children had looked forward through so many years of blood and persecution. The metropolitan church of Paris, which, but a few years before, it would have been disgrace to visit, was once more crowded with the great officials of the state: and, hollow as undoubtedly were the professions of some of the number, the three consuls, with all their retinue, assisted at the chaunting of the *Te Deum* and the solemn celebration of mass, to return thanks to Providence for the re-establishment of religion in France.

But this happy event was not unattended by circumstances which threw a damp upon the general satisfaction. The continued remonstrance of the bishops, who had withheld their resignation, was a source of painful regret to Pius: and, unhappily, the conduct of the government, both in the nomination to the new sees, and in the publication of the concordat itself, seemed to justify, but too well, their gloomy prognostications of the consequences of the measure. At the same time with the concordat, and in such a manner as that they appeared to emanate from the same authority, were published a body of *articles organiques*, which, in addition to their being opposed in their general tone to the established ecclesiastical discipline, placed the Church in the most servile dependence upon the government. In the allocution of May 24, 1802, the pope declared that these articles were published without his knowledge or concurrence. But neither his own earnest remonstrance, nor the friendly representations of the ambassador, Cacault, could procure any modification of their spirit.

For a time, however, in the disposition to interpret favourably, these were considered by the friends of religion, as accidental circumstances, not affecting the measure itself, and perhaps a necessary sacrifice to the still powerful anti-religious party. The prompt and honourable restoration of the remains of Pius VI, which had been interred at Valence, the protection extended to the order of charity and to the priests of the *missions étrangères*, and some favourable measures regarding the episcopal seminaries, seemed to give promise of better things; and, amid the difficulties by which he was still surrounded, it was consoling to the humble pontiff, to feel that the sacrifice had not been made in vain,—to receive

assurances of the happy results which the re-union of France with the holy see had already produced, in checking the progress of infidelity, and restoring the long-lost influence of religion. It was, indeed, even with these draw-backs, a wondrous revolution. Who, five years before, could have anticipated the scenes which the history of 1802 presents—the leading powers of Europe entrusting to the decision of the Roman pontiff a matter which most intimately concerned the general tranquillity—the election of a grand master of Malta—protestant England, anti-papal Austria, and infidel France, vying with each other to do honour to a powerless bishop, now deprived even of those possessions which once had given him a voice in the political affairs of Europe?

But these, and the other incidents of the early reign of Pius, fade into insignificance before the mightier events which, succeeding each other with dazzling rapidity, held Europe silent in amazement and alarm. By regular, but rapid steps—soldier of fortune—general—first consul—then consul for life,—Napoleon had, at length, reached the last point to which his ambition aspired. The decree of May 18, 1804, had called him to the hereditary imperial crown of France!

The same policy which induced this profound student of the human heart, to treat for the restoration of religion in France, suggested the advantages which his own dignity might derive, if the pope could be induced to perform in person the ceremony of his coronation and consecration. The difficult and delicate negotiation was entrusted to Cardinal Fesch, who, probably with this prospective purpose, had, for some time, taken the place of Cacault, as ambassador at Rome. Pius was startled by the idea of a step so unprecedented,* and one, which, while it involved him inextricably with the fortunes of the new emperor, seemed also to compromise for ever the rights of the exiled family. On the other hand, the hope of the good which might be effected by the presence of the father of the faithful in the midst of a people just awaking from the wild dream of irreligion, prompted him to extend the limits of toleration. The imperfect or corrupt organization of ecclesiastical affairs, had shut out the advantages expected from the concordat, and the indications of imperious and arbitrary policy in the concerns

* At least in more recent times. Pepin le Bref, in 754; Louis le Debonnaire, in 816; Louis II, in 879, and Louis VII, in 1131, had all been consecrated in their own dominions, by the reigning pontiffs of their respective times.

of the Church, which the first consul had already evinced, filled Pius with further fears for France, under a hostile emperor. The matter was referred to the decision of the sacred council, where, by a majority of voices, it was pronounced that, under certain stipulations which the pope had himself predetermined to exact, it was expedient that he should comply with the desire of the new emperor. The entire discussion is comprised in a memorial, (pp. 462-9), drawn up by Cardinal Fesch. It was expressly stipulated on the part of the pope, that the ecclesiastical affairs of France, no less than the coronation of the emperor, should be acknowledged as the motive of his visit; that the emperor should listen favourably to his remonstrance against certain articles of the *loix organiques*, which outstepped even the liberties of the Gallican Church, and the claims of the old government; that the obedience of some constitutional bishops, who had not yet submitted, should be secured; and that the concordat with the Italian republic should be put into immediate execution. It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, that, in the regulations with regard to the ceremonial of audience and presentation, the pope protests that he will not receive Madame de Talleyrand, "lest he should appear to sanction, by the act, a marriage which he will never acknowledge."

On the 15th September, 1804, the emperor wrote from Cologne, the formal letter, (pp. 487-8), requesting the presence of his holiness at his consecration; and, on November 2d, the pope left Rome. His journey was rapid; but it was everywhere marked by the most consoling demonstrations of joy on the part of the people, and of devotion to the person of his holiness. Nov. 12th, he celebrated mass at Lyons, and had the happiness of bestowing his benediction upon an innumerable multitude, who thronged the space in front of the church. The same enthusiasm accompanied him throughout his entire route. "Blessed be God," said he afterwards to Fouché, "I have travelled through the midst of a kneeling people! How different from what I had anticipated!"

On the 25th, he reached Fontainebleau, where he had his first interview with Napoleon. On his arrival at Paris, he was everywhere hailed by deputations of the legislative bodies, the public institutions, and the learned societies; and while, in vindication of outraged discipline, he required, before proceeding to the consecration, the full submission of the constitutional bishops; he enjoyed, at the same time, the happiness of witnessing the unaffected attachment of those faithful

children of the Church, who had not swerved, in sunshine or storm, from the sworn duty of allegiance to its supreme pastor.

A very short time after the ceremony of the consecration, which took place, Dec. 2d, Pius began to express his anxiety to return to Rome, and to press upon the emperor the fulfilment of those stipulations which he had made the condition of his visit to France. Alas ! his fervent hopes were doomed to disappointment. The *articles organiques* were favourably explained, but still continued the law of the land : and, although it was enacted, that no clergyman could be compelled to administer the solemn benediction in a marriage after divorce, yet the remonstrances of the pope were insufficient to procure the removal, from the civil code, of the offensive law by which divorce was permitted. And, indeed, the only direct fruit of a mission from which he had hoped so much, was the submission of the constitutional bishops, the restoration of the order of charity, of that of the Christian schools, of the *Société des missions étrangères*, and that of the priests of the mission. Even in the midst of these disappointments, however, the paternal solicitude of Pius extended to our own neglected country. Among the few requests which he made of Napoleon, was one for the re-establishment of the foundations for the education of Irish students, swept away amid the universal confiscation. To this request, we are indebted for the restoration of the Irish College, Paris, reopened soon after his return to Rome.

The following anecdote is highly characteristic :—

“The pope never mentioned the name of the high official who proposed to him to reside at Avignon, to accept a palace in the archdiocese of Paris, and allow a privileged quarter to be established, as at Constantinople, where the diplomatic corps accredited to the holy papal court, should have the exclusive privilege of residing. This proposal, at first insinuated, rather than directly addressed—afterwards repeated to his attendants and confidants, and to several Frenchmen who were friendly to the holy see, led him to suppose that there was an intention of detaining him in France. The fatal words were never directly pronounced by Napoleon ; but he possessed such a control over the thoughts and words of men at Paris, that it was not possible they should have been hazarded without his sanction. It was repeated at last with so much confidence, that the pope thought it right at length to reply to the same official personage,—“It is reported that you mean to detain us in France. Be it so—you may take away our liberty if you will. All that is provided for. Before leaving Rome, we signed a regular abdication, which will come into force the moment we are cast into prison. This act is beyond the power of

France. It is in the hands of Cardinal Pignatelli, at Palermo ; and the moment you make public your designs, that moment you will have in your hands only a poor simple monk, named Barnabas Chiaramonti."

"That very evening, the orders for his departure were submitted to the emperor."—vol. ii. pp. 38-9.

A number of rich presents were prepared for the pope, and the several members of his retinue ; and pensions were fixed by the emperor for the cardinals who had accompanied him. They were all respectfully declined ; and, on April 4th, 1805, the emperor having already set out to Milan, where the ceremony of his coronation, as king of Italy, was to take place,—Pius VII, disappointed of his dearest hopes, left Paris, on his return to Rome. His journey, however, which occupied about six weeks, was full of consolation. Wherever he appeared, the same enthusiastic reception awaited him : and at Florence he had the happiness of extinguishing the last smouldering embers of a protracted schism, by receiving from Ricci, the refractory bishop of Pistoia, a full retraction of all his errors.

After his return, the same unsatisfactory state of relations with Napoleon still continued, notwithstanding his earnest remonstrance. The offensive *articles organiques* were extended to the kingdom of Italy ; and his mild, but firm and dignified refusal to dissolve the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte, though solicited by the emperor himself, contributed to widen the estrangement. The war with Austria commenced. Ancona was seized by the French army under St. Cyr. The pope protested against the usurpation. For six months the protest remained without direct notice. December 26th, 1805, the treaty of Presburg was concluded ; and on the sixth of the following month, the emperor replied to the protest by a haughty and imperious letter. (p. 106-7.) Nothing could be more truly apostolic than the reply of Pius ; unless, perhaps, it be his answer to a second letter of Napoleon, in which he requires the dismissal of the Swedish, Russian, and British subjects from the papal dominions. We can scarcely afford room for a few extracts.

"We commence with your Majesty's demands. You require of us to expel from our states all the subjects of Russia, England, and Sweden, and the agents of the king of Sardinia ; as also to close our ports against the ships of the above-named nations. You require us to abandon our peaceful neutrality, and declare open war against these powers. Your Majesty will permit us clearly and precisely to

reply, that it is impossible for us,—not on account of our temporal interests, but of the essential duties inseparable from our character—to comply with these demands. Consider well all the relations in which we are placed, and judge whether it becomes your religion, your greatness, or your humanity, to compel us to a step of this nature? . . .

It is not our own will, it is that of God, whose place we hold on earth, that prescribes to us the duty of peace towards all, without distinction of Catholic or heretic, far or near, benefactor or persecutor. We cannot betray the office committed to us by the Almighty; and we should betray it, were we, for the motives assigned by your Majesty—that is because the parties in question are heretics, who can only work us injury, (these are your Majesty's words),—to accede to a demand which would involve us in a war against them

“The Catholics who reside in the dominions of these powers, are of no inconsiderable numbers. There are millions of Catholics in the Russian empire. There are millions and millions in the countries subject to England. They enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and are protected by the state. We cannot foresee the consequences, if these powers should see themselves provoked by an act of hostility, so decided as would be the expulsion of their subjects, and the closing of our ports against their shipping. Their resentment against us would be the stronger that, in appearance, it would be more unjust, since we had not sustained any injury at their hands

The conclusion is dignified and touching in the extreme :

“These are the candid sentiments which the voice of conscience has dictated. Should, unhappily, your Majesty's heart remain unmoved by our words, we should suffer with evangelical resignation, we should submit to every affliction, receiving them all from the hand of the Lord. Yes, truth shall always triumph on our lips; constancy in maintaining untouched the rights of our see shall reign in our heart: we will face all the adversities of life, rather than prove unworthy of our ministry. And you—you will not desert that spirit of wisdom and foresight which distinguishes you. It has taught you that the prosperity of a government and the tranquillity of a people are inseparably connected with the welfare of religion.”—vol. ii. p. 130.

Each day served but to widen the breach; nor indeed were there wanting fresh occasions of dissatisfaction. The viceroy of Italy having, in defiance of the papal protest, violated the terms of the concordat, Pius VII refused to grant the bulls of the newly appointed bishops. Cardinal Fesch was immediately recalled from Rome. The papal principalities of Benevento and Ponte Corvo were soon after bestowed on Talleyrand and Bernadotte. The pope, while he protested against the usurpation, declared that he would offer no resistance. But the sacrifice was unavailing, or served only to provoke further aggressions. The new French ambassador,

Alquier, was directed formally to demand that the papal ports should be closed against the enemies of the empire. The demand was met by the pontiff in the same mild, but decided tone—firmly declining to violate the neutrality, which duty and inclination alike prompted him to maintain. “His Majesty,” said he to the ambassador, “may execute his menace if he will. He may strip me of my possessions. I am resigned. *I am ready, if it be the will of God, to retire to my convent, or, like the first successors of St. Peter, into the catacombs of Rome.*”

The crisis was hurrying on. The inflexible pontiff withdrew his powers from Caprara, the Cardinal Legate, at Paris; and persisted in his refusal to grant the bulls of institution to the bishops newly nominated for the kingdom of Italy. The following furious letter of Napoleon to the Viceroy Eugene, flings the mask aside for ever:—

“My son,—I have seen in the letter which his holiness has addressed to you—but which, undoubtedly, he did not write—I have seen that he threatens me. Can he believe, then, that the rights of the throne are less sacred in the eyes of God, than those of the tiara? There were kings before there were popes.—They will publish, they say, all the injuries I have done to religion.—The madmen! They do not know that there is not a corner of the world, in Germany, in Italy, in Poland, where I have not done more good for religion, than the pope has done mischief, not through evil intentions, but through the angry counsels of certain shallow men who are around him. They will denounce me to Christendom!—This ridiculous thought can only proceed from a profound ignorance of the age in which we live: there is a mistake of a thousand years in the date. The pope who would proceed to such a step, would cease to be pope in my eyes. I would consider him but as the Antichrist, sent to upturn the world, and do evil to men: and I would give thanks to God for his impotence. If this were so, I would separate my people from all communion with Rome, and establish such a police, that we should see no more of these mysterious pieces circulated, nor these subterranean meetings which have afflicted some parts of Italy, and which had been imagined only to alarm timorous spirits. What would Pius VII. effect by denouncing me to Christendom? Place my throne under interdict? excommunicate me? Does he think that then the arms would fall from the hands of my soldiers? Does he imagine that he would put a dagger into the hands of my people, to murder me? There would be but one step more—to make me cut off my hair, and shut myself up in a monastery!

“The pope has taken the trouble to come to my coronation at Paris; and in this proceeding, I have recognized a holy prelate. But he wished me to give up the legations to him. I declined it. The pope has too much power. Priests are not made to govern.

"Why will not the pope render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's? Is he more than Jesus Christ upon earth? Perhaps, if he continue to trouble the affairs of my states, the time is not far distant when I shall recognize him only as bishop of Rome, as equal and of the same rank as the bishops of my own states. I have no fear of being able to unite the Gallican, Italian, German, and Polish Churches, in a council, to transact my business without the pope

"In fact, what can save in one country, can save also in another: the rights of the tiara are at bottom but duties, humiliation and prayer. I hold my crown from God and from my people, and am responsible only to God and to my people. I will always be Charlemagne to the court of Rome, but never Louis le Debonnaire. Jesus Christ has not instituted a pilgrimage to Rome, as Mahomet to Mecca.

"Such are my sentiments, my son. I have thought it of importance that you should know them. I authorize only a single letter from you to his holiness, to apprise him that I cannot consent that the Italian bishops should go to seek their institution at Rome.

"Dresden, July 28th.

"NAPOLEON."

From this date, events succeed each other with such rapidity, that it would be vain to attempt any condensation of the history. Chev. Artaud's account of this period is somewhat disorderly, though he avoids a misapprehension into which Beauchamp, and even Simon, had been led by an apocryphal allocution, (Feb. 5th, 1808), printed in the *Correspondance de la cour de Rome avec Bonaparte*; and in truth, the best and most interesting, as well as authentic history, will be found in the official documents, published in the correspondence, and appended to Beauchamp's volume.* A French army, commanded by General Miollis, with a mixture of force and treachery, took possession of Rome, under pretence of securing the free communication between northern and southern Italy; and carried their violence so far, as to turn the mouths of their cannon against the Quirinal palace.

Twenty cardinals were ordered, under pain of confiscation, to leave Rome, and retire to their respective sees. The provinces of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Canino, were united to the kingdom of Italy. Monsignor Cavalchini, governor of the city, was arrested, and sent into exile. The portfolio of Cardinal Gabrielli, the secretary, was seized, and he himself ordered to quit the city. A similar order was issued, and attempted to be enforced, against Cardinal Pacca, who succeeded him in office. But the pope firmly resisted; and from that hour, it would seem that his arrest was determined.

* See also Botta's *Storia d'Italia*, in which this period is treated in the most graphic manner of this eloquent historian.

These scenes of violence upon the one hand, and of unresisting, but yet unyielding endurance upon the other, continued during the close of 1808, and the early part of the following year. On the 17th of May 1809, Napoleon issued from the imperial camp at Vienna, the decree, uniting the papal territory to the kingdom of Italy; and on the 10th of June, the Roman banner, which for ages had waved from the summit of St. Angelo, was replaced by the imperial standard of Napoleon. The pope immediately issued his protest against the usurpation; and, on the night following, posted the bull of excommunication against the authors, movers, and abettors of the violation of these and the other more sacred rights of the holy see. By the express orders of his holiness, the utmost caution was used, lest any one should suffer in the attempt; and they succeeded in posting the bull in the usual places, without attracting the notice of the French guards. In the morning, it was discovered by the astonished sentinels, and carried to General Miollis, who immediately forwarded it by express to the emperor.*

From this day, the pope's seclusion became complete. The circumstances of his arrest and abduction, are detailed with great minuteness. The account is taken, with little variation, from the narratives of Cardinal Pacca and of General Radet, to whom the arrest was intimated. We refer to the original (pp. 208-28) for the particulars of this treacherous and sacrilegious outrage, which took place at three o'clock in the morning of June 6th, 1809. Not a moment was lost in carrying into effect the orders for his removal. It is difficult, while we read the terrors of that hour, not to admire the firmness which could dictate the touching and tender pastoral bidding farewell to his flock; a few extracts of which, Artaud (pp. 223-4) has transcribed. Hurried away for nineteen successive hours, under the broiling July sun of Italy, without attendants, without money, without even a change of dress, in a carriage locked and closely shut, to prevent the recognition of his person, it is no wonder that the health of the infirm and aged pontiff should have given way. At Radicofani, he was attacked by fever, the necessary consequence of the fatigue which he had endured. It continued with intermissions during the entire journey; for he was compelled, notwith-

* Chev. Artaud is mistaken here. The bull was posted in the usual places during the broad daylight, by the late Cavalier Menocacci (then a hackney-coach-driver), and his son. Card. Pacca tells, that the dangerous and difficult feat was performed while the faithful were passing to vespers at S. John Lateran.

standing, to proceed. "Are your orders," said he to Boissard, who had succeeded Radet in the command of the party;—"are your orders to carry me, whether dead or alive, to France? If so, we may proceed." The remonstrance procured—a delay of a few hours! To add to his distress, Cardinal Pacca was separated from him, and transferred to the fortress of Fenestrella, where he was immured for three years.

But this fearful journey was not without its consolations. We cannot pass by the following simple scene:—

"The pope's journey to Alexandria lasted seven days, from the 9th till the 15th of July. On the morning of one of his first days, some peasants gathered around the carriage, and begged his benediction. The commandant saw himself obliged to halt, and to permit the holy father to bless them. After this short and touching ceremony, the pope begged one of those who were still kneeling, to bring him a little fresh water. The crowd rose up simultaneously—some ran to the horses to stop them, others crowded in front of the gendarmes; a great number rushed into the cabins, uttering cries of exultation and joy. They offered every kind of refreshment to the holy father; and he was obliged to take from every hand which presented, or at least to touch what was not accepted. The women forced the men to give place to them. Every one cried out, "Me—me, most holy father, yet me!" "From all?" replied our pious pontiff, his cheeks streaming with tears. While in the act of handing some delicious fruits into the carriage, one of the peasants, with the energetic and terrible words, "*vuole? dica!*" proposed to the pope to repulse the soldiers, and rescue him. The pope, with an accent of true tenderness, of supplication and prayer, implored them not to make any resistance; and gave himself up again to the commandant, who resumed the route to Geneva. A short distance onwards, the pope found himself separated from his baggage; and overcome by the oppressive heat, he asked for a change of linen. A peasant offered it to him upon the spot; then, in kissing with transport the hand which blessed him, he managed to detach from the sleeve a pin, which he carried off as a rich pledge of this simple loan."—vol. ii. pp. 241-2.

The place chosen for the pope's exile, was Savona.* He was lodged in the episcopal palace, and a numerous retinue assigned him. But, while considerable attention was given to this external shew, he was kept under the most rigid surveillance; and it was hoped, that, separated from all his trusted advisers, he might yield to the insidious counsels of those, who, through fear and interest, were ready to suggest a

* M. De Pradt, in his "Quatre Concordats" (ii. 415), attempts to sustain the absurd opinion, that the abduction of Pius was the work of Murat, and not of Napoleon. If evidence be sought for what is all but self-evident, it will be found in two letters of General Miollis (July 6th and 7th), addressed to the Emperor.—See vol. ii., pp. 239-41.

more pliant policy. Meanwhile, following up the same principle which dictated the imprisonment of Pacca, the emperor summoned all the cardinals to Paris, even those for whom old age and illness rendered the journey all but fatal. At Rome, by his orders, the official papers of all the public functionaries were seized and examined. Monsignor Gregorio, with many other functionaries, was arrested. General Miollis taunted him with the *folly* of persisting obstinately in fruitless opposition to the will of the emperor.—“*Nos stulti propter Christum!*” was the prompt and intrepid reply.

This unworthy warfare with a defenceless and unresisting old man, did not for the time interrupt the progress of the arms of Napoleon. “The 6th of July,” says Bourienne, “the very morning which followed the abduction of Pius, lighted up the day of Wagram.” This decisive field led to the treaty of Schönbrunn, concluded October 21st; and the unnatural though splendid alliance with Austria followed in its turn. The history of the divorce from Josephine is but little known, and has been frequently misrepresented. The following are the facts:—

“There was question of annulling the marriage with Josephine. I will abridge the details, because all the facts do not directly concern the history of Pius VII. On account of several previous grounds of invalidity, the marriage of Josephine with Napoleon had been celebrated *in facie Ecclesiæ*, before the ceremony of the consecration. Josephine had refused to assist at the coronation, unless they acceded to her desire of being united anew with Napoleon. He was afraid that the absence of the empress would disarrange the ceremonial in which she was to bear an important part; and, being thus obliged to satisfy Josephine, he consented that the marriage should be blessed, but with the utmost secrecy; Cardinal Fesch alone being present. This renewal would have been even still invalid, had they not obtained a dispensation from the presence of the parties’ ‘own priest, and the two or three witnesses,’ required by the Council of Trent. To meet this inconvenience, Cardinal Fesch went to Pius VII, at his apartments in the Tuileries, and, without specifying anything, said to him, ‘Most holy father, your holiness understands, that, in my place of grand almoner, I have occasion for extensive powers.’ ‘I give you all my powers,’ replied the pope, to whom it had been explained already, that it would be well, by all means, that the marriage should be renewed, since the pontifical authority was about to pronounce prayers, which pre-supposed and asserted that Josephine was the wife of Napoleon. Fortified with these powers, Cardinal Fesch proceeded to the celebration of the marriage, and was under the impression that he renewed it validly. In all this, Cardinal Fesch acted with perfect good faith.

“When there was question of the divorce, the archbishop of Vienna

required that the marriage should be annulled at Paris, by the authority of the ordinary. They created, therefore, an official tribunal, which had not existed before, or rather, they created three—a diocesan, a metropolitan, and a primatial, to which the question of the marriage might be carried in succession. These three steps of 'contentious jurisdiction,' were created, in order to avoid the 'recourse to the pope,' which Napoleon positively declined. The marriage, however, was not brought beyond the first tribunals, where it did not fail to be annulled. The diocesan tribunal pronounced it invalid, because it had not been performed in presence of the parties' 'own priest and witnesses'—conditions essential to the validity, in which no written dispensation could be produced. They made no allusion to the powers demanded from the pope. It was clear, notwithstanding, that he had understood them with reference to dispensations necessary in Napoleon's marriage; for, when long afterwards, they spoke in his presence of the emperor's intention of divorcing her—'How can the emperor,' said he, 'think of annulling his marriage with Josephine, when we ourselves granted all dispensations necessary for its revalidation?' However this may be, certain it is, that since they did not produce before the tribunal certain proofs of the dispensation, the tribunal conceived itself competent to pronounce the revalidation null and void. The marriage, when submitted to the metropolitan court, was pronounced invalid, from defect of internal consent on the part of Napoleon. Lastly, an ecclesiastical commission, appointed by the emperor, declared the two tribunals competent; and they thought themselves warranted in proceeding to the new marriage."—vol. ii. pp. 263-5.

The irregularity of the proceedings was sufficiently notorious. The cardinals then in Paris, to the number of twenty-six, were present at the civil contract of marriage, April 1, 1810. But, unwilling to sanction, by their presence, what they could not approve, thirteen of the number absented themselves from the religious ceremony, on the following day. Nothing could exceed the emperor's rage, when his eagle-eye observed the vacant benches. Orders were immediately issued for the withdrawal of their pensions, and afterwards for their exile to different parts of the empire. Prohibited the use of the red robes of their order, they were obliged to appear in the simple black dress of the ordinary ecclesiastic; and hence, in the history of the time, are distinguished from their more pliant brethren, by the honourable title of the *black cardinals*.

Since the withdrawal of powers from the cardinal legate at Paris, a number of sees had become vacant in the French empire. To all these, Napoleon had continued to nominate according to the provisions of the concordat. But not one of the prelates thus named, had as yet received the canonical

institution ; and the pope firmly refused to grant it to any bishop, as long as he was detained in prison, shut out from every source of information, and deprived of the ancient rights of his see. In vain the representations of a commission appointed by the emperor. In vain the personal application of Cardinal Maury, who had been named archbishop of Paris. The reply of the intrepid Pius was a brief, ordering him to renounce, without delay, the administration of the see, and holding forth all the canonical penalties in case of disobedience. In vain, the violence of the imperial court. Pius was consoled and supported by the fidelity of his adherents. Cardinals Gabrielli, Oppizoni, and Di Pietro, submitted to imprisonment, in the fortress of Vincennes. The vicar-general of Paris resigned his office without a murmur ; and when, by a new brief, the pope declared invalid the appointment of the bishop of Nancy, to the archbishopric of Florence, the canons, to a man, refused to acknowledge his obtruded jurisdiction, though imprisonment for some, and the deprivation of their benefice for all, was the penalty of allegiance to the chief pastor.

This severity was soon extended to the venerable captive himself. On June 7th, 1811, while he was walking in his garden, his apartments were forced, and his papers and books seized and carried off, even to his breviary and the office of our Blessed Lady. He was deprived of the use of writing materials ; and the daily allowance of his household reduced to the miserable pittance of five pauls (twenty-five pence) for each member, including his holiness himself. All communication with his friends was cut off, and even the bishop of Savona was excluded from his presence. But measures such as these could only defeat their object. The attempt, while it excited the indignant sympathies of Europe, served only, by strengthening the resolution of the pontiff, to exhibit the impotent malice of his persecutor. Within a fortnight after their enactment, these harsh but powerless restrictions were modified, and soon afterwards partially withdrawn. But how far the same spirit was retained, we may gather from the following manifesto, bearing the signature of the prefect of the department of Savona,—but too visibly, as M. Artaud suggests aright, the fruit of Napoleon's arbitrary power.

"The undersigned, in pursuance of the mandate of his sovereign, his imperial and royal majesty, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the Confederation, &c., is directed to notify to Pope Pius VII, that he is forbidden, under pain of disobedience upon his own part, and upon theirs, to communicate with any

church of the empire, or any subject of the emperor ; that he who preaches rebellion, and whose soul is full of gall, ceases to be the organ of the Catholic Church ; that, since nothing can teach him wisdom, he shall see that his Majesty is powerful enough to do as his predecessors have done, and to depose a pope."—vol.ii. p.220. *Savona*, July 14, 1811.

Treatment such as this, it was hoped, would eventually break the spirit of the pontiff. A commission* was issued, to report upon the best means of providing for the Church of France under existing circumstances. In the first instance, a measure was proposed by the minister of public worship, entirely subversive of the papal authority in France. But, upon the firm representation of Cardinal Fesch, that the bishops would, to a man, resist its execution, it was withdrawn ; and the commission was directed to report upon two questions, the form of which betrays a strange mixture of silliness and sophistry. 1st. *All communication between the see of Rome and the subjects of the French empire being, for the present, cut off*, to whom should recourse be had for the dispensations usually granted by the pope ? 2nd. Since the pope refused to grant bulls of canonical institution, what was the legitimate course by which to supply the defect for those bishops whom the emperor had named in pursuance of the provisions of the concordat ?

In their reply to the first question, the commissioners, though betraying, in some particulars, a timid and vacillating policy, expressed themselves with considerable freedom upon the oppressed condition of the Church.† But in the answer to the second, they suggested, that if, at the expiration of six months from the sees becoming vacant, the pope declined to grant bulls, the metropolitan, or, in the vacancy of the metropolitan see, the first suffragan, should be authorized to proceed with the institution.

A deputation of bishops waited on the pope at Savona. This negotiation, if such it could be called, is involved in great obscurity, which M. Artaud does nothing to clear up. It is said that he assented provisionally to the proposition suggested by the commissioners. But it is certain that he took the opportunity of renewing his protest against the unjust and arbitrary interruption of ecclesiastical discipline ; nor could he be induced to accept an offer of 200,000 crowns assigned as his annual revenue, preferring to subsist upon the voluntary, though precarious, assistance of the faithful.

* This commission Artaud confounds with one held in the former year, Nov. 1809.

† Picot, *Memoirs*, iii. 522.

But this commission was only a preliminary of a grander ecclesiastical scheme suggested by the emperor—a national council of the bishops of his empire. M. Artaud's account of this council is somewhat meagre. The proceedings will be found at greater length, and in a more satisfactory form, in the third volume of Picot. The eyes of France and of Europe were fixed upon this assembly, which, although, as Picot proves, not even properly a national synod of France, was the most numerous assemblage of prelates since the general council of Trent. It consisted of ninety-five members—six cardinals, nine archbishops, and eighty bishops, exclusive of nine who were named by the emperor, but had not yet received the canonical institution from the pope. But, although the emperor insisted upon the establishment of a *bureau de police*, and the presence of his *ministre des cultes*, to overlook the proceedings, he was far from finding in the assembly the subservience on which it would seem he had calculated. The very first act of the council (June 17, 1811) gave mortal offence. Cardinal Fesch, whom the emperor appointed to preside, opened the council by taking and administering to all the profession of Pius IV, and thus promising entire obedience to the holy see. A general feeling of disapprobation was expressed of the tone in which the imperial message was conceived, and especially as regarded the papal authority in France. The Italian bishops openly protested against the address proposed in reply: and the bishops of Chambery, Munster, and Namur, completed the climax of non-compliance, by calling upon the council to demand at the foot of the throne the liberation of the oppressed pontiff. In vain was it attempted to carry the address in a modified form. Of the committee appointed to draw it up, only four adhered to the original provisions; and, as if to prevent its becoming in any way available for uses opposed to the canonical usages of the Church, it was resolved in a general congregation, that, in order to give to it, or to any other measure, force as a law, the approbation of the pope must first be secured by a deputation from the council.

The result may be anticipated from a knowledge of the imperial policy, reckless and arbitrary as it had become. On the tenth of July, the unpliant council was dissolved; and, two days afterwards, the bishops of Ghent, Tournay, and Troyes, who had taken an active part in the unpalatable proceedings, were sent to join the other refractory ecclesiastics in the prison of Vincennes. After these preparatory measures

of intimidation, however, an attempt was made to re-open the council; and on August 5, a decree, of the same tenor with that said to have been before approved, having been huddled through in a hasty and irregular congregation, a deputation was sent to the pope, at Savona, to solicit his approval. The provisions, though not in accordance, were not yet opposed to the spirit of the canons; the most offensive clause was explained as requiring only the delegation of a power which all Catholics acknowledged in the holy see; and, in the hope of procuring peace for the distracted Church, the pope renewed the provisional assent before given. He refused, however, to acknowledge the assembly as a national synod of France, and took especial occasion to applaud the submission and dutiful respect which the members had manifested to the see of Rome, "the parent and mistress of all Churches." Napoleon could not brook this direct disavowal of the very principle he had laboured so much to establish. The brief was refused, the negotiations abruptly broken off, and the deputation recalled to Paris.

Other cares, however, engrossed the busy mind of Napoleon.

"During the following winter, and the spring of 1812, the holy father was left in comparative quiet in his prison at Savona; Napoleon having given his whole thoughts to the memorable and fatal campaign in Russia. But on the evening of the ninth of June, the fatal anniversary of the day on which, three years before, he had been apprized of the intention to despoil him of his states, an order was notified to the pontiff to prepare for re-entering France; he was directed to change his dress,* which might lead to his being recognized by the way. They set out on the morning of the 10th. After a distressing journey, without any rest, he arrived at midnight at the *ospizio* of Mount Cenis. At Stupinigi, near Turin, the government had sent forward Monsignor Bertazzoli, who travelled in the same carriage, and thenceforward was not separated from his holiness. In the *ospizio*, the pope became so dangerously ill, that the escorting officers deemed it right to transmit the intelligence to the government of Turin, and to demand whether they should halt or pursue their route. They were commanded to execute their orders. In consequence, *although the pope had received extreme unction on the morning of the 14th, they compelled him to resume the journey on the following morning.* Amid such outrages, the infirm pontiff must have had a constitution of iron to withstand all these barbarities. They travelled day and night. During the entire journey he never quitted the carriage; and when he took any

* Simon doubts this; but it is expressly asserted by Beauchamp, p. 170.

refreshment, it was brought to the carriage, which, even in the most populous towns, was kept locked during the change of horses. . . . Cardinal Pacca attributes this harshness to a desire of beating down the intellectual faculties of the pope, and subduing his heroic spirit, by the enfeeblement of his physical powers. In effect, he arrived at Fontainebleau in a state which excited still greater fears for his life; and for several weeks was confined to bed by a dangerous illness: But at least he had a bed; though a prisoner in his apartments, he could at least breathe more freely than in the horrible carriage, in which he had been locked up, even when not actually travelling; and he was allowed to resume the dress of his sacred dignity."—vol. ii. pp. 310-12.

But this monstrous anomaly was drawing to a close. Blinded by the splendour of former glories, which with others had lost much of their magic brilliancy, and recollecting France only as she had been when his triumphs were yet new, Napoleon had over-calculated the endurance of his people. He forgot that his reckless expenditure of human blood had brought sorrow and suffering to every hamlet and to every hearth in his empire; and would not open his mind to the startling, but too evident, truth—that France had begun to weary of a rule which had brought little but domestic misery in its train. But the fatal campaign of Russia changed suspicion into evidence. In wringing from the very heart of France new levies to restore his almost annihilated legions, the emperor felt how much his success depended upon public opinion, and a good understanding with all classes of his subjects. It became necessary to support an appearance of moderation. An official notice proclaimed that the pope was free; the cardinals who were in Paris, that is the *red cardinals*, were admitted to his presence without restraint; and every means was employed to induce him to sign a new concordat. The emperor and empress visited him at Fontainebleau with every mark of respect; nor did the imperious, and, as some say, unmanly violence, which the emperor displayed in a subsequent interview, interrupt the public shew of respect with which he was treated. Every device was employed to extort or to cajole his consent; but all was vain, at least as regarded the fruit which they hoped to draw from it: and when, at length, worn out by sickness, without a trusted friend to console under its burthen, beset without intermission by the emissaries of his relentless persecutor, appalled by their ceaseless representations of the evils to France which his obstinacy, as they termed it, was perpetuating, he was induced, with fingers scarce able to trace

the lines, to sign the preliminaries of a new concordat, it was with the express stipulation, that no steps should be publicly taken till he had full and free liberty to take the advice of the sacred college.

The point, however, was gained. From that moment ceased the necessity of restraint, and policy dictated that all appearance of it should be withdrawn. The black cardinals were recalled, and freely admitted to his presence; and it was proclaimed to France, that all differences had ceased between the pope and the emperor. But the very act by which it was proclaimed was itself a violation of the terms of the treaty. The remonstrance of the pope was disregarded, and the concordat, contrary to his express stipulation, was made public and declared the law of the empire. This was a severe stroke for the already sufficiently afflicted captive; but, with the return of his tried and trusty friends, and especially Pacca and Consalvi, his native firmness returned. In a letter to the emperor, which he took the precaution of reading for each cardinal in private, he protested against the concordat; and, the terms having been violated by its publication, recalled his fraudulently-extorted consent to the preliminary articles on which it was based.

But the defeat of this object, to attain which so much labour and cruelty had been expended, was one of the least evils which beset the emperor at this period. They were fast thickening around him, and from their magnitude withdrew his thoughts from what now became a minor consideration. A few ineffectual attempts at further negotiation convinced him that all hope with Pius was at an end; and, on Jan. 22d, 1814, the order was issued for the immediate return of his holiness to Rome. Refused the miserable indulgence of the company of even a single cardinal, and attended solely by Monsignor Bertazzoli, he set out on the following morning, the 23d. His journey was several times interrupted, but everywhere he was hailed by the people with the same enthusiasm which they displayed on occasion of his former visits. Adversity had not hardened his heart, nor embittered his naturally forgiving disposition. The following scene at Cesena, his native city, is strongly characteristic of a Christian spirit, trained in the purifying school of adversity:—

“ King Joachim Murat demanded to present his homage to Pius VII, and was instantly admitted to audience with his holiness. After the first compliments, Joachim signified that he was ignorant of the object of the pope's journey.

" ' I am going to Rome,' said his holiness ; ' is it possible you can be ignorant of it ?'

" ' Has your holiness, then, determined to go to Rome ?'

" ' What can be more natural ?' replied Pius.

" ' But does your holiness intend to return, despite of the Romans ?'

" ' I do not comprehend you,' replied the pope.

" ' The chief nobility of Rome, and the rich commoners,' said Murat, ' have prayed me to present to the allies a memorial, with their signatures, demanding that, henceforward, they should not be governed save by a secular prince. Here is the memorial. I have sent a copy of it to Vienna ; but I retain the original, which I submit to your holiness, in order that you may see the signatures.'

" At these words, Pius took the memorial from Joachim's hand ; and, without reading, without even glancing at it, flung it into the fire, where it was instantly consumed. ' Now, at least,' said he, ' there is no obstacle to our going to Rome.'

" Thus, without severity, and without anger, without even a tone of insult, he took leave of the man, who, in 1809, had sent troops from Naples to secure his own abduction."—vol. ii. pp. 372-3.

In the same spirit of Christian forgiveness, he received with the most marked kindness, Madame Letitia, and Cardinal Fesch, the mother and uncle of his persecutor. When the latter was announced, " Let him come," said he, " I still see his vicars-general advancing to meet me at Grenoble: Pius VII can never forget the tone of courage in which he administered the oath of Pius IV."

On May 24th, 1814, after an absence of nearly five years, Pius entered Rome in triumph, amid the joyful enthusiasm of his subjects ; the presence of their venerable prince, and, still more, his noble reply to Murat, having extinguished the last spark of revolutionary feeling. Scarce was he re-established, when, in the cares of office, he began to forget the privations of the past. Louis XVIII, immediately upon his accession, accredited an ambassador to Rome, to arrange the entangled ecclesiastical affairs of France. The surreptitious concordat of 1813 was instantly annulled, or rather disclaimed by either party ; but the further negotiations had made little progress, when they were broken off by the memorable hundred days. The movements of Murat in Italy made it not unlikely that Rome might again become the seat of war. It was deemed advisable that Pius should leave the city. He retired to Leghorn, and thence, by sea, to Genoa, where he remained till the field of Waterloo decided for ever the fate of him, who, during the latter days of his power, had so long troubled the peace of the Church.

From this third return of Pius, his history possesses but little of that holy romance, if the phrase be allowable, which characterises his early reign. But if the historian turn with greater interest to the striking and varied scenes of the former period, the useful and lasting, though silent, labours of the latter will be dearer to the friend of morality and religion. The unostentatious task of reconstructing what had fallen through the neglect, or sunk under the violence, of the revolutionary times, possesses a history peculiarly its own: it is written in the triumphs, slow but secure, of religion and morality throughout Europe. The altar re-devoted to its holy purposes, education revived and consecrated by its connexion with religion, the religious orders devoted to its diffusion, and to the other works of charity and peace, re-established and protected; these are monuments which will live to record the closing transactions of the reign of Pius VII, when, if that time shall ever come, the page of history shall have ceased to speak! No summary could comprise them all. We can but refer to the over-flowing pages of M. Artaud for details.

By the bull, *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, the Society of the Jesuits, partially restored in 1801, was fully re-established throughout the Church. The ecclesiastical affairs of Italy were reorganized, and negotiations commenced for a new concordat with France, which should raise religion from its prostrate and dependent condition. Meantime the untiring zeal of Consalvi was directed to the political affairs of Rome. Besides Ancona, Benevento, and Ponte Corvo, he procured from the allies the restoration of the three legations, Bologna, Ravenna, and Ferrara, which had been alienated by the treaty of Tolentino. The prudent economy which marked his early administration was resumed; every means was employed to lighten the burdens of the people; as well the most rigid frugality in the household expenditure of his holiness, as the most minute care of all that could tend to diminish the general amount of the state charges. A wise and paternal administration, the establishment of public works for the employment of the poor, and the careful reparation of the injuries which individuals or communities had sustained under the French rule, had the effect of restoring public credit, of reviving industry, and diffusing general contentment and tranquillity among the people.

At length, June 11, 1817, a new concordat with France was definitively arranged. After many delays, however, it was found impossible to enforce its provisions. Not long after, August 9, a similar concordat was concluded with the king of

Sardinia; and, in the commencement of the following year, with Naples; as also with Russia, for the Polish Catholic subjects. For these, however, and the concordats with the Protestant princes of Germany, we must refer to Chevalier Artaud's work.*

But the infirmities of age, and the trials to which, even from his elevation to the episcopacy, he had been exposed, began at length to tell upon a constitution naturally strong, and a spirit gifted with no ordinary powers of endurance. In 1817, the symptoms of breaking health began to create considerable alarm, which was increased by a dangerous fall on the 26th of June, in that year. But for a long time he rallied; and, during the two following years, continued to enjoy tolerable health. As if it were fated that no portion of his life should be exempt from those vicissitudes of which his earlier years were so fertile, the successful outbreak at Naples, 1820, filled Rome with such terrors, that preparations were made to remove the pope to Civita Vecchia. But his last days were spared this new exile; and he was permitted, what had been denied to his unhappy predecessor, to die in peace in the city of the apostles. In the April of 1822, a fall, similar to that which had occurred five years before, would, it was feared, have been attended with more fatal results. But its effects passed away after a few days; and, during that year, the pope's health, though infirm, was not such as to prevent his ordinary attention to business. The indefatigable Cardinal Consalvi, who was himself rapidly sinking, was every day carried into the pope's apartments, where they continued to transact business for several hours. In a consistory, March 10, 1823, the pope created ten cardinals, and on May 16th, M. de la Fare was raised to the same dignity; an appointment memorable as having been announced by Pius on the 14th, in a letter to Louis XVIII, the last he ever penned. The signature, "PIUS PP. VII," with the exception of the last letters, which are almost illegible, is written with the usual firmness of hand.

"On the sixth of July, the holy father had gone out in a carriage, and had even taken a little walking exercise. In the evening he dismissed his attendants, and afterwards conversed for a time with his auditor. His holiness then remained alone, notwithstanding the recommendation of Cardinal Consalvi, who besought the attendants never

* The recent ecclesiastical transactions in Germany render these concordats very interesting. For the German concordats see Schell's edition of Schenkli's "*Institutiones Juris Ecclesiastici*," i. pp. 225-360; and for those of the Protestant states see "*Die Neuesten Grundlagen*," pp. 332-400, and "*Organon: oder Kirchliche Verfassungswesen, der Katholiken in Deutschland*," pp. 207-242.

to leave their master without some one at his side. This evening he attempted to rise from his seat, resting one hand upon a bureau, and seeking with the other a support from the cord attached to the wall, and intended for this purpose; but, having risen with difficulty, the holy father was unable to reach the cord, and fell upon the marble floor, between the table and the elbow chair. His head did not reach the ground; the left side door sustained the entire weight of the fall. They ran in at his cries, placed him upon the bed, and, at the first visit, the surgeons pronounced that the socket of the thigh-bone was fractured. During the night the patient was restless, but without fever. This accident took place on the anniversary of the fatal sixth of July 1809. The surgeons ordered that the state of the fracture should be concealed from the patient; nevertheless he himself asked for the *viaticum*. It was after this ceremony that, being fatigued by the attentions of Cardinal Bertazzoli, he used these remarkable words, '*Andate: voi siete veramente un pio seccatore!*' It was, indeed, indiscreet to think of counselling more piety, greater resignation, to the most pious, the most resigned of men....

"The patient was sufficiently tranquil on the 18th (August); but on the 19th the most alarming symptoms appeared: the pope pronounced vaguely the words *Savona* and *Fontainebleau*; his voice soon altered, and from the sound of some Latin words they knew that he was constantly in prayer. The churches were thronged with pious persons; one universal feeling of regret reigned everywhere. There was no appearance of any other feeling but that of grief. In the evening it was no longer possible for the patient to take the slightest nourishment; and, on the 20th August, at five o'clock in the morning, this life, so pure, so wise, so courageous under every difficulty, was extinguished."—vol. ii. pp. 600-5.

Thus died Pius VII, aged eighty-one years and six days, after a reign of twenty-three years five months and six days; one of the most eventful which the Christian Church has ever seen. We may return at some convenient time to the history of particular characters and epochs in this attractive period; but the brief outline which we have given, partly from Chevalier Artaud's admirable work, partly also from sources less easily accessible, will enable the reader to estimate sufficiently its general interest. In some particulars we doubt not the English reader will be disappointed: he will look in vain for the memorable discussion of the veto, to him of such interest as a national question. He may conceive, on the other hand, that an undue share of attention is given to the affairs of France. But it is fair to remember, that, as in politics and war, so also in religion, France was the great theatre to which every eye was turned; the centre from which, for good or for evil, the fortunes of the fairest portion of Europe emanated: nor could the biographer of Pius be supposed to have executed

his task with fidelity, if he did not ample and ungrudging justice to that subject, which, even amid the indignities of his exile, was ever present to his heart, and to which the greatest labours of his pontificate were directed.

But it is not in its details of individuals or of countries, engrossingly interesting as they are, that the philosophical student of history will consider the reign of Pius VII; not as it regards France, or Italy, or England, or Ireland; but as forming an integral portion of the universal annals of the human race. And what a portion! Nearly half a century has now elapsed since, by the choice of an exiled and mutilated conclave, he was called to the precarious occupancy of the tottering—and to human eyes, fallen—chair of Peter. What a wondrous volume of instruction does the interval present! In the ordinary course of mortal things all the characters have changed upon the scene. The persecutor and the persecuted have been called to their account; the tyrant, with him whom he made his slave! The infidel and anti-social republic is blotted from among the nations; the mighty empire is numbered among the things of the past. France, the self-constituted arbitress of the fortunes of Rome, has taken upon herself new and varied forms, which a breath may again dissolve into the wild elements of which they are fashioned! All has changed around! But Rome—eternal Rome—

"Tal è, qual era, quando fu stabilita"—

the same upon the day on which the murdered Braschi perished in a wretched exile, and on that on which his courted successor entered in triumph to resume his throne! the same amid the persecutions of Savona and the lavished honours of Fontainebleau!—maintaining ever that mysterious pre-eminence which the common policy of all her enemies would seek to overthrow!

"Sedet eternumque sedebit!"

Well was it written by the Protestant Hurter, when, with the map of history unrolled before his gifted eye, he contemplated this moral miracle of immutability: "When we look back upon past ages, and behold how the papacy has outlived all other institutions, how it has witnessed the rise and wane of so many states—itsself, amid the endless fluctuations of human things, preserving and asserting the selfsame unchangeable spirit, can we wonder that many look to it as to that Rock which rears itself unshaken amid the beating surges of time!"

ART. III.—*Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* By Henry Hallam, F.R.A.S., Corresponding Member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences in the French Institute. London: 1887.

THE history of the literature of any given age, comprises necessarily a history of the human mind during that period. It is therefore by no means sufficient to array in chronological order the various literary and scientific productions which have illustrated it; the reader requires some more rational method than an arbitrary division of time. He requires something continuous, by which he may be able to thread the complicated sinuosities of this inextricable labyrinth. Without such a guide, it becomes almost impossible to impress upon the memory the order of succession, much less the moral dependance of those innumerable facts which constitute the materials of such a history.

There can be no doubt, that, in the history of the progress of the human mind, there exists a certain logical unity, which the very terms—*the human mind*, and *humanity*, themselves imply. In order, then, to seize that unity, and to employ it as the basis of a method, it is necessary to have some fixed system of philosophy, by the aid of which, this multifarious and chaotic matter may be reduced to order, and arranged in one vast and comprehensive synthesis. Such system can, according to our views, be no other than the Christian philosophy, by which we of course understand, that Christianity which is complete in its details, and possessed of a sufficient sanction to satisfy the understanding; in a word, that which is based upon Catholic tradition and supported by the authority of the Church.

There is perhaps something odious, or, to say the least of it, something which appears wanting in that urbanity which should ever characterize the intercourse of men of education, in dragging for ever before the public, the distinctions of *Catholic* and *Protestant*; for the angry cavillings of three centuries have communicated to those terms an irritating quality which is anything but favourable to the calm investigation of truth. We should prefer on all occasions, were the thing in itself possible, entrenching ourselves in some more comprehensive generality, which might exclude all such invidious distinctions. Both Catholics and Protestants are alike members of that universal family, which has one and the same

origin, and over which a benevolent Creator extends with an impartial hand his paternal solicitude; and, as far as regards the more numerous body of our readers, are we not all the common offspring of the same great and generous people? We avow it openly, we consider life as too short and too thickly beset with sorrows, to afford us either time or fitting opportunity to indulge those angry feelings, to which harsh recrimination gives birth; and therefore gladly would we have avoided, upon the present occasion, the introduction of any such distinctions; and the more particularly so, as the work before us is neither political nor theological, but purely of a literary character; but we feel, at the very outset, that in so doing, we should not only be pushing the spirit of forbearance to the very limits of the ridiculous; we should moreover deprive ourselves of the opportunity of taking a just and comprehensive view of the subject before us; for the literature of a people, or of an epoch, can never be separated from the history of their philosophical and religious opinions.

The simple circumstance of Mr. Hallam's having comprised the sixteenth century in the period which he has chosen for his literary history, would alone have forced upon us those matters which separate the Catholic and the Protestant; for how are we to pass over the principal feature of its history, that *Reformation*, which, upon the one hand is regarded as an emancipation of the human mind from antiquated errors, and on the other, as an emancipation—we have no wish to quarrel with a word—but an emancipation from those salutary restraints, without which, we fall into an interminable series of errors, in philosophy, in religion, in social polity, and even in literature itself. But this is not the sole motive which has guided us; we shall have occasion to point out the frequent failures of this very learned and elaborate work, which can only be ascribed to the circumstance of its being written in a *Protestant spirit*. Not that we intend by any means to insinuate that this work is written in a spirit particularly hostile to Catholicism, for such is by no means the case. Mr. Hallam is evidently a man of too great a mind, to allow himself to be carried away by the petulant calumnies of a sect; he is however a Protestant, and apparently a Protestant upon principle, and, as such, is entitled to our most unqualified respect: he may have taken from time to time a hasty—perhaps a partial view of certain controverted questions; but we are not of the number of those who require perfection in any human production; we pass lightly over the faults of others, in order that our own

may meet with a similar indulgence. What we mean here by a *Protestant spirit*, is, the undue preponderance of a method, which not only accords an exaggerated importance to the process of analysis, but which may be said to exclude entirely the no less necessary process of synthesis; without which, the former is but labour lost, as it can never lead to any useful result. The only philosophical result of an exclusive use of the process of analysis, is that form of scepticism, which, if carried out into its logical consequences, becomes in its turn dogmatical, by asserting its own exclusive superiority, and by denying the existence of any contrary theory.

It appears, however, to us, that no man who has observed the course of human events with a certain degree of attention, can have failed to remark a certain fixed element, which, in every age, pervading the institutions, the habits, and the literature of various nations, serves as it were to establish the genera of the moral world, and render a classification possible. This harmony, as all harmony in general, implies a certain fixed and immutable unity, around which, that which is various and contingent, adapts itself, according to some general law. In the history of mankind, whether we consider it in its collective form, under the general title of *humanity*, or whether we select from the whole any particular people, we shall find that this centre of the moral world, is no other than the revealed will of God; for at the origin of every people who have any pretension to the possession of their history, we find, under some form or other, a revelation, or religion of Divine origin. Without the lamentable lessons of experience, we should then be inclined to doubt the possibility of error, in the presence of a formal manifestation of truth. When, for instance, in the physical world, we have once discovered the will of its divine Creator, or in other words, the laws which govern its phenomena—where is the man who is rash enough to strive against unlimited power? Yet in the moral world, we see men constantly setting at defiance its fundamental laws, and then complaining of that disorder, which is the sole fruit of their own perversity. Has he who conceals fire in his bosom, a right to be astonished that it should consume him? or he who abandons his field without culture, to complain that it produces only thorns and briars?

Our search after the cause of this apparent anomaly, will not be long; it is to be found in that blindness and perversity of the human will, the result of a primitive fault, the history of which stands inscribed in the annals of every people.

This, then, furnishes the second term of the great moral problem of man's perfectibility. On the one hand, the just will of God, and on the other hand the perverse will of man; and between these two extreme terms and their mutual modifications, lie all the contingencies of man's earthly course, as an individual, or as forming a constituent part of the body-politic. This important distinction of the two adverse principles which preside over the phenomena of the moral world, is familiar to every one who has been initiated into the Christian philosophy. In the individual, it is the never ceasing struggle of the flesh and of the spirit; and in society, the conflict of the wisdom of the cross, and the wisdom of the world—the former accepting man's position in the present state of things, as something transitory and incomplete; the latter persisting, in defiance alike both of facts and of principles, in the wild attempt of realizing the stupendous projects of the human mind, within the narrow limits of time and space. Time! so short for the most favoured. Space! so confined as a sphere of action for the most powerful.

In proportion, therefore, as one or other of these two principles, (to which we may very aptly apply the general terms of *truth* and *error*), in proportion, then, as truth or error predominates over the influential part of a nation, in the same proportion we shall find, not only their social institutions and their general habits, but even their literature partaking of that influence. To establish the truth of this theory, it would be sufficient to cast a rapid glance on the history of mankind in any age and in any country. If we select as an example, that vast extent of territory which is subject to the Hindoos, we shall find the general form of government to be a sanguinary despotism, and their habits those of men writhing under the stern grasp of the iron hand of fate; whereas their literature, which at the present day is reduced to a blank, bears ample traces of that indefinite pantheism which is the basis of their religious faith. And as pantheism, paganism, and atheism, are only separated from each other by a subtle logical distinction, being *practically* one and the same thing, the two grand philosophical sects of the pagan world are found reproduced among the Hindoos; those who term themselves *orthodox* bearing a close resemblance to the Stoics, professing, by an illusion of pride, to set themselves above the reach of good or of evil; whilst on the other hand, a no less numerous portion of their religious adepts have adopted those tenets which distinguished the followers of Epicurus, and seek for the supreme good in an unlimited enjoyment of *sensual* pleasure.

The more familiar history of degenerate Rome, affords perhaps a still more striking illustration. In the latter days of the Empire, a frantic love of sensual pleasure seems to have taken possession of all classes of society. The actual power of the state, which was in fact vested in the prætorian guards, is sold to the highest bidder; and the sword of Divine justice, and the supreme dignity of the commonwealth, are confided to him who furnishes most liberally the means of prolonging their riotous debauch. What, then, were the habits of the people, and what the fate of literature under the influence of such a state of things? To the former of these questions we reply by the favourite cry of the populace in those days—*panem et circenses*! which shews, that the sanguinary pleasures of the circus had become for them as necessary as their daily food. In literature, which was then at its lowest ebb, we find the minor wits of that day imitating the worst defects of Horace, of Ovid, and of Juvenal, whose highly polished verses too often call the blush of indignation to a Christian cheek.

The application of this theory to the present state of literature in France, in Germany, and even in this country, would be highly interesting, but would lead us too far from the matter before us. We have already said sufficient to prove that the literature and the religious opinions of a nation, or of an epoch, are most intimately connected, and have therefore fully justified the line which we intend to adopt in reviewing Mr. Hallam's work. We shall merely add to what we have already advanced, an observation well worthy of the reader's serious attention, which is this: that the principal monuments of ancient and of modern literature, the *Iliad* and the *Divina Comedia*, which were both the products of ages of faith, are both eminently religious; and it is a circumstance not a little curious, that the progress of a different principle should have produced a similar effect both in the pagan world and in Christendom—Tasso standing exactly in the same relation to Dante, as Virgil to Homer. Tasso and Virgil are both poets of nature. Homer and Dante are the poets of tradition, and in both poems the form is in harmony with the matter.

The total absence of any general theory of the history of literature appears to us then, we avow, a serious defect in the work before us; but it is not the only one with which we have to reproach it. The division of the matter into eight arbitrary periods, which have no connexion whatever with the principal vicissitudes of the subject, is altogether faulty. Those vicissitudes have been sufficiently marked, to have afforded a natural historical division, if the author thought

it more prudent to avoid all philosophical distinctions. The splendid galaxy of talent by which certain periods have been illustrated, offered him a sure basis upon which to construct a simple and lucid method. The most celebrated period of our own national literature, when the modern drama was brought forth into being by the immortal genius of Shakspeare, naturally presents itself to the mind of the reader; nor was the age of Elizabeth less illustrious by its poets and prose writers of every description. The names of Spenser, of Lord Bacon, of Hooker, and of Archbishop Leighton, would alone suffice to raise it to the dignity of a literary epoch. The ages of Lorenzo de' Medici, and of Lewis the Fourteenth, are each of them equally celebrated in their way, particularly the latter, which, independently of the very remarkable religious reaction which distinguishes it, is no less celebrated in a purely literary point of view.

Mr. Hallam's first division comprises the whole of that portion of the middle ages which is anterior to the year 1400, the period at which his work professedly begins. This retrospective view of the state of learning in the middle ages, is of the highest importance to a just appreciation of the subject before us; the more particularly so, as the year 1400 does not constitute a literary epoch, the beginning of the fifteenth century being, in a literary point of view, merely a continuation of the preceding century, in which the genius of Dante had already given a certain degree of fixity to the language in which he had written his immortal poem.

The author professes, it is true, to give only a rapid sketch of this period; but however rapid, it is necessary that *all* the causes which had contributed to the progress of literature, should be fairly stated and justly appreciated. The reader will do well to bear in mind the very comprehensive sense in which Mr. Hallam employs the word *literature*, not only as comprising poetry and the belles lettres, but also the more grave products of the human mind, such as theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, and the sciences.

The rapid decline of learning in the sixth century is a circumstance, which finds its natural explanation in the political state of the Roman empire at that period. It was only after several ages of the most distressing vicissitudes, that the awful pollutions of the pagan world were washed away in torrents of human blood; and a certain gleam of social order beamed forth upon those nations, which in the eighth century began to rise up out of the general shade. Charlemagne appears at

this period, not only as a legislator, but also as the special protector of letters and of learned men; and particularly of that holy religion, which he always regarded as the principal source of social order, and of the temporal prosperity of his people. Mr. Hallam does not perhaps attach sufficient importance to this first renovation of letters, which took place under favour of the new temporal and ecclesiastical institutions formed by the care of this great monarch. Charlemagne was also himself a successful cultivator of polite learning, notwithstanding the rudeness of the age in which he lived; and that magnificent hymn of the Catholic liturgy, the *Veni Creator*, is generally attributed to his pen.

It is not to be expected that Mr. Hallam should have justly appreciated the literary influence of the clergy. He admits, however, that, during that most disturbed period, which may very properly be designated as the *dark ages*, they kept flowing a slender but living stream of knowledge. It may be easily imagined, that men whose residences were constantly pillaged—whose libraries were destroyed, and whose persons were frequently exposed to the greatest dangers;—it may, we say, easily be supposed, that these men, with whom the valuable deposit of literary tradition rested, should have made little progress in profane learning during such a period, the sacred character with which they were invested, engaging them rather to occupy themselves with more serious matters. Yet we should do wrong to suppose that the human mind was left without a certain degree of culture, although this period is particularly barren as far as regards its authors. There can be no doubt that oral teaching, which was the most favourite form in all ecclesiastical establishments, exercised its just influence in the propagation of knowledge; and that the precious deposit of the learning of past ages was handed down from master to disciple, in those short moments of repose which the troubled character of the times still allowed. The sublime matters which constitute the general doctrine of the Church, are in themselves calculated to give an elevated tone to the mind, and to develop the highest powers, not only of the imagination, but also of the understanding. In fact, we find this sacred fire rapidly bursting forth into a brilliant flame, when no longer compressed by exterior circumstances. As early as the beginning of the twelfth century, the institution of universities, accompanied by the cultivation of the modern languages, and the multiplication of books, seem to have exercised an immense influence. To these causes must

be added the investigation of the Roman law, and a return to the study of the Latin language in its ancient models of purity. The influence of all these causes is admitted by Mr. Hallam (p. 15.) We are, however, not a little surprised to find, that, in enumerating the principal causes of the revival of letters, he has totally omitted all mention of one of the most important—the influence of the literature of the Arabians on that of modern Europe. Whilst Europe was plunged in that intellectual lethargy, which, as we have already observed, was the result of the united horrors of war, of pestilence, and of famine, the more favoured regions of the East, together with a considerable portion of the south of Europe, then under the flourishing sceptre of the successors of Mahomet, exhibited a very different aspect. The Caliphs had at that time submitted to their victorious sceptre the whole of Persia—the land of the ancient Magi, and Chaldea, which may be regarded as the most ancient fountain of knowledge. To these must be added Egypt, at one time the sole refuge of science; also that part of Asia Minor where poetry and the belles lettres had received their first developement; and Africa, the land of burning eloquence and of subtle distinctions. The Arabian genius appears as it were a compound of the different qualities which distinguished the various portions of that vast empire over which it reigned.

But the more immediate point of contact between the literature of the Arabians and that of western Europe, appears to have been those celebrated universities which were established in Spain under the patronage of the Moors, after Abderama the First had finally detached it from the empire of the Abbasides, and erected it into a separate monarchy. This prince, who was the contemporary of Charlemagne, was like him a great patron of letters. The colleges and universities founded by him and by his successors, were frequented by all those who were desirous of making a rapid progress in science and in philosophy. One of the most distinguished men of his day, Gerbert, appears to have studied both at Seville and at Cordova, from whence he brought back so large a stock of Arabian science, that after having successively excited the admiration of France and of Italy, he was ultimately raised to the supreme honours of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, under the title of Sylvester the Second. A great many other persons, particularly the renovators of mathematical science in France, in Italy, and even in this country, during the eleventh century, spent a considerable time in the universities of the

south of Spain. Campanus de Novara, Gerard de Carmona, Atelard, Daniel Morley, and several others, confess, in their respective writings, that for all which they then lay before the public, they are indebted to the Arabian doctors.

In presence of these important facts, we have a right, we think, to express our surprise, that a man of Mr. Hallam's acute penetration and comprehensive mind, should have passed over in silence this important feature in the history of modern literature.

The progress of the scholastic philosophy in the twelfth century, and the increasing importance of the University of Paris, seem to be intimately connected, for it was the scholastic philosophy which formed the principal basis of the method employed in that celebrated seat of learning. Rosceline of Compeigne may be regarded as its founder: he it was who revived the famous question as to the reality of universal ideas, and laid the foundation of those abstruse and animated discussions, which so long agitated the learned world. It is not certain that Rosceline ever taught publicly at Paris, but there is no doubt that the rapid increase of students about this time is to be ascribed to the influence of his theories. As early as 1109, William de Champeaux opened a regular school of logic; and a few years later, the splendid talents and bold innovations of Peter Abelard confirmed the rising reputation of this new establishment. Mr. Hallam thus speaks of this extraordinary man:—

“ But the reputation of William de Champeaux was soon eclipsed, and his hearers drawn away by a more potent magician, Peter Abelard, who taught in the schools of Paris in the second decad of the twelfth century. Wherever Abelard retired, his fame and his disciples followed him; in the solitary walls of the Paraclete, as in the thronged streets of the capital. And the impulse given was so powerful, the fascination of a science which now appears arid and unproductive, was so intense, that from this time, for many generations, it continued to engage the most intelligent and active minds. Paris, about the middle of the twelfth century, in the words of the Benedictines of St. Maur, to whom we owe the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, was another Athens; the number of students (hyperbolically speaking, as we presume), exceeding that of the citizens.”—vol. i. pp. 19, 20

When we consider the influence of such an institution upon the progress of the human mind, we must be prepared to look around us for its fruits. That the scholastic philosophy occasionally degenerated into an exaggerated abuse of subtle distinctions, we shall not attempt to deny; yet, upon the

whole, it must be regarded as a stupendous monument of the acuteness of the intellectual faculty. It is a very easy matter to laugh at its *quiddities* and its *entities*, and to treat them, with Hudibras, as the *vapourish ghosts of defunct bodies*; but men whose habits of thought enable them to seize upon, and to understand that almost infinite *variety* by which the *unity* of being is manifest and rendered intelligible, will view it with a very different sentiment. The scholastic philosophy seems to have a sort of natural connexion with the study of theology; because in that grave age in which it shone forth in its greatest splendour, the origin, the essence, and the end of things, was the subject which principally fixed the attention of the learned; and of the former, as well as of the latter, philosophy, unaided by theology, can teach us nothing. Moreover, its greatest adepts were churchmen. At the head of these we must place St. Thomas Aquinas, whose extraordinary genius was not only appreciated in his own day, but is not less an object of admiration in the present age. His numerous works, particularly his *Summa Theologiæ*, enable us to form a just estimate of the number and variety of those grave questions, which at this period occupied the human intelligence. What may have been the real measure of its *progress* since that period, we may not now examine. The physical sciences were no doubt at a low ebb; and it was only in the next century, that philological learning began to be generally appreciated. But physics and philology are not knowledge—they are merely instruments of knowledge.

St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Bonaventura, the two great lights of the age in which they lived, took their Doctor's degree in the University of Paris, in the year 1257. This university had then already existed in increasing splendour for above a century; and at the beginning of the next century we find it illustrated by the presence of another great man, whose influence upon the history of modern literature, stands forth without a rival. The reader has already, without doubt, anticipated our intention, by naming the author of that unrivalled poem, the *Divina Commedia*.

Mr. Hallam, although he enters at some length into the history of the formation of the modern languages, by a corruption of the colloquial Latin of the lower empire, dismisses, without notice, the author of the first great literary work in that idiom; and he adduces as a reason, (after terming him, conjointly with Petrarch, *the morning-star of modern literature*), his more remote connexion with the fifteenth century.

No doubt the fifteenth century had its own peculiar elements of progress; but at the same time there can be no less doubt, that the literature of the fifteenth century was, to a certain extent, a continuation of that which immediately preceded it; and the great, the all-absorbing literary object of the fourteenth century was the poem of Dante;—so much so, that in Italy, which now becomes the centre of learning, special professorships were founded at Florence and at Bologna, for the purpose of explaining his works; and in the former of those cities, this important task was confided to Boccaccio, the celebrated author of the *Decameron*—the creator of a new style in prose writing, as Dante had been in poetry.

These two names form a special epoch in the history of modern literature, inasmuch as each may be assumed as the type of a different principle presiding over its destiny,—the very origin and temper of the two men, as well as the character of their respective works, marking the particular mission of each. Dante, a man of honourable family, and carefully brought up in those principles which are the only permanent source of noble and elevated feelings;—Boccaccio, the unfortunate offspring of the guilty pleasures of a Florentine merchant. What, then, must we think of the moral influence of such an origin? No mother to guide his infant mind in the paths of virtue and of piety—no example which might serve as the model of his future life. In fact, if we compare the early life of the great poet with that of his biographer and commentator, we shall see the former being deprived of the dearest object of his affections, idealizing the passion of love, and drawing from it a source of the highest poetical inspiration. Beatrice appears in the *Divina Commedia* as a being of angelic purity, and her presence throws a sort of tender melancholy over the whole poem. Beatrice was the tutelary genius of our poet. Brought up together from their tenderest years, her simple beauty had probably first developed those poetical feelings which were destined at a later period to burst forth with so much splendour; and when Beatrice was no longer an inhabitant of that world to which her presence communicated the principal charm, Dante, stretching the poet's gaze beyond its confined limits, sought out those eternal models of unfading beauty which are beyond the reach of death and of sorrow.

Boccaccio also, as is the case with most men endowed with great powers of imagination, was highly sensible to the charm of female beauty; but his love was the wild tumult of sensual

voluptuousness, and wholly unredeemed by those higher feelings which give a certain dignity to things in themselves inferior. His Fiametta has nothing of that chaste reserve, or of that virginal purity, which constitutes woman's principal charm: like himself, the offspring of an unlawful passion, true to her baser origin, although of royal blood, by love she understood merely that momentary delirium which has its seat in the senses, but which touches not the heart. Boccaccio, under the influence of such a woman, abandoned himself to a series of excesses, which compromised not only his health and his reputation, but even reduced him to a state of shameful poverty, from which he was extricated by the generous interference of Petrarch.

We have already said enough to establish the moral value of these two men, and if their works had never been handed down to posterity, it would have been no difficult matter to have established their respective characters;—but the *Divina Commedia* and the *Decameron* are in everybody's hand. Our principal object, therefore, in establishing this parallel, is to signalize the appearance of that new element which becomes so important a feature in the history of modern literature, but for which we are at a loss to find an aptly distinctive epithet. We are unwilling to call it *the Protestant spirit*, although we have the most profound conviction, that from that source alone sprung the religious troubles of the sixteenth century. Its device is the "*non serviam*" of the arch-apostate, and all that is venerable, all that opposes a barrier to its licentious extravagance, is the object of its hatred or its scorn. In the *Decameron* not only the sacred ministers of religion, but even its profoundest mysteries, are held up as a jest, whilst the gratifications of sensual pleasure are considered as the supreme good.

In modern literature, as in all things which belong to this passing world, we find the principle of its death coeval with its birth; the principle of error mingling itself immediately with that of truth; and the attempt to establish anything which may be called a history of modern literature, without pointing out this capital fact, appears to us perfectly fruitless. A chronological nomenclature of the principal authors of an epoch, has in our eyes no claim to that title; history, for us, consists not in a barren detail of events only, but moreover in a just appreciation of the causes which have produced them. Every period of civilization has, without doubt, its own peculiar *literary* form; as it has also its other divers forms of art. In the

fourteenth century not only literature, but sculpture, architecture, painting, and music, appear under a new form, which may be termed, very appropriately, the Christian form; inasmuch as they respectively sought the source of their inspiration in that sublime religion. We have, in a former number, pointed out the principal causes which modified the art of painting, in noticing the very remarkable work of Monsieur Rio upon Christian æsthetics, *De la Poésie Chrétienne dans son principe, dans sa matière et dans ses formes*. As it would be no difficult task to find one common principle affecting their development, so also may their decay be attributed to one and the same cause. But the cause of that decay, although one in its essence, is various in its form: its principal varieties consist in an undue preponderance of sensual over intellectual objects, and in an attempt to revive and apply the principles of pagan art to a state of things which reposes upon laws diametrically opposite. As Dante may be chosen as the type of the Christian form in literature, Boccaccio and Petrarch may be adopted as types of that modification which was destined to turn it into a false channel. With regard to Petrarch we shall say nothing of the spirit which reigns in those admirable sonnets, which have obtained for their author so high and so just a reputation. Laura was the wife of another; moreover it is well known that he had other illicit attachments, which were anything but platonic, as their consequences proved. What we have said of Boccaccio may be applied to Petrarch,—perhaps in a mitigated sense, for we do not think that he was ever a reckless libertine like the former. It is evident, indeed, that at the period when he published those sonnets, in which he celebrates his guilty passion, he had already adopted a more correct view of things. In the first, which appears to have been written after all the rest, and to be intended as a sort of preface, he offers the apology of his past errors, and tells us that he was at that period a very different man; and in speaking of those hopes and those fears, which form his principal theme, he terms them *le vane speranza, e'l van dolore*. In the last stanza, in making allusion to that false spirit of the world which had seduced him, and which we lament to say gave an unfavourable direction to the influence which he was destined to exercise on his contemporaries and followers, we almost fancy that it is the graver genius of Dante, who tells us that all that the world most esteems is but an empty dream. It is, nevertheless, a lamentable feature in the history of modern litera-

ture, that Dante should have been closely followed by two men whose literary influence was so preponderant. Both Boccaccio and Petrarch were equally active in collecting the remains of pagan literature, which about this period began to be extracted from the dusty shelves upon which they had reposed unnoticed for several ages. The appreciation of the just influence of ancient upon modern literature, is a question too complicated, and of too delicate a nature, to be agitated here; but we believe that it is a fact, which no one will deny, that a servile imitation of the literature of the Greeks and of the Romans has, at different periods, exercised a most unfavourable influence upon the literature of modern times.

We may now safely pass on to the just appreciation of the development of modern literature, as we have established its true origin, and the causes which turned it from its natural channel. Dante, the poet of truth, of charity and of obedience, two things essentially connected in Christianity (*Ego mater pulchre dilectionis et timoris*. Eccl. 24, v. 24); Boccaccio and Petrarch, in a philosophical sense, the apostles of error, setting up in the place of divine love the idol of profane love: the former in its common form of sensual pleasure, the latter in a form no less dangerous and far more insidious, having its seat in the mind and dissipating and corrupting all its powers. The debaucheries of Boccaccio found a term in the death or in the indifference of Fiametta; but Petrarch's more elevated passion survived the loss of its object for a quarter of a century; for one half of the period of his active life! To this we must add the corresponding spirit of temerity, of disobedience, and of scorn, which complete the moral antithesis;—so much for the *matter*; as for the *form*, the sudden irruption of pagan literature preventing the example of Dante from exercising that influence which it otherwise undoubtedly would have done.

It is by no means our intention to attempt a rigid application of the above literary theory, to the various authors whom Mr. Hallam passes in rapid review; it is sufficient for our purpose to have laid down a general principle, which will enable the reader not only to account for the present state of literature, but moreover to appreciate its numerous vicissitudes. Neither shall we attempt to follow the learned author step by step, as the very nature of the work, being itself only a general nomenclature, would render such an attempt fruitless. We shall therefore content ourselves with pointing out those more important productions and those peculiar circum-

stances, which have exercised a considerable influence over the destiny of literature—of philosophy—and of the sciences.

Mr. Hallam, after his introductory chapter on the general state of literature in the middle ages, down to the end of the fourteenth century, proceeds in the ensuing one to lay before the reader a general view of the state of literature in Europe, from 1400 to 1440. He here completes the general views of the preceding chapter, by giving the history of the revival of Grecian literature during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and thence onward through the twelfth and thirteenth, down to its gradual extinction in the beginning of the fourteenth. Both Boccaccio and Petrarch then turned their attention to Greek, but the latter quickly abandoned it, either from its extreme difficulty, or for want of proper aid. Boccaccio, however, succeeded better, by the assistance of Leontius Pilatus, who made a prose translation of Homer for his particular use. His success was however but equivocal; and this is not to be wondered at, for, according to a passage in one of Petrarch's letters, there were not at that time above ten persons in the whole of Italy, who were capable of appreciating the beauties of the great Grecian poet. The very important influence which the revival of Greek literature has exercised in modern times, induces us to relate that interesting event in the author's own words:—

“The true epoch of the revival of Greek literature in Italy, these attempts of Petrarch and Boccace, (Boccaccio), having produced no immediate effect, though they evidently must have excited a desire for learning, cannot be placed before the year 1395, when Emanuel Chrysolaras, previously known as an ambassador from Constantinople to the Western Powers, in order to solicit assistance against the Turks, was induced to return to Florence as public teacher of Greek. He passed from thence to various Italian Universities, and became the preceptor of several early Hellenists. The first, and perhaps the most eminent and useful of these, was Guarino Guarini of Verona, born in 1370. He acquired his knowledge of Greek under Chrysolaras at Constantinople, before the arrival of the latter in Italy. Guarino, upon his return, became professor of rhetoric, first at Venice, and other cities of Lombardy, then at Florence, and ultimately at Ferrara, where he closed a long life of unremitting and useful labour in 1460. John Aurispa of Sicily, came to the field rather later, but his labours were not less profitable. He brought back to Italy two hundred and thirty-eight manuscripts from Greece, about 1423, and thus put his country in possession of authors hardly known to her by name. Among these were Plato, Plotinus, Diodorus, Arrian, Dio Cassius, Strabo, Pindar, Callimachus, Appian. After teaching Greek at Bologna and Florence, Aurispa also ended a length of days under the pa-

tronage of the house of Este, at Ferrara. To these may be added, in the list of public instructors in Greek before 1440, Filelfo, a man still more known by his virulent disputes with his contemporaries, than by his learning; who, returning from Greece in 1427, laden with manuscripts, was not long afterwards appointed to the chair of rhetoric—that is, of Latin and Greek philology, at Florence; and, according to his own account, excited the admiration of the whole city. But his vanity was excessive, and his contempt of others not less so. Poggio was one of his enemies; and their language towards each other, is a noble specimen of the decency with which literary and personal quarrels were carried on. It has been observed, that Gianozzo Manetti, a contemporary scholar, is less known than others, chiefly because the mildness of his character spared him the altercations to which they owe a part of their celebrity.”—vol. i. p. 133.

Many of the most celebrated men of that day employed themselves in translating these newly acquired treasures of ancient literature, amongst whom Mr. Hallam particularly mentions Ambrogio Traversari, a Florentine monk of the order of Camaldoli, of whom he says: “No one of that age has left a more respectable name for private worth: his epistles breathe a spirit of virtue—of kindness to his friends—and of zeal for learning.” This is one amongst numerous instances, in which the author of the work before us renders a just tribute of admiration to the virtues and high intellectual attainments of different members of the Catholic hierarchy. The general circulation of the authors above referred to must have exercised an important influence upon the history of literature at this period; the writings of Plato alone, which had been only imperfectly known through the works of the early fathers, were sufficient to produce an important revolution in philosophical opinions, then almost exclusively under the influence of the method of Aristotle.

During the period now under notice, the gradual encroachments of the Turks upon the Grecian empire, drove many learned men into Italy, and confirmed this tendency towards the literature of ancient Greece; and in the year 1488, Eugenius IV conceived the magnificent project of cementing this incipient union between the East and the West, by the re-establishment of Catholic unity—an event agreed upon in the general Council of Florence, by the highest authorities of the Greek Church; the decree for which was, however, unfortunately never carried into execution, although signed by the principal prelates of the Greek as well as of the Latin Church.

Towards the end of this chapter, we find an allusion to that very important element of modern literature, the romances of

chivalry ; and Mr. Hallam seeks out the origin of that exaggerated gallantry towards the fair sex, which constitutes their principal feature. Without entering into an appreciation of the various causes by him assigned, we quite agree with him in thinking, that these works of the imagination may be considered as a sort of mirror of the times in which they appeared, or rather of those which immediately preceded them, whilst at the same time they exercised, in their turn, no inconsiderable influence upon those which immediately followed them.

The author concludes this chapter by a review of the state of *religious opinion* at this period, the intimate connexion of which with the history of literature he fully admits, not only as constituting one of its great branches, but also as exercising a powerful influence over almost every other ; and he asserts that the greater part of the literature of the middle ages, at least from the twelfth century, may be considered as artillery levelled against the clergy. This statement partakes of that spirit of exaggeration which characterizes his description of the unfortunate divisions existing between the secular and the regular clergy at this period, who were certainly occasionally arrayed against each other, and not unfrequently divided amongst themselves upon several questions of an irritating nature, but of secondary interest.

His view of the state of religious parties, we consider as radically defective. He notices the existence of three principal ones ; and we have nothing to object to this general division, which is quite sufficient for the exigencies of the subject. — First, the high Church party, who stood up vigorously for the prerogatives of the holy see, and which, like all other parties, occasionally allowed themselves to be carried away by too systematic a spirit. Mr. Hallam, in alluding to the authority of the Church, gives evident proof that he has never seriously considered that subject, or that he really does not understand the question at issue. What he means by *moral* and *theological* infallibility, we shall not pretend to determine ; and as for paramount authority in temporal affairs, if some over-zealous individuals may have thought proper to advance such a claim—such is not the Catholic doctrine. The infallibility which the Church claims, and without which Christianity itself falls prostrate before the efforts of human reason, is that by which she determines, without the possibility of error, the doctrine taught by her Divine founder. The second party was that which attempted to circumscribe the pre-

negatives of the papal see, by certain reserves, supposed to be founded upon the privileges of the different national Churches submitted to its jurisdiction. In this party, better known in later times by the name of the *Gallian party*, (the Church of France having at length embodied its claims in a written form), Mr. Hallam includes, to our great astonishment, the mystical writers, such as St. Bonaventura, Tauler, and Thomas-à-Kempis, or the author, whoever he may be, of that admirable book which generally bears his name. The third party consisted of what he terms avowed or concealed heretics, some disciples of the older sectaries, some of Wickliffe or Huss, whom, however, he compliments upon their *piety*, which he says resembled that of Gerson, and Gerard Groot, but was rather more ripe for *complete reformation*!

Certain it is, that this latter party, which broke out into open violence nearly a century later, was already at this time extending its ramifications throughout Christendom, but particularly in Germany; and that important invention, which, towards the end of the fifteenth century, changed the aspect of the literary world, tended not a little to advance its doctrines.

The ensuing chapter brings us down to the end of the fifteenth century. The author, at its commencement, pays a just tribute of admiration to the munificence of Nicolas V, as a patron of letters and of learned men. He ascended the papal throne in 1447, and by him was founded the celebrated library of the Vatican, which at the period of his death, was considerably more rich than any other similar establishment,—consisting already of five thousand volumes. This chapter is divided into six decennial periods; the second of which is devoted to the revival of the Platonic philosophy, principally under the auspices of Cosmo de' Medici, and Cardinal Bessarion, who held an equal balance between the merits of Plato and of Aristotle, being a warm partisan of the former, but by no means blind to the merits of the latter, having given a translation of his *Metaphysics*. The latter part of this section is devoted to an account of the invention of printing; the author professedly avoiding to enter into the long and unsettled controversy which the origin of that art has furnished; and the ensuing section, which comprises the period between the years 1460 and 1470, is principally devoted to the progress of this important invention, and to the influence which it exercised upon the history of literature. In the following section, we are introduced to that splendid era of

letters, to which Lorenzo de' Medici, one of their chief patrons, has given his name. Under his fostering care, the study of the Platonic philosophy, which had been first patronized by Cosmo de' Medici, was brought to maturity. It is rarely, from the nature of his subject, that Mr. Hallam has an opportunity of abandoning himself to that eloquence of style, which forms one of the characteristics of his pen; Lorenzo de' Medici, and Florence, have however offered him a fitting theme, and he has not neglected to profit by it. The reader will probably partake of that feeling of astonishment, with which we read the splendid eulogium of the Catholic hierarchy contained in the following extract, and which we have taken the liberty of printing in *Italics* :—

"His influence [Lorenzo de' Medici's] over literature, extended from 1470 to his death in 1492. Nor was mere philology the sole, or the leading pursuit to which so truly a noble mind accorded its encouragement. He sought in ancient learning something more elevated than the narrow though necessary researches of criticism. In a villa overhanging the towers of Florence, on the steep slope of that lofty hill, crowned by the mother city, the ancient Fiesole, in gardens which Tully might have envied, with Ficino, Landino, and Politian, at his side, he delighted his hours of leisure with the beautiful visions of Platonic philosophy, for which the summer stillness of an Italian sky appears the most congenial accompaniment.

"Never could the sympathies of the soul with outward nature be more finely touched: never could more striking suggestions be presented to the philosopher and the statesman. Florence lay beneath them; not with all the magnificence which the later Medici have given her, but, thanks to the piety of former times, presenting almost as varied an outline to the sky. One man, the wonder of Cosmo's age, Brunelleschi, had crowned the beautiful city with the vast dome of its cathedral—a structure unthought of in Italy before, and rarely since surpassed. *It seemed, amidst clustering towers of inferior churches, an emblem of the Catholic hierarchy under its supreme head; like Rome itself, imposing, unbroken, unchangeable, radiating in equal expansion to every part of the earth, and directing its convergent curves to heaven.*"

Could the heart of the most fervent Catholic, who duly appreciates the salutary influence of a central and supreme authority, speak more to the purpose, more eloquently, or with deeper feeling? Our author thus continues :—

"Round this (the cathedral) were numbered, at unequal heights, the baptistry, with gates worthy of Paradise; the tall and richly decorated belfry of Giotto; the church of the Carmine, with the frescos of Masaccio; those of Santa Maria Novella, beautiful as a bride; of Santa Croce, second only in magnificence to the cathedral; and of

St. Mark; the San Spirito, another great monument of the genius of Brunelleschi; the numerous convents which rose within the walls of Florence or were scattered immediately about them. From these the eye might turn to the trophies of a republican government, that was rapidly giving way before the citizen prince who now surveyed them; the Palazzo Vecchio, in which the signiory of Florence held their councils, raised by the Guelf aristocracy, the exclusive, but not tyrannous, faction that long swayed the city; or the new and unfinished palace, which Brunelleschi had designed for one of the Pitti family, before they fell, as others had already done, in the fruitless struggle against the house of Medici; itself destined to become the abode of the victorious race, and to perpetuate, by retaining its name, the revolutions that had raised them to power."—vol. i. p. 244.

Had not our limits precluded the possibility of indulging ourselves in a lengthened extract, we should certainly have been inclined to continue this; as it is, we must content ourselves with referring the reader to the book itself, where Mr. Hallam speaks, in the strain of a poet, of the effect which is produced upon the mind by looking down upon a great city in repose.

The history of the revival of the Platonic philosophy, leads the author to consider the general state of philosophical science at this period, and to pass in review the principal methods then in use. One of the most remarkable works which made its appearance at this time, was the *Theologica Platonica* of Marsilius Ficinus, a book which Mr. Hallam judges severely, as appealing rather to the imagination than to the understanding. It is, however, to be remarked, that in the writings of Plato we must look not only for a philosophical method, but more especially for a general system of ontology; the result, to a certain degree, of his own transcendent genius, but for which he was principally indebted to an attentive study of those ancient traditions which he collected in his extensive travels in Egypt and in other countries. The very nature of the subject, particularly when thus treated, renders it impossible to avoid a certain vagueness, which other sciences very wisely repudiate, but which appears necessarily attached to things supersensual. Every method based upon rigorous definitions, is destined to stop short at the very elements of philosophical science; and when we call to our aid the painful and elaborate process of induction, or the still more uncertain light of popular tradition, in traversing this *terra incognita* of transcendental science, we are unavoidably exposed to wander occasionally from the direct path of truth. Moreover, there is a certain vagueness in language, which

renders it almost impossible to seize exactly the idea of an ancient author, writing in a dead language upon abstract matters; upon that account, many of the principal postulata in the system of Plato and of his disciples, may be said to be wanting in that rigorous exactness which the understanding requires, and in that respect may be said to be addressed rather to the imagination. But shall we, therefore, pass them over as unworthy of notice, since they are calculated to raise the affections towards things in themselves most excellent? Is man a being so complete in his nature, as to feel himself justified in rejecting all knowledge which is partial and obscure? In the *Theologica Platonica*, Marsilius Ficinus gives not only a rapid sketch of the philosophy of Plato—he, moreover, attempts to point out its analogies with divine truth in certain matters; and whenever he goes beyond the limits of the orthodox theology, which has the sanction of Catholic authority, he speaks only as a private individual, who bases his opinion upon what he considers as a sufficient philosophical probability. Mr. Hallam, in the following passage, speaks as a man who attaches a due importance to the value of speculative science:—

“The thirst for hidden knowledge, by which man is distinguished from brutes, and the superior races of men from savage tribes, burns generally with more intenseness in proportion as the subject is less definitely comprehensible, and the means of certainty less attainable. Even our own interest in things beyond the sensible world, does not appear to be the primary or chief source of the desire we feel to be acquainted with them; it is the pleasure of belief itself, of associating the conviction of reality with ideas not presented by sense; it is sometimes the necessity of satisfying a restless spirit, that first excites our endeavours to withdraw the veil that conceals the mystery of their being. The few great truths in religion that reason discovers, or that an explicit revelation deigns to communicate, sufficient as they may be for our practical good, have proved to fall very short of the ambitious curiosity of man. They leave so much imperfectly known, so much wholly unexplored, that in all ages he has never been content without trying some method of filling up the void. These methods have often led him to folly, and weakness, and crime. Yet, as those who want the human passions, in their excess the great fountains of evil, seem maimed in their nature—so, an indifference to this knowledge of invisible things, or a premature despair of attaining it, may be accounted an indication of some moral or intellectual deficiency, some scantiness of the due proportion of mind.”—vol. i. p. 276.

The learned author then proceeds to enumerate the various methods which man has employed “to enlarge the boundaries

of human knowledge, in matters relating to the Deity, or to such of his intelligent creatures as do not present themselves in ordinary objectiveness to our senses." He names reason as the first and the most valuable instrument, but remains wholly silent as to its means of action. From the context we are induced to believe, that by reason the author intends to indicate the discursive operations of that faculty, which in that case necessarily supposes some premises independent of itself, upon which it may operate. In fact the necessity of some fixed data, which can be no other than the truths of Divine revelation, is satisfactorily established in the following passage.

"But so fallible appears the reason of each man to others, and often so dubious are its *inferences* to himself—so limited is the span of our faculties, so incapable are they of giving more than a vague and conjectural probability, where we demand most of definiteness and certainty, that few, comparatively speaking, have been content to acquiesce even in their own hypotheses upon no other grounds than argument has supplied."—vol. i. p. 277.

These sentiments would certainly have justified our author in postponing all those methods which have reason for their sole basis, and in placing at the head of his classification something more sure in its operations and more fertile in its results.

Next to those who have solely employed their rational faculties in theology, are placed those who have relied upon supernatural illumination. It is impossible for Mr. Hallam, who is not a Catholic, to draw a line of demarcation between the ravings of the fanatic and the real inspirations of those holy persons, who by the special favour of Heaven have been called upon to lay open to us the hidden mysteries of the invisible world. To such a man as Mr. Hallam, in the absence of any fixed criterion by which it may be judged, the very mention of the mystical philosophy is calculated to suggest a well-founded apprehension.

Mr. Hallam distinguishes three other methods, which he terms as follows; extended inferences from sacred books; confidence in traditions; and confidence in individuals as inspired. To this he adds a special notice of the Jewish *Cabala*, which he dignifies with the name of *complemental revelation*. Amongst these three last-mentioned channels of supernatural knowledge, the latter (confidence in individuals as inspired) is only a repetition of the second method, of which we have already spoken; viz. supernatural illumination. We shall

therefore pass it over in silence, and merely offer a few remarks as to Mr. Hallam's views with regard to the two others.

In speaking of the interpretation of the sacred writings, the author, in classing those of the Mahometans with the canonical Scriptures, introduces into the mind of the reader an inevitable confusion; for independently of the capital question, as to what is true revelation, and what is a mere spurious imitation of its external form, the Christian Church and the Mahometan theocracy are governed by laws and by customs essentially different. When, therefore, he alludes to the high sanction of Church authority, as embodied in the decisions of a general council, he speaks of a sanction which applies exclusively to the Catholic Church, and which the sectaries of Mahomet have never attempted to hold forth to their followers. In fact, we must venture to express our surprise, that a person of Mr. Hallam's general good taste should have thus offered a gratuitous insult to Christianity; from the general tenor of his book we can only ascribe it to an oversight, not having seized the connexion which exists between the commencement and the end of a rather long phrase. As to the allegorical interpretations of Scripture, so much in favour with the early fathers, they repose merely upon their own individual authority, the Church never having interfered in the matter, either to approve or to condemn.

The same confusion of things essentially different, reigns on the subject of *tradition*. Mr. Hallam, in speaking of the *three great religions*—the Jewish, the Christian, and the *Mahometan*—omits to inform the reader of the important difference which characterises the sanction offered by each. In our humble opinion, the learned author has not the remotest suspicion of the real nature of Catholic tradition; one thing at least is certain, he speaks only of the legends of saints. Now popish legends, in our eyes, are things highly respectable in their way; but Heaven forbid that we should ever confound them with Catholic tradition,—of all things that which is most beyond the reach of doubt, and which St. Vincent of Lerins has thus defined: "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*" This is not the place to enter into a definition of the real nature of Catholic tradition; we shall therefore leave the matter in the hands of the intelligent reader. We shall merely take the liberty of observing, before we quit the subject of speculative science, that however unsatisfactory any one of the methods above alluded to may appear, it is the high privilege of the Christian philosophy to

combine them all into one harmonious *unity*, by taking from each that portion of truth which it contains, and thus arriving, under the tutelary influence of an infallible guide, at the remotest limits of human knowledge. Aided by the light of reason, and making use of that high faculty both in its discursive and in its speculative forms, the Christian philosopher studies those eternal truths which are revealed in the written word of God, guided by the definitions and the decisions of an infallible tribunal. The visible Church, as a hierarchy, was established by Divine authority, not only to prevent the propagation of error, but also to complete by oral tradition, which has hitherto flowed in an uninterrupted course, that general system which the holy Scriptures are intended rather to corroborate than to propound. To the united testimony of reason, of revelation, and of tradition, those who wish to penetrate further into the arcana of the invisible world, may add the result of individual inspiration, embodied in those private revelations which, in the absence of a supreme decision, each person has a right to judge according to their respective merits. It would, however, be rash in the extreme, to employ no harsher term, to disregard the saintly character of several of the persons so favoured, and the high authority with which their writings have been invested by the approbation of holy and learned men.

It is impossible to take leave of the age of Lorenzo de' Medici without alluding to its greatest literary prodigy—John Picus, of Mirandola, one of the most extraordinary men of those or of any other times. Mr. Hallam regards him as an instance of splendid talent perverted by his marked tendency to credulity. We shall not attempt to defend him from that charge, although our views upon this point may not perhaps exactly coincide with those of the author. His fifty Hebrew manuscripts, composed by Esdras, and rich in the secret mysteries of the cabala, are certainly liable to be severely judged by the enlightened critic; but have we not seen, in later times, men of undoubted judgment precipitately adopting as genuine what has ultimately proved to be spurious? We need only mention the celebrated literary forgery of the unfortunate Chatterton. But be this as it may, men of superior minds frequently employ materials of doubtful origin to a useful purpose, as the industrious bee extracts honey from the empoisoned flower. It must not be forgotten that the most startling hypotheses of Picus of Mirandola were put forth with that reserve, which the authority of the Church im-

poses. With such a moderating principle a man may travel far into the obscure regions of speculative science and return unscathed; and when we consider that no error can subsist without a certain portion of truth, we shall cease to be surprised that a man who undertook to defend publicly nine hundred theses, should, in compliment to the spirit of the times, have included in their number the subjects of magic and the cabala. Considering the early age at which he was cut off (being only thirty-one years old) we may well be astonished at the variety and extent of his attainments. He was a perfect master of Greek, and deeply versed in the writings both of Plato and of Aristotle, at the same time possessing an adequate knowledge of Hebrew and the other oriental languages; he wrote Latin with elegance, nor did he neglect his own language, having left several pieces of Italian poetry. His generous indignation was aroused by a virulent attack upon the schoolmen, in which they were treated as barbarians, on account of the want of elegance with which they had written in Latin; in their justification he alleges that they had been too much occupied with *things* to busy themselves about *words*. We add, in the form of a note, a portion of that fragment which Mr. Hallam has produced as a specimen of his style, and by which the reader may judge of the gravity of his views and the dignified elevation of those principles which directed his studies.*

Another name of considerable celebrity, and most intimately connected with this period, is that of Savonarola. Mr. Hallam has passed it over in silence, and we were almost inclined to follow his example, considering the variety of opinions which have been adopted with regard to this extraordinary man. But, nevertheless, whatever may have been the moral value of Savonarola, his influence upon literature and upon art cannot be denied. Such of his sermons as have been published, bear ample testimony to the unceasing efforts which he made to stem the torrents of paganism and corruption, which had already begun to pervert the public taste. His

* "Viximus celebres, o Hermole, et posthac vivemus, non in scholis grammaticorum et pædagogiiis, sed in philosophorum coronis, in conventibus sapientum, ubi non de matre Andromaches, non de Niobes filiis, atque id genus levibus nugis, sed de humanarum divinarumque rerum rationibus agitur et disputatur. In quibus meditandis, inquirendis et enodandis, ita subtiles acuti acresque fuimus, ut anxii quandoque nimium et morosi fuisse forte videamur, si modo esse morosus quispiam aut curiosus nimio plus in indaganda veritate potest."—Polit. Epist. lib. 9.

commanding eloquence was never weary in condemning the false tendency of the times, and no man better than himself succeeded in pointing out the real principles of that new form of art to which Christianity had given birth, but which adverse circumstances then threatened to destroy. Notwithstanding his melancholy, his ignominious end, his admirers and his friends were not tardy in vindicating his memory from the aspersions which his enemies had cast around it; and after the lapse of a few years, he who had been burned as an impostor was venerated as a saint.*

The close of the fifteenth century (1491-1500) forms the subject of the last section of this chapter. The decline of letters in Italy may be justly ascribed to the severe losses which they experienced by the political convulsions of that day, which ended in the expulsion of the Medici from Florence in the year 1494, and also by the death of several eminent scholars about this period; Picus of Mirandola having died that very same year, as also Hermolaus Barbarus, and Politian the year preceding. We refer the reader to the book before us (p. 309) for a just appreciation of the merits of these writers, who were honorably distinguished from their coteremporaries.

The current of literature seems now to be setting towards the north. In addition to Paris, Lyons, by aid of the newly-invented art of printing, becomes celebrated for its numerous editions of learned books, whilst in Germany the same praise may be given to the labours of the press at Deventer and Leipsic. About this time, Erasmus and Budæus give a fresh splendour to Greek letters, by their rapid progress in the study of that language. The high reputation of the former, his extensive general learning, and the bulk of his voluminous writings, render him one of the most influential men of his day; and his sarcastic turn, and the way in which he coquetted with those dangerous principles, which were already fermenting in the public mind, contributed not a little to the advancement of that great religious catastrophe which signalized the beginning of the ensuing century. Erasmus, it is true, constantly refused to take any part with the propounders of the new doctrines, but at the same time he neglected to stem their progress by that public reprobation which his conscience must frequently have suggested to him. There existed many abuses at this time in the Church as well as in the

* Bartoli's Apology in favour of Savonarola, p. 183.

state, which loudly called for reform; and Erasmus, in attacking the former, with a degree of virulence which may be traced partly to his own natural temperament, and partly to the character of the times, was far from intending to manifest any open hostility to the Church, and much less any real sympathy with those bold innovators, each of whom at this time assumed to himself the supreme authority.

Mr. Hallam, in closing this notice of the fifteenth century, thus enumerates the important events which illustrated its close:—

“This period of ten years, from 1490 to 1500, will ever be memorable in the history of mankind. It is here that we usually close the long interval between the Roman world, and this our modern Europe, denominated the middle ages. The conquest of Granada, which rendered Spain a Christian kingdom; the annexation of the last great fief of the French crown, Brittany, which made France an entire and absolute monarchy; the public peace of Germany; the invasion of Naples by Charles VIII, which revealed the weakness of Italy, while it communicated its arts and manners to the Cisalpine nations, and opened the scene of warfare and alliances which may be deduced to the present day; the discovery of two worlds by Columbus and Vasco de Gama, all belong to this decad. But it is not, as we have seen, so marked an era in the progression of literature.”—vol. i. p. 332.

On the contrary, Mr. Hallam only enumerates two authors whose works have passed to posterity, and are now read in their original form—the burlesque poem of Pulci, the permanent success of which may in a great degree be attributed to its licentiousness, and to its want of respect for all that is venerable; and the *Memoirs of Philip de Comines*, the merits of which may be regarded rather as historical than literary, on account of the important documents which they contain, relative to the reigns of Louis XI and Charles VIII. The following is given as a general summary of the acquisitions of the fifteenth century:—

“If we come to inquire what acquisitions had been made between the years 1400 and 1500, we shall find that in Italy the Latin language was now written by some with elegance, and by most with tolerable exactness and fluency; while, out of Italy, there had been a corresponding improvement, relatively to the point from which they started; the flagrant barbarisms of the fourteenth century having yielded before the close of the next to a more respectable, though not an elegant or exact kind of style. Many Italians had now some acquaintance with Greek, which in 1400 had been hardly the case with any one; and the knowledge of it was of late beginning to make a little progress in Cisalpine Europe. The French and English lan-

guages were become what we call more polished, though the difference in the former seems not to be very considerable. In mathematical science, and in natural history, the ancient writers had been more brought to light, and a certain progress had been made by diligent, if not very inventive philosophers. We cannot say that metaphysical or moral philosophy stood higher than it had done in the time of the schoolmen. The history of Greece and Rome, and the antiquities of the latter, were, of course, more distinctly known after so many years of attentive study bestowed on their principal authors ; yet the acquaintance of the learned with those subjects was by no means exact or critical enough to save them from gross errors, or from becoming the dupes of any forgery. A proof of this was furnished by the impostures of Anniius of Viterbo, who, having published large fragments of Megasthenes, Berossus, Manetho, and a great many more lost historians, as having been discovered by himself, obtained full credence at the time, which was not generally withheld for too long a period afterwards, though the forgeries were palpable to those who had made themselves masters of genuine history."—vol. i. p. 335.

Mr. Hallam appears to us here rather to underrate the literary value of the fifteenth century. He passes over in silence the state of theological science, and of those studies which had for their object the civil and the canon law—matters calculated to exercise an important influence over the intellectual progress of the human mind. The number and quality of the books printed at this period, may, to a certain degree, serve as a criterion of the state of learning. The learned author appears to insinuate that most of the works then in request were trifling and ignorant productions, the editions of those books which are necessary to the progress of knowledge being *few* and *imperfect* ; yet we find, by the bibliographical catalogues which relate to the period in question, that from the year 1470 to 1500, no less than ten thousand editions of books, or pamphlets (according to some writers fifteen thousand) issued from the various presses of the different cities in which the newly-invented art was already established ; 55 of these were in Italy, where the principal typographical activity reigned, as appears from the respective numbers of editions issuing from each press, as established upon the authority of Panzer ; by which we see, that whilst Paris produced only 751 editions, Rome reckons 925, and Venice 2,835. The whole of England figures in this list for the very moderate total of 141, whereof 130 were printed in London, seven at Oxford, and the remainder at the press which was established in the monastery of St. Alban's, where the monks followed closely upon the traces of one of the great intellectual centres

of the land, and that only a few years previous to the Reformation.

Fifteen thousand *editions* of works, although some of them were, of course, reprinted many times, may be considered as indicating a considerable activity in the literary world. Amongst the great number of books thus thrown into circulation, what were the subjects generally treated? In the department of ancient letters, we find 291 *editions* of the writings of Cicero, 95 editions of Virgil, and 57 of Horace; it is true, that, in each, the whole of the works of the author were not comprised. This appears particularly to apply to Horace, and that perhaps for reasons easy to divine. In his case, eleven only out of the fifty-seven editions are complete. In theology, Mr. Hallam mentions only the *ninety-one editions* of the Vulgate; he might have added to these several editions of different standard works of the early fathers, of the *Liber Sententiarum*, of the *Summa Theologæ*, and of other important works relating to this science. As to the canon and the civil law, matters ever considered as forming the basis of a learned education, the various editions of the digest and decretals, and other parts of those systems of jurisprudence, amount to some hundreds.

The above-mentioned numbers, it must be remembered, relate not to single volumes, but to whole editions of the work, varying from 275 to 550 copies, and probably occasionally exceeding that number. Taking the latter as the basis of our calculation, and applying it to the works of Cicero alone, the result is, that above 160,000 copies of the writings of this elegant author were introduced into circulation during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Mr. Hallam has, perhaps, been tempted to cast a veil over the literary glory of the fifteenth century, in order that the sixteenth might shine forth in greater splendor:—that memorable era of intellectual emancipation, when the human intelligence, according to his views, shook off those antiquated trammels which had hitherto prevented its full development. We take leave, however, to observe, that the intellectual value of an epoch is not to be exclusively estimated by the number of new authors which it produces, but in some degree by the use which it makes of those already in its possession.

The following chapter brings us down to the eventful period of the Protestant Reformation; an epoch intimately connected with the history of literature, inasmuch as that event not only for a time put a stop to the development of

learning, but also introduced a new principle into philosophy, which was destined at a future period to open upon us the floodgates of scepticism. That the Reformation was fatal to all wholesome intellectual progress, we have the testimony of many contemporary writers, amongst whom may be reckoned Erasmus, who was certainly no blind approver of the old state of things;—he laments bitterly that wherever Lutheranism reigns, literature perishes. In one of his letters he speaks of the *Evangelicals* of his day, who appear to have been of the same genus as those of ours, and tells us candidly that he hates their very name, for that they are the cause that polite letters, which he regards as one of the principal consolations of man's life, are neglected and forgotten; "*languent, fugiunt, jacent, intereunt bonæ literæ.*" Erasmus has generally been reckoned by Protestant writers amongst one of the most strenuous promoters of the Reformation; as a sort of Protestant abortion; as a man who only remained attached to the old errors, because they were favourable to his own private interests; but the fact is, that the conduct as well as the doctrines of the Reformers, inspired him with the most inexpressible disgust, as the reader may readily perceive without going any further than those extracts from his letters which are given by Mr. Hallam himself, in the form of notes, at pp. 419 and 491 of the present volume. To these, had the occasion called for it, we might have added many others, written in the same spirit, and in terms equally expressive. In the passage above alluded to, he accuses the *Evangelicals* of being addicted to the grossest vices; "*amant viaticum et uxorem;*" and in another letter, also cited by Mr. Hallam (p. 491), he says that they were only anxious about two things, *money and women*; as for all the rest, *the gospel* is their inexhaustible resource; for in the gospel they find the means of justifying all their crimes. "*Duo tantum quærunt, consum et uxorem. Cætera præstat illis Evangelium, hoc est, potestatem vivendi ut volunt.*" But we have heard too much about the gospel, adds he; what we desire is to see its morality reduced to practice. "*Satis jam diu audivimus Evangelium, Evangelium; mores evangelicos desideramus.*" He gives us, moreover, a most melancholy picture of the state of several of the principal cities in Germany, as filled with needy wanderers; religious persons who had violated their solemn vows; priests who had imitated the scandalous example of Luther, in abandoning themselves to the sacrilegious vice of incontinence; many of whom were

already exposed to all the horrors of the most utter destitution:—" *Civitates aliquot Germaniæ implentur erroribus, desertoribus monasteriûm, sacerdotibus conjugatis plerisque famelicis ac nudis.*" And yet, in the midst of all this moral and physical misery, we hear of nothing but of dancing, of eating and drinking, and of the most disgusting debauchery: "*Nec aliud quam saltatur, editur, bibitur, subatur.*" At Bale, particularly, he had an opportunity of witnessing such goings on, that he assures us, that even if their doctrines had suited him, he could never have made up his mind to have any intercourse with such a filthy (*fædus*) set.

In citing the opinion of Erasmus, as to the direct influence of the Reformation upon literature in general, we have been betrayed into a more comprehensive appreciation of that event, in some of its attendant circumstances. To such men as we have above described, it is impossible, even by the greatest stretch of courtesy, to ascribe any but the lowest and most sordid motives. But we leave them to wallow in their infamy, certain that every unprejudiced person, whatever may be his creed, will join with us in execrating their memory.

The reader must not however suppose, that in thus introducing the Protestant Reformation, we are travelling out of our subject; for Mr. Hallam, in the work before us, enters at some length into that matter. The religious revolution of the sixteenth century, is one of those capital events in the history of the progress of the human mind, which extends its influence over all succeeding ages; and our author therefore found himself under the necessity of examining it both in its origin and in its developement. We ourselves, as our well-known principles imply, attach too much importance to this subject to pass it over lightly; we shall, however, in the present instance, merely follow our author in his appreciation of men and things. It has been our intention, from the beginning, to divide our notice of Mr. Hallam's work into two parts, the first of which should comprise only that period which is previous to the Reformation. Having therefore advanced thus far, we shall conclude the present article by laying before the reader the author's opinions upon an event which has been so variously qualified, accordingly as the interests and the passions of particular writers have been allowed to sway their better judgment.

Mr. Hallam thus introduces the subject, under the marginal title of *Origin of the Reformation*:—

"We are now brought, insensibly perhaps, but by necessary steps,

to the great religious revolution which has just been named. I approach this subject with some hesitation, well aware that impartiality is no protection against unreasonable cavilling. But neither the history of literature, nor of human opinion upon the most important subjects, can dispense altogether with so extensive a portion of its materials."—vol. i. p. 411.

We sincerely believe that Mr. Hallam is an impartial writer, in a certain sense of the word; we believe him wholly incapable of distorting truth to serve party purposes, and justice obliges us to avow, that he constantly endeavours to hold a just balance between conflicting opinions, according to the measure of his knowledge. But prejudice, the parent of partiality, is of two kinds, voluntary and involuntary; and men of the most liberal sentiments are unconsciously acted upon by the influences of their early education. Thus in speaking of the proximate causes of the Reformation, and the famous dispute about the sale of indulgences, he omits to inform us, that Luther only discovered the inefficacy of indulgences, after the religious order of which he was a member, had been deprived of the profits which arose from distributing them. As to the sale of indulgences, as a question of right, or even as a question of expediency, we beg to be allowed to leave it at rest. It is not here the place to renew a discussion, which, like many others, has been rendered interminable by misstatement. It is, moreover, at the present day, wholly devoid of interest, as the Church, in the exercise of her penal authority, has substituted *other conditions*, in the place of those trifling pecuniary penalties, which have been the occasion of so much angry reproach. This was, however, the subject upon which Luther first opened his attack upon Church authority. He began by professing to believe that those whom Mr. Hallam terms *the dealers* in that commodity, had exceeded their commission; he therefore most respectfully appealed to Rome. This was in the year 1518. Two years afterwards, and after that mature consideration which this long delay implies, the pope resolved to maintain his prerogative, and not to give way before the wild clamours of a factious monk. Luther, instead of submitting to the lawful authority of his spiritual superior, now threw off all allegiance to the Church, by publicly executing the office of the hangman upon the instrument of his condemnation, at the same time committing to the flames *the whole body of the canon law*. The history of Luther is the history of every heretic in every age; condemned by their superiors, they appeal to the pope; condemned by the pope,

they appeal to a general council; and condemned by a general council, they appeal to themselves, and to their own private interpretation of Catholic truth.

Mr. Hallam does not appear prepared to condemn this conduct of Luther, probably because he has never sufficiently reflected upon the nature of Church authority, and upon the necessary dependence of the inferior members of the hierarchy; but the case is different when he comes to speak of his *doctrines*; he finds them subversive of all morality by confounding the fundamental distinctions of virtue and vice. In a note (p. 417), he particularly condemns the very unfair proceeding of that great Protestant authority, Milner, who, in his prolix history of this period, has, by what is very justly termed a *disingenuous trick*, suppressed all those passages "*which display his antinomian paradoxes in a strong light.*" The tenets of Calvin do not appear to have been more favourably received by Mr. Hallam, as he considers a charge of *Calvinism* as anything but courteous, and even apologises for making use of so *awkward* a word.

Having thus condemned the doctrines of the two principal actors in this scene, he thus proceeds to speak of the event itself, considered as to its origin:—

"Whatever may be the bias of our minds as to the truth of Luther's doctrines, we should be careful, in considering the Reformation as a part of the history of mankind, not to be misled by the superficial and ungrounded representations which we sometimes find in modern authors. Such is this, that Luther, struck by the absurdity of the prevailing superstitions, was desirous of introducing a more rational system of religion, or that he contended for freedom of inquiry, and the boundless privileges of individual judgment; or, what others have been pleased to suggest, that his zeal for learning and ancient philosophy led him to attack the ignorance of the monks and the crafty policy of the Church, which withstood all liberal studies."

"These notions are merely fallacious refinements, as every man of plain understanding, who is acquainted with the writings of the early reformers, or has considered their history, must acknowledge."—vol. i. p. 418.

The author then proceeds to examine and to combat each of the above hypotheses; and he begins by asserting, that the doctrines of Luther are certainly not more rational than those of the Church from which he separated. As to free inquiry, he presumes that, although *they practised it in deserting their ancient altars*, they had no intention of laying it down as a principle that a man has *a right to judge amiss*. He also repudiates the idea that the interests of learning had

anything to do with it, for Luther had no pretensions in that direction.

Such of our readers as have not already seen Mr. Hallam's book, must now be curious to know, after what he has already advanced, where he intends to seek the real motive of their conduct. His solution is not exactly flattering to Protestant susceptibility, although it must be allowed that it is enveloped in a certain vagueness of language, which renders it less offensive to delicate ears. We doubt not, even, that a certain class of readers will be very well satisfied with the following harmonious phrase:—"Every solution of the conduct of the Reformers must be nugatory, except one, that they were men absorbed by the conviction that they were fighting the battle of God"—which, reduced to more homely language, means, that they were wild enthusiasts and furious fanatics, as every man is, who pretends to a special mission from Heaven, in the absence of a *sanction*, or who takes upon himself to destroy what has been legitimately established. As to the question of their sincerity, the circumstance of their being sincere, if they really were so, may, perhaps, render them less contemptible, but scarcely less guilty; for a man blinded by anger, by envy, or by any other passion, may be very *sincere*, but is not the less responsible for the consequences of his conduct. The knight of the woful countenance was very sincere when he attacked, sword in hand, the inoffensive wine sacks of his sleeping host, mistaking them for a band of midnight depredators; but his sincerity did not prevent the fatal consequences of his error—all the wine was spilt.

A few years ago, no Protestant writer would have dared to pronounce so severe a judgment upon the Reformation as Mr. Hallam has done in the present instance; and it certainly indicates an important progress in the state of public opinion, when we see on all sides of us, both in this country and abroad, the most learned men of the day amongst the Protestants, laboriously occupied in breaking down that enormous barrier of error, which the accumulated prejudices of three centuries had erected, and which alone has hitherto prevented men from appreciating more correctly the history of certain past events.

But his language becomes still more remarkable in a future chapter (chap. vi.), which is particularly devoted to the history of theological literature in Europe from the year 1520 to the year 1550. During this period of thirty years, one-

third of which is anterior to, and two-thirds posterior, to that first public manifesto of Protestantism, the Confession of Augsburg, the Reformation may be said to have been constituted; the year 1520 coinciding with the date of Luther's open apostacy, and the year 1550 bringing us down to the close of his career, which took place in 1546.

Our author commences his notice of this period, by laying before the reader a succinct history of the progress of the Reformation, and of the conduct which was professedly adopted by the civil authority with regard to religious differences. He admits, however, that the innovations which were countenanced by the civil power, gradually undermined the basis of social order; and that those furious mobs who were allowed to destroy by force the exterior symbols of religious worship, became inclined to further acts of destruction and more sweeping theories of revolution; in a word, that it taught them the habit of *knowing* and *trying* what he very quaintly terms *the efficacy of popular argument*. To the excitement of the revolutionary spirit, he adds, as a second consequence of the Reformation (we use Mr. Hallam's own terms), the growth of fanaticism. The passage in which he describes this most deplorable calamity (at the same time giving to Luther the merit of being its principal author) is well deserving of the reader's attention:—

"A more immediate effect of overthrowing the ancient system, was the growth of fanaticism, to which, *in its worst shape*, the anti-nomian extravagances of Luther, yielded too great encouragement. But he was the first to repress the pretences of the Anabaptists; and when he saw the danger of general licentiousness, which he had unwarily promoted, he listened to the wiser counsels of Melancthon, and permitted his early doctrine upon justification to be so far modified, or mitigated in expression, that it ceased to give apparent countenance to immorality; though his difference with the Church of Rome, as to the very question from which he had started, thus became of less practical importance, and less tangible to ordinary minds than before. Yet, in his own writings we may find to the last such language, as to *the impossibility of sin in the justified man, who was to judge solely by an internal assurance as to the continuance of his own justification*, as would now be universally condemned in all our churches, and is hardly to be heard from the lips of the merest enthusiast."—vol. i. p. 487.

The passage which we have printed in italics fully justifies Mr. Hallam in qualifying the enthusiasm of Luther, as a specimen of the very worst of its kind. In fact, where are we to seek for a principle of stability in morals, when every scoun-

drel is allowed to declare himself *impeccable*, because his senses are disturbed by the fumes of ignorance and vanity?

After having spoken of those angry differences, which soon rendered the Reformers as violent against each other, as against the Church from which they had apostatised, he touches upon the delicate question of the *changes* which were made in the official Protestant creed (the Confession of Augsburg) so early as the year 1540, exactly ten years after its promulgation. Its apologists, after having boldly asserted that *no change whatever* had been made in this important document, were obliged to modify that assertion, upon the production of the original edition of 1531, which is materially different from that of 1540. They then contented themselves by saying, that they meant to assert that no *important* change had been made. In the absence of a competent ecclesiastical tribunal, we are at a loss to discover who has a right to determine what is important and what is unimportant in such matters; one thing, however, is certain, that amongst the changes introduced, we find one quoted by our author himself, in a note (p. 488), which was intended to get rid of the doctrine of transubstantiation;—now, whether the doctrine of transubstantiation be or be not *important*, each Protestant must determine according to his own particular views. In England, we should say that it has always been regarded as *very important*, as several legislative enactments rendered a belief in it a political offence.

Mr. Hallam then enters at some length into the appreciation of the character of Erasmus, and of his writings; and he begins, by informing us, that he, as well as Sir Thomas More, and several of the most eminent men of the day, whom he mentions by name, all persons favourable to *reform*, in its legitimate sense, rallied round the Church in the hour of her danger; preferring the existence of the ancient abuses, to the violent remedy which was proposed for their suppression. Erasmus, particularly, anticipated great evil (it is Mr. Hallam who speaks thus) "*from the presumptuousness of ignorant men in judging for themselves in religion*;" he therefore always maintained the necessity of preserving the communion of the Catholic Church, which he thought consistent with much latitude of private faith. In an elaborate note, the author justifies the memory of this great scholar from the base slanders of partial writers, who have represented his actions as taking their rise in motives of self-interest, of fear, or of ambition.

The following passage appears to us extremely curious, as

exemplifying how far a man may be led, by a natural love of truth, to lay open unconsciously the weak places of the party to which he belongs :—

“The most striking effect of the first preaching of the Reformation was, that it appealed to the *ignorant* ; and though political liberty, in the sense we use the word, cannot be reckoned the aim of those who introduced it, yet there predominated that revolutionary spirit which loves to witness destruction for its own sake, and that intoxicated self-confidence which renders folly mischievous. Women took an active part in religious dispute ; and though in many respects the Roman Catholic religion is very congenial to the female sex, we cannot be surprised that many ladies might be *good Protestants*, against the right of any to judge better than themselves. The translation of the New Testament by Luther in 1522, and of the Old a few years later, gave weapons to all disputants. It was common to hold conferences before the burgomasters of German and Swiss towns, who settled the points in controversy, one way or other, perhaps as well as the learned would have done.”—vol. i. p. 497.

Had the preceding lines been written by an avowed enemy of the Reformation, they would no doubt be treated as calumnies, or at least as partial misrepresentations, arising out of that spirit of exaggeration, which has unfortunately misled many able writers on both sides of the question : in the present instance, no such suspicion can be attached to them. Mr. Hallam's high character as an historical writer, conveys to them an increased importance. He avows, that upon matters the most subtle and abstruse, as well as upon other grave questions, which learned men alone can resolve (for instance, such as are connected with the history and the discipline of the Church), an appeal was made to the passions of an ignorant mob ; to men (we use his own identical words), “*who loved to witness destruction for its own sake, and who were intoxicated with that self-confidence which renders folly mischievous.*” Such men, opening a rude and incomplete translation of the Holy Scriptures, without any regard to the writings of the fathers, or the long-received interpretations of the universal Church, disposed in a summary way of the most momentous questions, and that in a few hours, and under the presidency of a civil magistrate ! Of those very questions, many of which had already been settled by the authority of a general council, and most of which were afterwards attentively re-examined by the Council of Trent ; not in the course of a morning, but during the long protracted labours of several sessions, which lasted at intervals from 1545 to 1563, and dur-

ing which period of *eighteen years*, every new opinion had an opportunity of producing itself, and of undergoing the infallible test of Catholic tradition, in an assembly of holy and learned men from all countries, convoked by a competent authority, and with the consent of the civil power. How any one possessed of ordinary prudence, and of that degree of acuteness which falls to the lot of most men, can for a moment hesitate between the decisions of such a body, and the violent and contradictory declamations of those who denied its authority, is a circumstance, which, we candidly avow, surpasses the measure of our faculties of comprehension. We should almost be tempted to suspect, that, in many instances, such conduct is to be attributed to what Mr. Hallam facetiously terms *good Protestantism*, i. e. "*a protestation against the right of any to judge better than ourselves.*"

Many important observations were suggested to us by the perusal of the pages which immediately follow the above extract, where the author draws a parallel between those times and our own; where he speaks of the appearance of Calvin and of his institutes, and particularly of the *increased differences amongst the Reformers* (p. 600); upon which occasion, he avows, that the disorders which were the fruits of Luther's celebrated tenet of *assurance*, threatened to destroy the very basis of civil society. Several other highly interesting topics are touched upon in the course of this chapter, such as the institution of the order of St. Ignatius, and the Council of Trent. The testimony of unqualified approbation which we there find in favour of the *Jesuits*, is remarkable, as falling from the pen of a Protestant. We would most willingly have laid this passage before the reader, had not the extending limits of the present article rendered it necessary for us to be extremely sparing of extracts. We must therefore content ourselves in particularly recommending it to his attention, begging of him, however, occasionally to make allowance for the Protestant views of the author; as, for instance, when he speaks of the sole apparent hope of the Church being in the *superstition of the populace, &c.*

We shall devote our last extract to Luther himself, the great apostle of the Reformation. In the following lines, the author pronounces a very severe, but well-founded, judgment, upon the writings and conduct of this violent and self-willed man. He begins by paying a just tribute to his historical celebrity, as the leader of a political party, and speaks of him as a writer of considerable force, and even of a certain degree

of elegance in his own vernacular tongue:—as a proof of which, he alludes to his hymns, many of which are still in use in the Lutheran Church. We are surprised that Mr. Hallam passes over in silence the much more important *literary* service which he rendered to Germany, by the translation of the Scriptures; for Luther's Bible, much more than his hymns, may be looked upon as the book which first gave a certain fixity to the German language, rendering, in that country, the same service to letters, which the writings of Boccaccio had, at a former period, rendered to his own language in Italy, by the establishment of a fixed criterion of taste. Our profound contempt of Luther as a man, and particularly as a priest, is not capable of rendering us blind to this important service. "*Suum cuique*;" let every man enjoy the just measure of his fame. The author thus continues:—

"But, from the Latin works of Luther, few readers, I believe, will rise without disappointment. Their intemperance, their coarseness, their inelegance, their scurrility, their wild paradoxes, that menace the foundations of religious morality, are not compensated, so far at least, as my slight acquaintance with them extends, by much strength or acuteness, and still less by any impressive eloquence. Some of his treatises—and we may instance his reply to Henry VIII, or the book "against the falsely-named order of bishops"—can be described as little else than bellowing in bad Latin. Neither of these books display, so far as I can judge, any striking ability. It is not to be imagined, that a man of his vivid parts fails to perceive an advantage in that close grappling, sentence by sentence, with an adversary, which fills most of his controversial writings; and in scornful irony he had no superior. His epistle to Erasmus, prefixed to the treatise *De Servo Arbitrio*, is bitterly insolent, in terms as civil as he could use. But the clear and comprehensive line of argument, which enlightens the reader's understanding, and resolves his difficulties, is always wanting. An unbounded dogmatism, resting on an absolute confidence in the infallibility, practically speaking, of his own judgment, pervades his writings; no indulgence is shown, no pause allowed to the hesitating; whatever stands in the way of his decisions—the fathers of the Church, the schoolmen and philosophers, the canons and councils—are swept away in a current of impetuous declamation; and as every thing contained in Scripture, according to Luther, is easy to be understood, and can only be understood in his sense, every deviation from his doctrine incurs the anathema of perdition. Jerome, he says, far from being rightly canonised, must, but from some special grace,* have been damned for his interpretation of St. Paul's epistle to the Romans.

* This civil parenthesis, or saving clause, is due rather to the urbanity of the author than to the stern reformer; who, in the passage cited at the bottom of the page, damns him outright, without either hope or pity.

"That the Zwinglians, as well as the whole Church of Rome, and the Anabaptists, were shut out by their tenets from salvation, is more than insinuated in numerous passages of Luther's writings. Yet he had passed himself through several changes of opinion. In 1518, he rejected auricular confession; in 1520, it was both useful and necessary; not long afterwards it was again laid aside. I have found it impossible to reconcile, or to understand his tenets concerning faith and works; and can only perceive that, if there be any reservation in favour of the latter—not merely sophistical, of which I am hardly well convinced—it consists in distinctions too subtle for the people to apprehend. These are not the oscillations of a balance in a calm understanding, conscious of the difficulty which so often attends the estimate of opposite presumptions; but alternate gusts of dogmatism, during which, for the time, he was as tenacious of his judgment as if it had been uniform.

"It is not impossible that some offence will be taken at this character of his works by those who have thought only of the man—extraordinary, as he doubtless was, in himself, and far more so as the instrument of mighty changes on the earth. Many, of late years, especially in Germany, without holding a single one of Luther's more peculiar tenets, have thought it necessary to magnify his intellectual gifts. Frederic Schlegel is among these; but in his panegyric there seems a little wish to insinuate, that the Reformer's powerful understanding had a taint of insanity. This has, not unnaturally, occurred to others, from the strange tales of diabolical visions Luther very seriously recounts, and from the inconsistencies as well as the extravagance of some passages. But the total absence of self-restraint, with the intoxicating effects of presumptuousness, is sufficient to account for aberrations, which men of regular minds construe into actual madness."—p. 510 *et seq.*

With these words which refuse to the great Reformer even the poor excuse of a troubled intellect, we take leave of the subject. Should the present volume fall into the hands of a Protestant reader, we beg of him to keep in mind, that the above severe appreciation of the Protestant Reformation, and of its principal promoters, is the work of a person of his own religious creed, and of a man particularly capable of forming a correct opinion upon the matter, as well from his extensive reading, as from the general impartiality of his opinions. If we have dwelt upon this question too much at length, in an article of a character rather literary than polemical, we must offer as our justification, in the first place, the example of the author himself, in the work now before us; and in the second place, the important influence of the event itself, upon the interests of literature, and the general progress of the human mind.

ART. IV.--*General Order, Horse Guards, 20th October, 1840.
Court-Martial on Captain Richard Anthony Reynolds,
11th Hussars.*

WE do not remember any event, of recent occurrence, which has excited deeper interest than the court-martial on Captain Richard Anthony Reynolds. Whilst the proceedings were pending, they were watched by the public with intense anxiety; when the sentence was promulgated and confirmed, it was received with a feeling of dissatisfaction and regret, which has not subsided, and will not easily subside. The trial of Captain Reynolds involves considerations which concern not merely one individual, but many—not one regiment, but the whole army—not the army alone, but the public. Under such circumstances, we need offer no apology for taking a review of the whole *res gestæ*, and inquiring calmly into the legality and propriety of the proceedings, and the justice of the sentence.

The charge made against Captain Reynolds was as follows, viz :

“ For that he (Captain Richard Anthony Reynolds), having at Brighton, on the 27th of August 1840, written and sent a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Cardigan, of the same regiment, his commanding officer, of an improper nature, and being thereupon personally ordered by the said Earl of Cardigan, as his commanding officer, to the effect following—viz., that all letters addressed to him by Captain R. A. Reynolds should in future be strictly official, nevertheless, he, the said Captain R. A. Reynolds, in direct violation and disobedience of said order by his commanding-officer, did on the 28th of August 1840, write and address to him (Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Cardigan), a most disrespectful, insubordinate, offensive, and insulting letter, imputing to him conduct calculated to excite him to depart from his duty as commanding-officer, and which last-mentioned letter is as follows :—‘ Brighton, Aug. 28, 1840. My Lord,—Having in my letter to your Lordship of yesterday, stated to your Lordship that a report had reached me that your Lordship had spoken of me in such a manner as I deemed prejudicial to me, considering the position in which I am placed, and having in the most respectful manner requested your Lordship to allow me to contradict such report, and your Lordship having this morning positively refused to give me any answer, I must beg to tell your Lordship that you are in nowise justified in speaking of me at all at a public party given by your Lordship, and more particularly in such a manner as to make it appear that my conduct has been such as to exclude me from your Lordship’s house. Such assertion is calculated to injure me. Your Lordship’s reputation as a professed duellist,

founded on the having sent Major Jenkins to offer satisfaction to Mr. Brent, the miller at Canterbury, and your having sent Captain Forrest to London to call out an attorney's clerk, does not admit of your privately offering insult to me, and then screening yourself under the cloak of commanding-officer; and I must be allowed to tell your Lordship, that it would far better become you to select a man whose hands are untied for the object of your Lordship's vindictive reproaches; or to act as many a more gallant fellow than yourself has done, and waive that rank which your wealth and earldom alone entitle you to hold. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant, RICHARD ANTHONY REYNOLDS. To the Right Hon. the Earl of Cardigan, 45, Brunswick-square, Brighton.' Such conduct as aforesaid, being, in the said Captain Richard Anthony Reynolds, unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, prejudicial to the interests of the service, subversive of good order and military discipline."

For the right understanding of the matter, it is necessary to dissect this charge. It consists, as the judicious reader will observe, of several parts; 1st. That Captain Reynolds on the 27th of August wrote and sent to his commanding officer a letter of an improper nature; 2ndly. That it was thereupon ordered by Lord Cardigan, *as his commanding officer*, that he should address for the future no letter to his lordship except officially; 3rdly. That in direct disobedience of such order by his commanding officer, he wrote to him the insubordinate and offensive letter of the 28th August; upon all which premises is grounded, 4thly, the conclusion, "That such the conduct of Captain Reynolds was unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, prejudicial to the interests of the service, and subversive of good order and military discipline." In this investigation it will be necessary to watch the premises strictly; if the premises fail, so also will the conclusion.

1. We proceed to examine the first portion of the charge, the improper letter of the 27th August, 1840, and the circumstances out of which it arose. The circumstances were stated by Lord Cardigan in his evidence as follows:

"On the 26th of August I had a party at my house at Brunswick Square, at which several of the officers of the regiment were present, and the regimental band was also present. Some of the ladies who dined with me invited their friends to come in the evening for the purpose of dancing. It was after the dancing had commenced, and after more of the officers had come in, that a young lady said to me, 'I do not see the Captains Reynolds here. Why is that?' My answer was, 'Because I have not invited them.' Then followed the question, 'Why have you not invited them?' My answer was, 'Because I do not happen to be on good terms with them;' and then

I added, 'I'm afraid, if you are very anxious to see the Captains Reynolds, I think you are not likely to see them at my house (or this house).' Another question was then put, 'Why are you not on good terms with them?' to which I replied, 'Oh, that is a very long story, and I do not wish to go into it all,' or words to that effect. The conversation then ceased."

The circumstances as thus stated are not those which came to the ears of Captain Reynolds. The circumstances as represented to Captain Reynolds are stated as follows by Lieutenant Cunningham in his examination for the prisoner :

"Are you a lieutenant in the 11th Hussars?—I am.

"Did you hear a report on the 26th of August relating to me?—I did.

"What was the report you heard?—When I was with the band, a young lady asked me if I heard any conversation at the Earl of Cardigan's party the night before? I said 'No,' and I naturally asked what it was. She said she had heard a lady ask Lord Cardigan why the Captains Reynolds were not at his house; that she asked him twice, when he replied, 'They shall never enter my house as long as they live.'

"Did you communicate this report to me; and, if so, when?—I told you of it when you came into my room on the evening of the same day, being the 26th of August last."

The variance in the words as repeated to Captain Reynolds from the words as stated by Lord Cardigan, is very material. The words as reported to Captain Reynolds import a perpetual sentence of exclusion of the Captains Reynolds from the house of Lord Cardigan, the commanding officer of their regiment, at all times and under all circumstances. This sentence is not even limited to the period of his being their commanding officer; but it declares, that whatever be their situation, and whatever be his, they shall never enter his house as long as they live.

For a private individual to be for ever debarred all access to the society of Lord Cardigan, could not be considered as a grievance. But the case is different with an officer of his own regiment, and that officer his senior captain. The commanding officer of a regiment is usually, and properly, considered as being in the situation of a father of a family; and when such a man thinks it necessary to declare that one of his officers shall never be permitted to enter his house as long as he lives, it infers, in the minds of reasoning persons, that the officer thus sentenced has been guilty of some act which renders him unfit for the society he had been accustomed to move

in; a slight difference, or a temporary estrangement, or even some fault or negligence in matters of duty, could be no sufficient foundation for a sentence of perpetual exclusion. This sentence is one which affects the officer in the good opinion of others; it gives them reason to imagine that, as an individual, he has done something which ought to prevent his being admitted into the society of gentlemen. It was thus that Captain Reynolds viewed it. He was sensitive, but he could hardly be over-sensitive in a matter which concerned his honour and his reputation; and even if he had carried his sensitiveness to an excess, his error would have been one which men of honour would not severely condemn. Under the influence of such feelings, Captain Reynolds, on hearing the report in question, sat down to write a letter to Lord Cardigan, intreating his Lordship to enable him to contradict the injurious rumour which had reached him. The letter is not only free from blame, but, under the circumstances, worthy of all praise. It is temperate, polite, and respectful. No man could have written a letter better suited to the occasion. And as the words imputed to Lord Cardigan were words used in a private society, the letter was most properly addressed to him in his private capacity. It is as follows:

"Brighton Barracks, August 27th, 1840.

"My lord,—A report has reached me, that on Tuesday last, at a large party given by your lordship, when asked why the Captains Reynolds were not present, your lordship replied, 'As long as I live they shall never enter my house.' I cannot but consider this report highly objectionable, as it is calculated to convey an impression prejudicial to my character, and therefore I trust your lordship will be good enough to authorise me to contradict it.

"I am, my lord, your lordship's obedient servant,

"RICHARD ANTHONY REYNOLDS."

"The Right Hon. the Earl of Cardigan."

There is an entire absence in this letter of anything angry in feeling, hostile in expression, or peremptory in terms. The writer trusts to his lordship's goodness to authorize him to contradict a rumour which he felt to be prejudicial to his character. It was in the power of Lord Cardigan in a moment to have relieved Captain Reynolds from the painful impression under which he laboured; as, between man and man, we conceive it was the duty of Lord Cardigan so to have done. There are duties, and those of the highest and best class, which law cannot enforce, but which are not the less of binding obligation. A man may arbitrarily or capriciously, but he cannot

justly, withdraw himself from all consideration of what is due to the feelings of others. We do not think that any other commanding officer would have refused an answer to such an application as was made by Captain Reynolds under such circumstances. We consider that in private life, any gentleman addressing such a letter to another gentleman, upon any similar occasion, would be entitled to expect an answer. We think that ninety-nine persons out of a hundred would have returned a courteous answer. In the case now before us, the answer would have satisfied the honour of Captain Reynolds, for it would have simply told him he had been misinformed. Let it ever be borne in mind that Lord Cardigan denies having used the words imputed to him. His Lordship, in cross-examination, was asked the following question :

"Did you state to the young lady in the conversation you mentioned, 'As long as I live he shall never enter my house?'"

"Answer.—I should say certainly not, to the best of my recollection."

The case is one in which Lord Cardigan was respectfully solicited to allow a contradiction of his having spoken certain words, which his lordship says he did not speak. Why should he not at once have said so? That imagination must be indeed suspicious, that temper must be ingenious in self-torture, which could see in Captain Reynolds' letter an object far different from what it professed, and which could *not* see that, inasmuch as the supposed cause of offence had never been given, it might with all truth, and with all courtesy, and without any undue condescension to another's feelings, be disavowed!

Upon this letter, Lord Cardigan, in his opening speech before the court-martial, makes these observations :

"Captain Reynolds and myself were not on terms of communication, except in matters of duty; and I had no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the object of this letter was not, as it professed to be, to enable Captain Reynolds to contradict the report, but to oblige me substantially to confirm it. I saw at once that this could only be for one of two purposes,—either to make my letter the basis of proceedings before a higher tribunal, or more probably, to make it the ground of requiring at my hands another species of satisfaction which, although sanctioned by the usages of society, would be highly improper between persons in the relative position of Captain Reynolds and myself."

Surely, never was there more unfounded, or less ingenuous reasoning! And yet it is such as suggested itself to the mind

of Lord Cardigan at once, and as it were by intuition. His answer would have removed the supposed ground of complaint, and yet he apprehends it might be made the means of accusing him to the Horse Guards! How could it? And if it did, why should he not manfully avow his acts before the Horse Guards, or any other tribunal? Even if his answer could possibly have committed him at the Horse Guards, heaven knows that Lord Cardigan had little to dread in that quarter! And if his answer should still expose him to a challenge from Captain Reynolds, Lord Cardigan would have known what his duty required of him in case of a step so improper being taken; he would have transmitted the challenge to the General commanding in chief, and Captain Reynolds would have been cashiered.

But even if Lord Cardigan's mode of reasoning had been more correct, still it goes no way towards proving Captain Reynolds's letter to have been "of an improper nature." Neither Lord Cardigan, nor any other man, did, or could, point out any one word or syllable of that letter which was improper. If no part of it can be pointed out as improper, then the letter, as a whole, is not of an improper nature. In stigmatizing it as improper, it is obvious that Lord Cardigan reasons rather upon what he considers his own position than on that of Captain Reynolds. He thinks that he cannot safely answer the letter, and therefore he concludes that the letter is improper. The premises not only do not support, but have no connexion with, the conclusion. If he could not answer the letter without incurring a certain hazard, *that* might be an argument for giving no answer, but it would not at all shew that the letter was of an improper nature. If two persons enter into an argument, and the one succeed in placing the other in a dilemma from which he cannot escape, the latter would only be laughed at if he should say, "I feel myself placed in a dilemma; I must be thrown upon the one horn or the other, *therefore* the argument which has been used against me is of an improper nature."

Lord Cardigan did not think fit to vouchsafe any answer to the first letter of Captain Reynolds; he characterized it then, as he did afterwards in his charge, as a letter of an improper nature; and he considered it so improper as to justify and require the peremptory order he thereupon gave to Captain Reynolds, to address to him no further communication, except such as should be strictly official. The first part of his charge is, that this letter was of an improper

nature, and the court-martial have found that Captain Reynolds is guilty of the whole charge exhibited against him. Upon this first article the public has delivered its verdict, and it has pronounced that this letter was *not* of an improper nature—that it was every way such as Captain Reynolds should have written, and Lord Cardigan should have answered; and that in refusing any answer to it, Lord Cardigan was the party who committed the first wrong. It fails entirely as the foundation of Lord Cardigan's charge; and this being the first step in the process, it is important to bear in mind, that thus far not only was Captain Reynolds free from blame, but Lord Cardigan was in the wrong. In the trial of a crime, when once we have found who was the first wrong-doer, we have gone some way towards settling the question which of the two parties in dispute is deserving of censure. In a criminal court, if a man be indicted for an assault, and it appear in evidence that the prosecutor was himself the first assailant, the defendant is discharged. This is a rule of law, and however that may be, it is a sound rule of justice.

2. We proceed to examine the second portion of the charge, that which refers to the order (as it is called) delivered by Lord Cardigan, "as commanding officer," to Captain Reynolds, to address to him no further correspondence, except officially. This portion of the charge is immediately connected with the first—it is the consequence of it; it is *because* the letter was of an improper nature, that "thereupon" the order was given. Assuming, therefore, that the letter was *not* of an improper nature, as we think it was not, it follows that the order ought not to have been given. If Captain Reynolds wrote a proper letter, he ought not to have been censured for it, and above all, he ought not, by reason of it, to have been peremptorily forbidden all further communication. If the first portion of the charge fail, the second must fail with it; if the foundation crumble, the superstructure cannot stand.

But assuming, for the sake of argument, that the letter was of an improper nature, it will still remain to be considered whether the order in question was such as Lord Cardigan, in his quality of commanding officer, had any right to give.

Let us consider what had taken place up to this point, and what conduct Lord Cardigan now adopts thereon. The facts which had occurred were strictly of a private nature; they had no connexion with any matters of military duty; they had as little relation to the 11th Hussars, or the good order and discipline of that regiment, as to any other regiment in the army.

They had no connexion in any way with Her Majesty's service. Lord Cardigan, at a private party at his own house, was supposed to have spoken to a young lady in disparaging terms of and concerning Captain Reynolds. The conversation is inaccurately reported at second-hand to Captain Reynolds by a brother officer, who had not heard it, but had heard of it. This officer (Lieutenant Cunningham) told Captain Reynolds of it privately, when the latter chanced to come into the barrack-room of Lieutenant Cunningham on the evening of the day he heard the report; and thereupon Captain Reynolds, not as captain of the 11th Hussars, but in his private capacity as a gentleman, wrote the letter in question to Lord Cardigan, not as to the commanding officer of the 11th Hussars, but in his, Lord Cardigan's, private capacity. The letter was not official, had not the slightest connexion with regimental matters, and was most strictly a private communication as from one gentleman to another. When therefore it is charged, that the letter was sent by Captain Reynolds to Lord Cardigan, his "commanding officer," it is necessary to bear in mind that, though Lord Cardigan was indeed his commanding officer, the letter was not sent, nor is it charged to have been sent to his lordship, "as" his commanding officer, nor did it in any way concern Lord Cardigan in his rights, duties, privileges, or functions of commanding officer. Lord Cardigan has two qualities or capacities, his private capacity, and his military capacity; and these we must carefully separate and distinguish in the present matter. Up to the point we are now discussing, he had appeared only in his private character as Lord Cardigan; henceforth he shifts his ground, and assumes to act only as the commanding officer of the 11th Hussars.

We will quote his own words in his opening speech. He says—

"I took the most fitting opportunity of intimating to Captain Reynolds the course I had resolved upon, and my disapprobation of the step which he had taken. This was on Friday the 28th of August, when the regiment was paraded for field-exercise. I called Captain Reynolds a considerable distance from the troops, and, in the presence of Captain Jones (the senior officer next to Captain Reynolds and myself, in the absence of the two majors) and also in the presence of the adjutant, I addressed Captain Reynolds, to the best of my recollection, in these words—'I yesterday received a communication from you, to which, I beg to inform you, that I have no reply whatever to give, as I consider your letter was of an improper nature for you to address to me; and I have to request that, in future, all letters

addressed by you to me will be strictly official, with my military rank attached to the address, and yours to your signature." Nothing more passed; but in the afternoon I received from Captain Reynolds the letter which is set out in the charge, and which forms the main subject of it. Immediately upon receiving that letter, I sent orders to the adjutant to place Captain Reynolds in arrest, and I reported the whole transaction, by the first practicable post, to the General commanding in-chief."

What is the sum and substance of this order? It is this: "You have addressed to me a private letter of an improper nature; I, as commanding officer of the eleventh Hussars, desire that henceforth you address to me no private letter." Clearly this is the meaning of it. The sole question is, whether, as commanding officer of the regiment, he had any right to give such an order? We unhesitatingly say that he had *not*: it was not a military order; it was not official; it had no connexion with military duties; nay, on the face of it, it was entirely exclusive of, and beside, and foreign to, matters of military or official duty. It says that, as to official letters, they shall, of course, be in the form which all men know belongs to such communications. For this no order was required. It says, moreover, that no other but these official letters shall be sent. For this no order could be given. In this latter particular, the order oversteps Lord Cardigan's jurisdiction as commanding officer; that jurisdiction is circumscribed within the circle of military duties, whereas the order, expressly and professedly, relates to matters which are without, or beyond, that circle.

In giving, or assuming to give, such an order, Lord Cardigan was altogether in error, and was seeking an undue advantage for himself from his character of commanding officer. He was as much in the wrong here, as he had been in the other parts of the transaction; but he was more astute. It was an ingenious thought to call in the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment to fortify the position which had been taken by Lord Cardigan; and a person of such intuitive perception as Lord Cardigan could hardly fail, at the same time, to foresee what would be the result of such an order.

But in truth, and sober sense, let us ask what is it that determines the legality of an order, so as to make it valid and binding in a military point of view? Is it that it is given in uniform, and in front of the regiment? and is this to be the sole criterion? In that case, every conceivable imagination or caprice of the commanding officer may be converted into

an order, and an officer may be cashiered because he does not dine according to order; or because he goes to the play contrary to order; or because he persists in defiling himself with malt; or because he obstinately refuses to drink his claret. The Mutiny Act provides punishment for any officer "who shall disobey any **LAWFUL** command of his superior officer;" and according to Lord Cardigan's interpretation, **EVERY**, or **ANY**, command is a **LAWFUL** command. Our interpretation differs; and we unhesitatingly pronounce, that it is the *nature and subject* of the order which, alone, determine its lawfulness. It is not every command of the crown that is a lawful command; but only such as the prerogative of the crown extends to. It is not every command of a bishop that is a lawful command; but only such as concern or relate to his episcopal functions. It is not every command of a judge that is a lawful command; but only such as relate to some legal proceeding which he is entrusted to decide. And, by parity of reasoning, it is not every command of the lieutenant-colonel of a regiment that is a lawful command; but only such commands as have reference to his regiment, or the good order and discipline thereof. If we look into the terms of a captain's commission, we find that he is commanded to keep his troop or his company in good order and discipline; and further, "You are to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from us, your colonel, or any other your superior officer, *according to the rules and discipline of war.*" If it be according to the rules and discipline of war, that a captain may be ordered to hold no private communication with his commanding officer, under the penalty of being cashiered, he may equally be prohibited from holding any private communication with any other officer to be named; and if that prohibition may be given, he may equally be prohibited from holding any private communication with any other individual whomsoever to be named; and so on from step to step, there could be no act or relation of life into which an officer might not be followed by the capricious commands of his superior; nor would there be any circumstance whatsoever—however disconnected with his profession—in which he could assume for himself to act with the freedom of a private gentleman. Heaven forbid that a servitude so grievous should ever be the lot of the British army!

An order from a commanding officer to one of his captains, that he shall never presume to hold any sort of private intercourse with him, not only does not accord with, nor is in the

spirit of, his, the commanding officer's, duty, but is altogether contrary to it. It is his business to promote peace and harmony in his regiment; he should consider himself as the head of a great household; and if, unfortunately, a difference or estrangement arise between himself and one of his officers, he errs grievously in proclaiming, once and for ever, that he shuts the door against reconciliation—and even against repentance. He may have been himself the party in error: in that case it is his duty to take an opportunity of setting himself right; and if his officer have been the party to blame, it will be his duty to pardon the fault, when that officer shall have exhibited a better mind.

Lord Cardigan's order not only relates to, but it has its whole foundation in, a private matter. He obviously views the first letter as a private communication, and he does not complain of it on that ground, but because it was of "an improper nature." He had never before forbidden private communication, and therefore Captain Reynolds had the right of addressing such a letter to him. The order is prospective; it says, "you shall not do so in future." Viewing the whole matter as one entire transaction, Lord Cardigan had no right, at a certain middle point, to declare that that which before was private, shall thenceforth assume a military character; he had no right, at his own election, and with reference to the same matter, to put off his quality of a private individual, and to put on that of the commanding officer.

The whole matter being of a private nature, the only legitimate course which was open to Lord Cardigan, and which he ought to have adopted, was to have appeared and acted in his private character, and that only. He might have put the substance, or even the very words of his order, into a private note addressed to Captain Reynolds; thus—"Sir, I yesterday received a letter from you, to which I beg to inform you I have no reply to give, as I consider your letter was of an improper nature; and I have to request that in future you will address to me no letter except such as shall be strictly official. I am, sir, your obedient servant, CARDIGAN." Lord Cardigan would have had the merit of being consistent, in treating a private matter as strictly private, whilst at the same time he would treat matters of duty as strictly official. Such a note could not, any more than his verbal order, have been made "the basis of proceedings before a higher tribunal." And if Captain Reynolds should have been induced to make it "the ground of requiring personal satisfaction at his hands," Lord

Cardigan knew what his duty prescribed to him in such a case. If his lordship wished to avoid committing himself to paper at all, he might equally have spoken these same words to Captain Reynolds as a private individual, and might equally have called in Captain Jones and the adjutant as witnesses. Lord Cardigan gained, or considered that he gained, an advantage for himself, by turning his answer into an order. His reasoning is, that he avoided certain risks by refraining from giving a written answer; but, in truth and in fact, he avoided nothing. He remained subject to any and every risk, after his order, which he would have been subject to, if he had given such an answer in writing as we have supposed; but he thought that by giving an order as commanding officer, instead of an answer as an individual, he had subjected Captain Reynolds to a penalty in case of disobedience. He erred not merely in reasoning, but in feeling.

With these observations we leave the second portion of the charge. The court-martial, in finding Captain Reynolds guilty of the whole charge, have affirmed that his first letter was improper; and that Lord Cardigan's order, in consequence, to cease all private correspondence, was, in a military sense, a lawful order of his lordship as superior officer, the violation of which exposed the offender to be cashiered. The first point we may submit to the judgment of any one; the second point we may confidently submit to the judgment of any person sufficiently intelligent to draw a distinction.

3. We proceed to the third part of the charge—That in direct disobedience of such order of his commanding officer, Captain Reynolds wrote to Lord Cardigan the insubordinate and offensive letter of the 28th of August. The writing and sending of that letter was admitted, and it may equally be admitted that the letter was angry, disrespectful, and offensive. Let us bear in mind that up to this point Lord Cardigan alone had been in the wrong. He had refused any answer to a proper and respectful communication; he had reprimanded Captain Reynolds for sending that communication; he had endeavoured to close the mouth of Captain Reynolds by giving him an order as commanding officer, which, as commanding officer, he had no right to give; he had treated Captain Reynolds, as we conceive, with harshness and injustice. What is to be expected from such treatment? Is it not natural that a man who feels himself injured, and is denied redress, will be angry? and if his passions master his judgment, may we not expect that he will be intemperate—rash—

disrespectful?—It was even so. Hitherto Lord Cardigan alone had been to blame, henceforth Captain Reynolds divides the blame with him. But to whom does the greater portion of the blame belong? Whether to him who provokes, or to him who is provoked? Can any one hesitate to say that he, who causes an offence, is essentially a greater offender than he who is provoked or induced to commit the offence? Comparing the two, Lord Cardigan and Captain Reynolds, the primary offender is Lord Cardigan, and when we see that the punishment falls upon Captain Reynolds alone, we say that that is not justice.

Admitting, as we readily do, that there are hasty and reprehensible expressions in Captain Reynolds' second letter, what does the letter itself amount to in substance? It tells Lord Cardigan, that he is not justified in the conduct he had pursued; that he has no right to screen himself under the cloak of the commanding officer, and that it would far better become him to select a man, for the subject of his vituperation, whose hands were untied, or to act as many others had done in like cases, namely, waive his military rank, which, according to the articles of war, prevented Captain Reynolds demanding personal satisfaction. To a certain extent, we may admit the correctness of Captain Reynolds' positions; we agree that Lord Cardigan was not justified in the conduct he had pursued, that he had no right to call in aid, in this matter, his character of commanding officer; that he would have done far better to have given a satisfactory explanation, and the more especially so, because as to any question of personal satisfaction, Captain Reynolds' hands were tied by the articles of war. This disability on the part of Captain Reynolds should have been, with a generous mind, an all-powerful argument for giving him a satisfactory explanation: the turning it *against* Captain Reynolds was hard and oppressive. But although we think thus, we do not see that Lord Cardigan was called upon to waive, or ought to have waived, his military rank for the purpose of infringing the articles of war. Lord Cardigan was placed in his command, in order that he might observe, not violate, those articles.

Admitting, therefore, that Captain Reynolds was wrong in this particular of his letter, and in the general wording of his letter, it remains to consider what was the degree of his offence, or rather what was the particular offence, if any, according to martial law, of which he had been guilty. Above all, was he guilty of the precise offence imputed to him in the

charge laid before the court-martial? The charge was, that having received a certain order from his commanding officer, he had, "in direct violation and disobedience of the said order of his commanding officer," written the letter in question. This is the gravamen of the charge; it is not merely the writing a disrespectful letter, but writing a letter in disobedience of orders. We have already shown that the order in question was one which Lord Cardigan as commanding officer had no authority to give; and if we are right, it follows that Captain Reynolds incurred no penalty in disobeying it. He treated it, as we treat it, as null: he wrote to Lord Cardigan, notwithstanding that order, a private letter; and though we do not and cannot justify the tone of the letter, we must remark, that in addressing that letter as a private communication to Lord Cardigan, and not as a letter to the commanding officer of the 11th Hussars, Captain Reynolds was consistent and correct.

The gravamen of the charge falls to the ground; the act was done, but it was not done in violation and disobedience of any order which the commanding officer had authority to issue. The real offence then is reduced to this, that Captain Reynolds, in the excitement of his feelings, was induced to write, and did write, an improper and disrespectful letter to his commanding officer, not as commanding officer, but in his private capacity, and respecting a private matter. He did not write a challenge to his commanding officer; it was not open to him so to do. He was not tried for any such offence; he was not called upon to plead, and did not plead, to any such charge; he was not found guilty of any such charge; it is but charity to hope that his judges did not *sentence* him to be cashiered for any such offence! So far from sending a challenge, Captain Reynolds may be considered as saying in his letter to this effect: "My hands are tied—you may injure and defame me without peril. You are my commanding officer, and can screen yourself in that character. If another man wronged me, I could demand satisfaction; from you I cannot. You may endeavour, by your order, to stop my mouth; but I must be allowed to tell you, that you would do better to attack a man who is on equal terms with you, than me, who, as a captain under your command, am powerless to resent the injury you do me. Or, if you must needs vent your vindictive reproaches against me, I cannot but say, it would better become you, instead of the course you have chosen to adopt, in giving me an order as commanding officer to cease all communication, to waive your military rank, and thereby place me on such a footing that, as a private gentleman, I could seek satisfaction for the wrong you

have done me." Captain Reynolds' letter was not a challenge, nor can it be in any way construed a challenge, from Captain Reynolds to Lord Cardigan. His lordship himself did not understand it as a challenge; the utmost he alleged of it in the charge was that it was offensive and insulting, and "imputed to him conduct *calculated to excite* him to depart from his duty as commanding officer;" that is, if we may guess a meaning, where there is none, that it might possibly have provoked him to forget his duty, and *send* a challenge; but this portion of the charge is altogether vague, shadowy, and unintelligible. When a person complains of the act of another in imputing certain conduct to him, he must be understood to mean that he has not pursued any such conduct. The letter in question imputes no conduct to Lord Cardigan, save as it observes upon conduct which Lord Cardigan had pursued, and urges that such conduct was unjustifiable and inconsistent. We can see that the conduct of one man may be calculated to excite another man, but we are unable to perceive how any conduct which Lord Cardigan had pursued, and still less, how any conduct which he had not pursued, could be calculated to excite him, Lord Cardigan, to depart from his duty. The charge is, as to this point, a mere absurdity. It would be equally absurd to suppose that Lord Cardigan, who had expressly taken the position of commanding officer, would be so forgetful of that position and of his duty, as to *send* a challenge, by which he would have subjected himself to be cashiered. Captain Reynolds was tried for a military offence; he could not be tried for any other, and no article of military law has provided that an officer shall be cashiered for that sort of conduct which is not in itself an offence, but which only conveys "an imputation of conduct calculated to excite" another to commit some offence.

Not only was the letter itself not a challenge, but there was sufficient reason why Lord Cardigan should not attempt or endeavour, before a court-martial, to treat it as a challenge. To use the memorable expression of Lord Liverpool, that would have been "too bad!" The 2nd article, 17th section, of the Articles of War, is thus: "No officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, shall presume to give or send a challenge to any other officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier to fight a duel, upon pain, if a commissioned officer, of being cashiered." When Lord Cardigan appeared as prosecutor before the court-martial, it was notorious that, but a few days before, he had sent a challenge to another officer, late a junior of his own regiment; that he had gone

out and fought a duel with that officer, and had wounded him. This gentleman, Mr. Harvey Tuckett, was then, and is now, a lieutenant in Her Majesty's service. Under such circumstances, that Lord Cardigan should have opened his charge against Captain Reynolds as for the breach of that same article of war, would not have been possible; and as it is, it may seem something strange that Lord Cardigan has been allowed to infringe this article of war, without being cashiered, which is the express penalty for the offence, nay, without any sort of censure or animadversion, whilst Captain Reynolds has been cashiered for writing an improper and disrespectful letter, against which the law has declared no such penalty.

As the offence does not fall under the article which applies to the sending a challenge, we naturally inquire, what other article of war is there which applies to it? and what is the punishment prescribed for it?

The 5th article, section 2, is to this effect: "Any officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, who shall strike his superior officer, or shall draw, or offer to draw, or lift up any weapon, or offer any violence against him being in the execution of his office, on any pretence whatsoever, or shall disobey any lawful command of his superior officer, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as by a general court-martial shall be awarded." Captain Reynolds was tried for disobedience of a command of his superior officer. We presume it is under this article that the court-martial have found Captain Reynolds guilty. But we have already shown that Captain Reynolds did *not* disobey any lawful command of his superior officer; therefore he was not amenable under this article.

The 29th article, section 16, declares that "whatsoever commissioned officer shall be convicted before a general court-martial of behaving in a scandalous infamous manner, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, shall be discharged from our service. Provided, however, that in every charge preferred against an officer for such scandalous or unbecoming behaviour, the fact or facts whereon the same is founded shall be clearly specified." This article does not apply. Captain Reynolds neither behaved, nor was charged with behaving, in a scandalous infamous manner. He wrote an intemperate letter, but his conduct was neither scandalous nor infamous; and this article of war is directed against an entirely different class of offences.

There remains but one other article of war to be quoted. In section 24, at the conclusion of the articles, and "relating to

the foregoing articles," it is declared that, "all crimes not capital, and all disorders and neglects which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not specified in these rules and articles, are to be taken cognizance of by a general or regimental court-martial, according to the nature and degree of the offence, and to be punished at their discretion." This article, vague and general as it is, does not apply. Captain Reynolds was tried for disobedience of an order of his commanding officer, which crime, as we have just seen, is capital, and is specified in the previous rules and articles. If he had been tried for sending a challenge, which he was not, that crime also is specified in the previous rules and articles. The letter of Captain Reynolds was not a "neglect;" and as to "disorders," the conjunctive expression "disorders and neglects" shows that the class of offence pointed at is *ejusdem generis*. Even taken alone, the word "disorders" refers properly not to a thing done, but to a thing omitted. It is, as the great lexicographer explains it, "a want of regular disposition, a neglect of rule."

There is no other article which has any sort of bearing on the case: and though we have thus discussed the several articles, we do so under protest that, as Captain Reynolds was arraigned for disobedience of an order, the whole question must be judged by that article of war, and only by that, which relates to disobedience of orders.

The crime charged is a specific crime, and for that crime alone could the prisoner be tried and sentenced. Blackstone, speaking of our system of law, says with an honest pride, "one of the greatest advantages of our English law is, that not only the crimes themselves which it punishes, but also the penalties which it inflicts, are ascertained and notorious; nothing is left to arbitrary discretion. Indictments must have a precise and sufficient certainty. The time and place are to be ascertained. The offence itself must be set forth with clearness and certainty."* And he quotes from Lord Coke the well-known words: "*Misera est servitus ubi jus est vagum aut incognitum.*"

These are more than principles of law—they are principles of abstract justice; they apply to all states and conditions of men. When justice is invoked, it should be administered in the army as fully and completely as it is elsewhere. The words of Magna Charta are emphatic: "*Nulli negabimus aut differemus rectum vel justitiam.*" The charge in the present case

* Black. Comm. vol. i. 417; vol. iv. 306.

is the indictment ; and Captain Reynolds was bound to plead to, and intitled to be tried upon, that charge, and that alone.

We have dissected and fully examined the several portions of the charge, and we have found that every portion of the charge, as laid, successively breaks down. The offence of Captain Reynolds is reduced to the narrowest compass—the sending an improper and disrespectful letter, private in its nature and subject, to his commanding officer. If the first, second, and third parts of the charge fail, the conclusion founded on them fails also. We cannot admit that writing a disrespectful letter is “conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman,” unless it be in this general sense, that *every* or *any* departure from right is unbecoming and improper. Thus interpreted, the assertion is a truism. We would say that an officer or a gentleman who writes, speaks, or acts, hastily and angrily, wants self-command, or judgment, or temper, and we would blame him accordingly. But it would be too severe to say that he had forfeited the character of an officer or a gentleman ; and we must always measure the offence by the amount of provocation.

We admit that Captain Reynolds has erred ; but we do not find that the offence he has committed is against any of the articles of war. We have looked for the article, but in vain. If he had not committed an offence against the articles of war, then he was not triable before a court-martial, nor is the sentence of the court-martial valid. Nevertheless, his offence might have been suitably punished ; he might have been reprimanded by the general commanding-in-chief ; he might have been placed for a time on half-pay, as Lord Cardigan was formerly ; he might have been removed to another regiment, where he would have come in as junior captain ; and if none of these sufficed, he might even have been punished more severely.

The court-martial, however, have found Captain Reynolds guilty of all and every portion of the charge ; they have found the facts, have affirmed the conclusion, and administered the punishment. And this brings us to another branch of our subject. We have now to make some observations on the court, its constitution, its proceedings, the evidence which was offered to it, and the sentence it pronounced.

The court was composed, as we observe from a printed list, of fifteen members, namely, the president, who was a general officer, eight colonels, or lieutenant-colonels, two majors, and four captains. There was therefore a considerable preponderance of officers of superior rank, that is to say superior to the

prisoner ; and as the majority decides, whatever was done by the court may have been the act of any eight of these officers. The power of selection of the members rests with the general commanding-in-chief ; and we are not aware whether, in this instance, any custom as to the rank of the officers was departed from, though it has been alleged that it was. The judge-advocate, whose duty it is to inform and assist the court in matters of law, was stated to be a brigade-major in the army.

The first question that was asked of Lord Cardigan in cross-examination was, whether Captain Reynolds was not a captain in the regiment when he joined ? Thereupon the court was cleared, and upon the parties being re-admitted, the judge-advocate informed Captain Reynolds, "that in his cross-examination he must confine himself to the charge." Another question was then put to Lord Cardigan relative to his conduct to Captain Reynolds at Canterbury and at Brighton, and again the court was cleared, and again Captain Reynolds was informed "that the question could not be put, and he must confine his questions strictly to the charge, and must not cross-examine on matters not before the court." According to this decision, the terms on which the parties were, before and up to the 27th August, 1840, and all the causes and circumstances which led to those terms, and all the irritability which might have been and was excited in the mind of Captain Reynolds by the conduct which Lord Cardigan had pursued towards him, were excluded from the consideration of the court. Assuming that all these circumstances, if shewn, would not acquit him of the charge, is it not clear that nevertheless they might affect the *degree* of the offence ? and above all, that they might and ought to affect the measure of the punishment ? Lord Cardigan had himself, in his opening speech, led the way to the questions proposed in cross-examination. He had said, "Captain Reynolds and myself were not on terms of communication, except in matters of duty." Was it not natural, therefore, to ask him, how it was that such terms, or want of terms, had arisen between them ? According to this decision of the court, if the fact had been that from the day of Lord Cardigan taking the command of the regiment, until the 27th August, 1840, his conduct towards Captain Reynolds had been a continued series of persecution, annoyance, injustice, and provocation, the degree of Captain Reynolds' offence, and the measure of his punishment, would nevertheless be just the same as if he had wantonly and grossly, and without the shadow of a reason, insulted his commanding officer, whom he was bound to honour

and respect. To refuse weight to certain evidence is one thing; to say that no such evidence can be admitted is quite another thing.

In Captain Reynolds' defence, we find the following expressions :

"I was prepared, as part of my defence, with a very large body of evidence, as well that of officers who have been, as of those who now are, in the 11th Hussars, to prove that Lord Cardigan's conduct towards me, and to the other officers of the regiment, had been very irritating and offensive. I was also prepared to cross-examine the witnesses on the part of the prosecution to the same effect. The court decided that such evidence on cross-examination was not admissible ; to that decision I most respectfully bow. I have still that direct evidence ready, and shall offer it to the court, who will decide whether it is admissible or not ; but I am bound, in explanation to the court, and also for the benefit of the law advisers of the crown, who will have to revise these proceedings, to state the reasons on which I submit, and am advised by my counsel that this evidence is admissible. Upon the whole evidence as given, each member of the court has to determine two things : first, whether I am guilty or not of the charge ; and secondly, if guilty, the amount of the punishment. In the first place, as I shall show, the second letter was written under irritating conduct on the part of Lord Cardigan ; it is obvious that the degree of irritation materially affects the degree of my offence, if I am guilty of any ; and it follows that provoking and offensive conduct on this occasion is to be measured and judged by Lord Cardigan's conduct on other and former occasions. In that view such evidence is material in awarding the quantum of punishment, if punishment is to be awarded ; but this is also evidence, it is submitted, as affecting my guilt or innocence of the charge itself. The question is one as to the admissibility, not as to the effect of the evidence. The court cannot judge of the effect, until the evidence is admitted.

"On Wednesday the 26th, I heard with indignation and surprise that a report was circulated in Brighton, that Lord Cardigan, at a private party at his own house, had said that, 'as long as he lived, neither I nor Captain John William Reynolds should ever enter his house.' I trust that I then felt as every gentleman and every man of honour would feel upon such an occasion. I felt that such report, uncontradicted, was calculated to rob me of my good name, and that it would injure me in my station in society. I felt, and still feel, that such matter came with double force, when reported as emanating from my commanding officer, and that commanding officer a peer of the realm. Here I must pause, and call upon each individual member of this court to reflect on the nature and effect of such report against an officer situated as I then was. Lord Cardigan had a perfect right to choose his visitors ; but, neither as a man, nor a commanding officer, was he justified in saying that I should never enter his doors

again, for that necessarily implies that I had been guilty of some improper, dishonourable, or immoral conduct. In the letter which I wrote, there are strong, and what, under other circumstances, might be considered offensive expressions; but, whether insolent or offensive, under the particular circumstances, must be judged by the aggravating conduct of Lord Cardigan. Each case must stand or fall by its own circumstances. There is no general rule by which to judge whether a particular letter be objectionable or not. I fully and freely admit, that there are words and expressions in that letter which I never would have used to Lord Cardigan, or any other man, excepting stung as I was, and goaded by the injuries heaped on me by Lord Cardigan. There is no suggestion made in the charge, or in the opening address, that the two circumstances mentioned in the letter did not happen. The concluding words in the letter are alone difficult to justify; but surely no man can say that a commanding officer, who refuses to do the justice to one under his command of denying or justifying the report of an aspersion like this, holds that rank, by his merit or capacity to command others; for little, indeed, is a person able to command others, who cannot govern himself. The court will judge whether the words of this letter are too strong or not. If they consider them too strong, they will still have to say, in their honest judgment and opinion, whether they are not excused under the peculiar and aggravating circumstances in which they were written. I shall call before you several officers who served with me in India in the 11th Light Dragoons—some of whom are still in the 11th Hussars. They will prove to you, that during the time they have known me, I have ever been an attentive and active officer in the discharge of my regimental duties; that I have been subordinate, and ever respectful to my superiors; that I have been upon excellent terms with those of equal or junior rank to myself; some of them will tell the court that I have been the cause of allaying their feelings when irritated. They will prove to you, that up to the time of the return of the regiment to England, the greatest harmony existed between the commanding officer and the officers at large. I use this evidence for the purpose of showing, that if for nearly fifteen years passed in this regiment, and in my younger days, when I was more likely to err than now, I had never been guilty of insubordination, or what Lord Cardigan calls 'disrespectful and insolent conduct, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman,'—my act on this occasion proceeded, not from an insolent or insubordinate spirit, but from the goading and oppressive conduct of Lord Cardigan."

Lieutenant Cunningham (a young officer of nineteen), was produced as a witness to prove the injurious report in question; and here arises a sort of episode in the case, which is worthy of notice. It appears, that after telling Captain Reynolds of the report, he had gone and told it also privately to Major Jenkins. Major Jenkins had told it to Lord Cardigan, and

Lord Cardigan had desired Major Jenkins to obtain from Lieutenant Cunningham a written statement of what had passed. Accordingly, on the following day, Major Jenkins examined Lieutenant Cunningham; and he, Major Jenkins, reduced the statement into writing. It was signed by Lieutenant Cunningham, and given to Lord Cardigan. Lieutenant Cunningham was not told, at the time, that the statement was to be used publicly, or that it was to go into the hands of Lord Cardigan. Before the court-martial, Lieutenant Cunningham deposed that he had applied several times to Major Jenkins for a copy of this statement, but never could get it. He applied for it in order to refresh his memory; and it was only after he had been examined and cross-examined, and had given his evidence to the best of his remembrance, that this statement in writing is produced to him in court by Lord Cardigan, not to refresh his memory, but to contradict his testimony and affect his credit. Such a mode of examination (as was truly said by Captain Reynolds), is not to be tolerated in any court of justice; and we might expect that the court-martial would, with generous indignation, have observed upon it in their sentence. We shall see whether they did so,—and what, in fact, they did.

Major Morse Cooper, late of the 11th Light Dragoons, was produced as a witness for Captain Reynolds. His examination was as follows:—

“The Judge Advocate: You are on half-pay, I believe?—I am a major unattached.

“Major Cooper examined by the prisoner: Are you a major unattached, and were you in the army since the battle of Waterloo? Yes.

“Were you any part of that time in the 11th Light Dragoons? Yes, twenty-one years.

“During what part of that time did you serve under Lord Cardigan?—About eighteen months.

“Here a question was handed to the court on the part of Captain Reynolds, on perusing which the room was again ordered to be cleared.

“After a delay of about three quarters of an hour, the public were again admitted.

“The Judge-Advocate: On the fourth question being put to the last witness by Captain Reynolds, the court have thought proper to consider whether it should be put; and on the court being reopened, they declare the following to be their decision:—The court have fully considered the question which has been put by Captain Reynolds, and they are of opinion that it cannot be admitted, and cannot there-

fore be recognised. They wish to convey their desire to Captain Reynolds, that he would, in his examination, confine himself to the charge before them, the court not being authorised by her Majesty's warrant to carry their investigation into other matters. The court further said that they were desirous of giving the prisoner every latitude consistent with their duty under the royal warrant, by virtue of which they are now assembled.

"Examination resumed: How long have you known me?—I first knew Captain Reynolds when he was under my command on board ship in 1831. He was then a lieutenant.

"During the time you were in the regiment had you an opportunity of examining my conduct as an officer and a gentleman?—Frequently.

"What is my character and conduct with reference to my regimental duties, and to subordination and respect to my commanding and superior officers?—I have every reason to think Captain Reynolds is a man of the highest honour, strictest integrity, and gentlemanly bearing as an officer; most active and zealous in doing all that could be required of him, and, in my estimation, a man incapable of an insubordinate act, unless under some peculiar circumstances.

"Have you ever known me to try to allay the irritable feelings of other officers in the regiment, and persuade them from acts which would be regarded as insubordinate?—Yes, I know two remarkable instances, one of which was when the lie had been given by Lord Cardigan, the commanding officer, to another officer—

"Here the witness was stopped, and the court consulted together, when the President observed that the court had already decided that they could not enter upon any extraneous matter, and they should not travel out of the immediate charge before them."

On the following day, Major Morse Cooper was further examined as to the character of the prisoner; and his further examination was as follows:—

"Major Morse Cooper was called in, when the President said, that previous to the entering into evidence as to character, the court had decided, that in producing such evidence Captain Reynolds must confine himself to general character; but any particular fact the evidence may have themselves witnessed, that may redound to the credit of the accused, they may state. Everything of this sort might be stated, but the court would not permit any statement to be made, that directly or indirectly could implicate the character of other individuals; and further, the witnesses would not be allowed to enter into the particulars of quarrels or disputes, or give the names of others; but, in all that they state, strictly to confine themselves within the rules of evidence: that is to say, they are not to state anything from hearsay, or that they heard from others' report; but only that which they knew from their personal knowledge.

"Major Morse Cooper was then examined by Captain Reynolds: How long have you known Captain Reynolds?—About nine or ten years.

"What has been my conduct and character, as an officer and a gentleman, for the time you have known me?—As an officer, zealous, active, and intelligent in the discharge of every duty, as I had an opportunity of personally knowing, when under my command on board a ship for a period of about three months; as a gentleman, a man of the highest honour, strictest integrity, and in every sense of the word a gentleman.

"What has been my conduct as to subordination and respect to my superior officers?—In every respect, as far as my knowledge goes, perfectly subordinate, and zealously desirous to obey every order.

"Do you consider, from what you know of my character and conduct, that I could be guilty of insubordination?—Not without some extraordinary provocation.

"Are there any circumstances within your knowledge as proof of my subordination?—Yes, if allaying irritating feelings is comprehended in that question. Might I ask a question? the case I referred to yesterday, could I go into, without the name?

"President: Certainly; not the name.

"Witness: I can mention one that I was present at myself. At a discussion with Lord Cardigan—

"The Judge-Advocate: You are not to mention names.

"Witness: After a discussion with the commanding-officer, who used most offensive expressions to me, I made an appeal to Captain Reynolds—

"The President: It is impossible to enter into this. This may have happened some years ago; and it is that in which we have no province at all. We cannot inquire into it. We do not wish to hear of personal disputes."

From this evidence, it is clear, that, in a certain instance, Lord Cardigan, the commanding-officer, had given the lie to Major Morse Cooper; and that then Captain Reynolds had endeavoured to allay the excited feelings of the Major, and prevent insubordination.

Major Browne was examined on the part of Captain Reynolds. His examination was as follows:—

"Major Browne, examined by Captain Reynolds: Are you a major on half pay unattached? Have you served in the Light Dragoons; and if you have, how many years?—I served in the Light Dragoons between twenty-five and twenty-six years.

"Were you present at the battle of Waterloo?—I was.

"How long have you known me?—Since the year 1827, when Captain Reynolds joined the 11th Dragoons in India.

"What is your opinion of me as an officer and a gentleman?—As an officer, I consider Captain Reynolds zealous, active, and most efficient: as a gentleman, I consider his conduct on every occasion has been in the highest degree honourable.

"Have you ever known me guilty of the slightest insubordination

towards my superior commanding-officer?—No. Captain Reynolds' conduct has invariably been most respectful and subordinate, and from an intimate knowledge of his character, I consider him utterly incapable of forgetting the respect due to a commanding-officer, unless under provocation which no man of honourable feelings could endure."

Major Rotton, the senior major of the 11th Hussars, was examined as follows:—

"Major Rotton examined by Captain Reynolds: Are you senior major of the 11th Hussars, and how long have you served in the regiment?—I am the senior major; and I have served upwards of nine-and-twenty years in it.

"How many years have you known me?—About fourteen.

"What is your opinion of me as an officer and a gentleman?—In my opinion, I consider Captain Reynolds one of the smartest officers in her Majesty's service; perfectly acquainted with all his duties, and his conduct as a gentleman has ever been in the highest degree honourable. I consider him in every respect decidedly a gentleman.

"Am I oftentimes under your immediate command; and, if so, what has been my conduct?—You have, temporarily and frequently, during the absence of the Earl commanding-officer. Your conduct has been in every respect quite to my satisfaction.

"Have you ever known me guilty of the slightest act of insubordination towards my superior or commanding-officer. Never."

Captain Forrest of the 11th Hussars was examined on the part of Captain Reynolds. His examination was as follows:—

"Captain Forrest examined by Captain Reynolds: Are you Captain in the 11th Hussars, and how many years have you been in the regiment?—I am a Captain in the 11th Hussars, and have served in the regiment from the 12th April 1833.

"How many years have you known me?—I have known Captain Reynolds since 1834.

"What is your opinion of me as an officer and a gentleman?—Captain Reynolds is an active, zealous, and attentive officer. I do not believe there is a more strictly honourable and gentlemanlike officer in the British army.

"Have you known me guilty of the slightest act of insubordination towards my commanding-officer?—On the contrary, I have always known Captain Reynolds to be most respectful to his superiors, and when I was told that what I had said was false by the commanding-officer—

"The President: It is not a question before the court. We are not to enter into the particulars of any former quarrel or dispute. You are not to enter into any quarrel that has been settled in the regiment.

"The court was here ordered to be closed. The doors remained closed for about half-an-hour. On the return of the public to the court,

"The President, addressing the witness, said: 'That the court apprehended that he did not perfectly understand the latter part of the

decision they had come to, which was this: that the court will not permit any statement, either directly or indirectly implicating the character of other individuals; and further, that a witness should not enter into the names or particulars of quarrels or disputes, or state anything that was not within the rules of evidence. In explanation of that decision, he said that the court had further decided that a witness might state, in general terms, anything that had occurred, when he could show that the accused had been the instrument in allaying irritation, or preventing acts of insubordination. For example, a party might state circumstances that were within his own knowledge, when, by the judicious interference of others, there was the prevention of an act of insubordination, without entering into the transaction, by stating the names or the exact particulars of the same.'

"Examination continued: Have you ever known me disrespectful to my commanding or superior officer?—Never; I have always known you respectful to your superiors; and I know that on several occasions when different officers had their feelings highly excited, Captain Reynolds has been the means of allaying their angry feeling, and preserving harmony in the regiment."

Several other witnesses were examined, and Captain Reynolds handed in several letters as to character. We need not enter into the particulars; character could not stand higher than that which was given to Captain Reynolds.

The evidence of Major Morse Cooper, and of Captain Forrest, is so remarkable in itself, that we need hardly call particular observation to it. Our readers will notice the interruption that was given by the court to each of these witnesses—the formula that was prescribed to them—the limitations and restrictions that were imposed upon them; and that Lord Cardigan did not propose any question to either of these witnesses with reference to the facts they had alluded to.

The court, it will be observed, persevered in refusing to admit any evidence tending to shew the provocations Lord Cardigan had given to Captain Reynolds before the 27th August 1840. In a word, they refused to hear the prisoner's case. It must be obvious to any one, that the provocation under which Captain Reynolds acted, was not fully disclosed to the court-martial. The disparaging conversation held by Lord Cardigan at his own house, was no more than the final circumstance in a course of injurious or offensive conduct—it was but the spark which set fire to a train already laid. But no previous circumstance would the court listen to. It is a familiar and well-understood saying, that "'Tis the last feather that breaks the camel's back." The court-martial interpret this literally, and, when the poor camel breaks down, they

would ascribe his death to the last feather, and not to the hundred-weight of feathers that he already bore upon his back. They will receive evidence of one provocation, if there were any, on the 27th August 1840; but if the provocation, be a hundred times greater, because repeated a hundred times previously, that, they say, is nothing to the purpose.

They refused to hear evidence of all or any preceding circumstances. How would this doctrine suit Lord Cardigan's own case? It may have happened to his Lordship, as it has to other persons, to have been a defendant in a civil court, and to have had damages recovered against him. If it were so, we doubt not that his counsel would then have entered, as he would have full right to do, into all the particular circumstances of the case—embracing, perhaps, a period of years—in order to diminish the damages. His Lordship is now a defendant in a criminal court;—would he be content to go before his Peers, on the simple statement that he was seen deliberately and in cold-blood, to level his loaded pistol at one of her Majesty's subjects—to fire, and to wound the person he aimed at? Would he not burn with indignation at being thus treated? Giving his own version of the case, he would naturally say: "I have been deeply wronged and provoked—I have been calumniated in the public-prints—I have found my accuser—I have asked for redress—I have been denied it; and though I justify not, now, in my cooler moments, the putting in peril the life of any man, yet I have full right to lay before you every circumstance of provocation, because every such circumstance extenuates my offence; and if you decline to admit such evidence, then, though you may call yourselves judges, you cease to exercise the functions, and the duties, of a court of justice."

In treating of the measure of human punishments, Mr. Justice Blackstone says: "In general, the difference of persons, place, time, provocation, or other circumstances, may enhance or mitigate the offence. The violence of passion or temptation may sometimes alleviate a crime. The age, education, and character of the offender, the repetition, or otherwise of the offence, the time, the place, the company, wherein it was committed;—all these, and a thousand other incidents, may aggravate or extenuate the crime."* Not only is this so—but more than this; circumstances do themselves constitute crime, and distinguish one crime from another, and vary the degree of crime. Homicide, for instance, is, under certain circumstances, justifiable; under others, excusable; under

* 4 Black. Comm. 13, 15, 16.

others, felonious; and that which under certain circumstances is murder, becomes, by a modification of the circumstances, manslaughter.

The principles laid down by Blackstone, with reference to the measure of human punishments, are clear and undeniable. They are intelligible to the meanest capacity; they could be explained to, and perfectly comprehended by, minds so young as not to have attained the state of manhood. They do but enunciate propositions which are expressed with all the terseness and simplicity of truth in the statute-book,—“*Liber homo non amercietur pro parvo delicto, nisi secundum modum ipsius delicti, et pro magno delicto secundum magnitudinem delicti.*” Even in the crime of murder there are degrees, which render it more heinous under some circumstances than under others. The motive is especially to be considered. Murder may be committed under the influence of covetousness, or of deadly envy and malice, or of base lust; and the degree of guilt varies accordingly; and where the crime is accompanied by domestic duty violated, and confidence betrayed, then the degree of guilt is highly aggravated.

It seems obvious from the proceedings we have quoted, and the frequent clearance of the court, that the members of the court-martial were not agreed in opinion; we do sincerely trust that they were not unanimous.

The sentence of the court-martial was promulgated in the following general order:—

“Horse-Guards, Oct. 20, 1840.

“At a General Court-martial held at Brighton Barracks, on the 26th of September 1840, and continued by adjournments to the 5th of the following month, Captain Richard Anthony Reynolds, of the 11th (Prince Albert's own) Hussars, was arraigned upon the under-mentioned charge, viz.—

[Here follows the charge as before.]

“Upon which charge the court came to the following decision:—

“The court, having duly weighed, and most maturely considered, the whole of the evidence adduced on the part of the prosecution, together with that advanced by the accused in support of his defence, is of opinion, that he, Captain Richard Anthony Reynolds, of the 11th (Prince Albert's own) Hussars, is guilty of the charge exhibited against him, which being in breach of the ‘Articles of War,’ the court does, in virtue thereof, sentence him, the said Captain Richard Anthony Reynolds, of the 11th (Prince Albert's own) Hussars, to be cashiered.

“The court having performed its duty, cannot separate without recording its opinion on the following points of evidence:—

“In the course of the evidence to character, witnesses have stated,

they considered the accused was incapable of insubordination, without some extraordinary causes of provocation, or unless under provocation which no man of honourable feelings could endure; thus apparently sanctioning the idea, that there might be circumstances of private irritation, which would justify a soldier breaking from the established order of military discipline;—a doctrine so totally subversive of the fundamental principles by which all armies are governed, that the court feels called upon to stamp it *with marked reprobation*.

“ Her Majesty has been pleased to approve and confirm the finding and sentence of the court.

“ The General commanding-in-chief directs that the foregoing charge preferred against Captain Richard Anthony Reynolds, of the 11th (Prince Albert's own) Hussars, together with the finding and sentence of the court, and her Majesty's confirmation thereof, be entered in the General Order Book, and read at the head of every regiment in her Majesty's service.

“ By command of the Right Honourable

“ General LORD HILL, Commanding in Chief.

“ JOHN MACDONALD, Adjutant-General.”

We have already given our reasons at length, for thinking that the charge as exhibited, wholly failed. But if the charge had been proved as laid, the judgment of the court is open to the following objections:—

1stly. There is no article of war which gave them cognizance of the offence committed by Captain Reynolds. He had not disobeyed “any lawful command of his superior officer”—and if had he not, it is clear he had infringed no other of the articles of war.

2dly. Their sentence is not just, because they refused to hear evidence of previous provocation, which Captain Reynolds tendered, and which any court of law would have been bound to receive, and would have received. Even of Rhadamanthus, who is not a pattern for judges, it is said, that “he punisheth and heareth.”

“ —Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna.

Castigatque auditque.”

The Court-martial punisheth, but heareth not. This course is not without its advantages; it saves time and simplifies the case.

“ Fortius et melius secat res.”

The court-martial did not understand the mission which was entrusted to them. The functions and duties of a court-martial are peculiar. The members of a court-martial are not merely jurors, nor merely judges—they act both as jury and as judges. They find the facts—they declare the law—they award the sentence. Grant, that in trying the

mere question of fact, as a jury would before returning their verdict, circumstances of provocation would be inadmissible in evidence, the court-martial have not, when they have reached this point, discharged their office. It is when they have performed their duty as jurors, that their more arduous duty as judges commences. Then it is that they are called upon to weigh the crime and the circumstances as in a balance; and to hear, and ponder well, the provocation and every incident which may extenuate the crime, and mitigate the punishment. They must first settle the degree of crime, before they can award the due and proportionate measure of punishment. As judges, they are bound to remember, that even in extreme ills there are degrees; and that an offence consists not merely of the fact done, but also of the intent with which it is done. In the present case, the court had little else to do than to act in their judicial capacity. The facts were clear and undisputed. The first letter, the order given in consequence, and the second letter, were all admitted. If, in awarding the punishment, they were determined to look only to these facts, then the time consumed by the proceedings of this court-martial was altogether mis-spent, and their assembly was little better than a solemn farce. Evidence in mitigation of punishment was almost the only evidence they were called upon to hear. They reject all such evidence. They close their eyes that they may not see, and stop their ears that they may not hear. We are accustomed to represent Justice as holding the scales in one hand, and the sword in the other, and the figure is full of meaning. If she throw away the balance, and yet retain the sword, she ceases to be "the eldest born of Jove,"—and what does she become but a mere executioner; and not only so, but an executioner acting without the usual warrant of law? We are accustomed to represent Justice as blind,—meaning, that she respects no man's person—but she has never been represented as deaf. We could refer the members of the court-martial to a tribunal, whose example it would have been no disparagement to them to follow;—Her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench. Prisoners who have been found guilty, are sometimes called up to that court for judgment, and if any of the members of the Court-martial should walk in on any day to the Court of Queen's Bench, it would be nothing strange that they should find there a prisoner awaiting his sentence. If they should cast their eyes upwards to the judgment-seat, they would there behold four venerable and learned judges, patiently listening to evidence in mitigation of pun-

ishment, and to an eloquent address of counsel enforcing the grounds of such evidence. Nor would they find that judgment was pronounced, until these able and learned judges had conferred together, and had fully considered every circumstance which could be suggested in extenuation of the crime.

3rdly. In the restrictions and conditions to which they subjected the prisoner's witnesses to character, as to the terms and manner in which they should give their evidence, the court-martial acted with a rigour which might have been dispensed with. Major Morse Cooper and Captain Forrest were witnesses to character; and in a court of law they would have a right, first, to state their opinion of the prisoner's general character, with reference to the charge imputed; and 2ndly, they would be permitted, if not of right, yet from favour to the prisoner, to state their personal experience of that character in any particular instance. It is stated, in the best work on evidence that ever was written, that this frequently occurs at law.* In the present case, the prisoner being tried for an act of insubordination, according to all rule his witnesses must be admitted to state their opinion of his general character for subordination; and they ought to have been permitted, if not of right, yet of favour to the prisoner, to state their personal experience of his habits of subordination, in particular instances within their own knowledge. The evidence is thus made double in value of what it otherwise would be; and it is because the commanding-officer was a party concerned in those instances, that the evidence becomes of particular value. It not only bears a reference to, but it bears directly upon, the charge of insubordination. Moreover, the intention of Captain Reynolds, in the act charged against him, was important to be considered; and where the intention is an ingredient in the case, a wider scope is allowed, in courts of law, in the examination of witnesses to character, than in other cases. Captain Reynolds could hardly intend, wilfully and deliberately, an act of insubordination on his own part, when we see he had prevented insubordination in others under circumstances of great provocation. Whatever favour or indulgence might have been allowed in a court of law, not less ought to have been granted by the court-martial.

4thly. As the case stood, upon the evidence which they did receive, the sentence was harsh, severe, and disproportioned to the offence. Nor have they the excuse of saying, that they had no discretion as to the punishment; for the article of war

* 1 Phillips on Evidence, 166; sixth edition.

which relates to disobedience of orders leaves the punishment "such as a general court-martial shall award." And even had they been bound by the articles to a particular sentence, they might nevertheless have stated the circumstances of extenuation, and have recommended the prisoner to the mercy of a gracious sovereign. They did not do so, and therefore we may assume that they saw no circumstance which, according to their judgment would extenuate the offence, or mitigate the punishment; and yet there never was a case in which mercy could have been more fitly extended to the prisoner.

5thly. The court-martial went out of their way, and having done so, they should at least have gone in a right direction. It had come out in evidence before them, that Lord Cardigan used language to his officers such as no gentleman has any sort of right to use to another. He had given the lie direct to Major Morse Cooper; he had done the same to Captain Forrest. The court might justly have reprobated the use of such language, as unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and highly subversive of good order and military discipline. They did not do so. We are not even sure that they took down on their minutes the words they heard from the witnesses on this point. We are rather led to suppose they did *not*. They might have reprobated the course which had been pursued in the cross-examination of Lieutenant Cunningham. They did not do so. They reserved the outpouring of their virtuous indignation for Major Morse Cooper and Major Browne, two of the witnesses to character for the prisoner. And that they might do this with the greater effect, they first put words into the mouths of those witnesses, which they never uttered or thought of, and then attack, "with marked reprobation," the doctrines which they impute to those officers! We have purposely given at length the evidence of those officers, and we ask, where have they brought forward "the idea that there might be circumstances of private irritation which would *justify* a soldier breaking from the established order of military discipline?" They were not asked, nor did they give, any merely speculative opinions. They were not asked, nor did they say, one word as to the circumstances which would, or would not, justify an offence. Their opinion would not have been evidence. They were merely asked as to the character of Captain Reynolds for subordination; and they answer, with simplicity and truth, "We consider him utterly incapable of forgetting the respect due to a commanding-officer unless under peculiar circumstances of provocation, such as no man of honourable

feeling could endure." The attack made upon the witnesses is altogether unfounded: it is most ungenerous and improper, and calculated, if such a practice should ever find imitators, to frustrate the course of justice. It is a new feature in the proceedings of a military court, and like many other novelties, is worthy of "the most marked reprobation."

6thly. They have taken upon them a mission which was not entrusted to them, and for which they were in no respect qualified—the enunciation of abstract propositions. It is always dangerous and inexpedient, and more especially for unlearned persons, to propound abstract theories. The members of the court-martial form no exception to the rule. They would have done much better to try the case before them, and to hear, as they were bound to do, the evidence upon it. It is the proud characteristic of the British army, that its officers are gentlemen, by education, manners, and habits, and we trust they may ever remain so. As long as British officers are gentlemen, we are sure that they will have right feelings, that they will be men of honour and principle and spirit, that they will act as becomes such, and that they will proudly assert their dignity when any man shall presume to oppress, or shall endeavour to degrade them. To say nothing of abstract propositions, we agree that military discipline must be maintained; but it must be maintained impartially, and as much by restraining the abuse of authority as by enforcing due subordination. And we reckon the proneness to error or excess to be much greater in the case of him who wields power, than of him who is dependent. But nothing of this kind suggested itself to the minds of the court-martial.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that the abstract propositions of the court-martial are well-founded. The general commanding-in-chief has affirmed them, by the sanction of his name. What a fearful responsibility do they throw upon him! If it be true that men of honourable feelings must endure all or any provocation, and that under no imaginable circumstances must they be allowed to break from the established order of military discipline; if this be indeed the fundamental principle by which the army is to be governed, and for any violation whereof an officer must surely be cashiered, what sort of men is it the duty of Lord Hill to select for the command of a regiment? What anxious thought, what conscientious care are required from him before he appoint an officer to such a situation as Lord Cardigan now fills! Is he justified in requiring the very perfection of military discipline from the subordinates, while at the same

time he sends among them a chief, whose temper and conduct appear to be but too surely calculated to provoke insubordination? Does he think that that man is qualified to have the command of others, who has no command of himself? And can he seriously believe, that in the short term of six years, Lord Cardigan had fitted himself, from being a cornet, to be a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and as such entitled to the command of a regiment?

Lord Cardigan was born in the year 1797; he entered the army in the year 1824, and he obtained his lieutenant-colonelcy in the year 1830; that is to say, after six years service and at the age of thirty-three. He was appointed to the command of the 15th Hussars. In the year 1833, he brought Captain Wathen, one of his officers, before a court-martial, on six circumstantial charges, which he thought fit to exhibit against that officer. Of all, and of every one, of these charges the court-martial honourably acquitted Captain Wathen. Having done so, they annexed to their finding the following observations:—

“Bearing in mind the whole process and tendency of this trial, the court cannot refrain from animadverting on the peculiar and extraordinary measures which have been resorted to by the prosecutor. Whatever may have been his motives for instituting charges of so serious a nature against Captain Wathen (and they cannot ascribe them *solely to a wish to uphold the honour and interests of the army*), his conduct has been reprehensible in advancing such various and weighty assertions, to be submitted before a public tribunal, without some sure grounds of establishing the facts. It appears in the recorded minutes of these proceedings, that a junior officer was listened to, and non-commissioned officers and soldiers examined, with the view of finding out from them how, in particular instances, the officers had executed their respective duties; a practice in every respect most dangerous to the discipline and the subordination of the corps, and highly detrimental to that harmony and good feeling which ought to exist among officers. Another practice has been introduced into the 15th Hussars, which calls imperatively for the notice and animadversion of the court—the system of having the conversations of officers taken down in the orderly-room without their knowledge—a practice which cannot be considered otherwise than revolting to every proper and honourable feeling of a gentleman, and as being certain to create disunion, and to be most injurious to his Majesty’s service.”

The finding of the court-martial was confirmed by the general commanding-in-chief, and Lord Cardigan was, in the year 1834, removed from the 15th Hussars and placed on half-pay.

There could not be a more severe censure conveyed on any officer, than there was upon Lord Cardigan by the finding of that court-martial. It is no little blame that he should have brought forward, against one of his officers, six very circumstantial charges, and should not have been able to establish any one of them, or any part of any one of them. It does not rest here; his motives might perhaps plead some excuse? No, the court take from him this poor excuse; they "cannot" ascribe to him the only motive by which he should have been led. The inference is obvious. They found, moreover, that he had adopted in his regiment one practice most dangerous to discipline and subordination, and subversive of harmony and good feeling; and another practice, revolting to every proper and honourable feeling of a gentleman, certain to create disunion and to injure his Majesty's service.

One might naturally conclude, that an officer whose conduct in the command of one regiment is thus stigmatized by competent judges, is not the most fit person to be appointed to the command of another regiment. Nevertheless, in the year 1886, we find Lord Cardigan appointed Lieutenant-colonel of the eleventh Light Dragoons. Lord Hill undertook a grave responsibility. He impliedly contracted for the good conduct of Lord Cardigan; and nothing but the strict performance of the contract could absolve him from his responsibility. What has been the result? Has Lord Cardigan imported "harmony and good feeling" into the eleventh Light Dragoons, or has he subverted them? Has he been the means of maintaining "the discipline and the subordination of the corps," or has he endangered them? Has he quashed "disunion," or has he created it? Has his conduct been, or not been, "injurious to her Majesty's service"? Has he, or not, on all occasions, acted under the influence of "every proper and honourable feeling of a gentleman"?

Let these questions be answered by Lord Hill himself. He has proclaimed in his own memorandum, read by the adjutant-general to the officers of the eleventh Hussars, since the court-martial, "that the regiment is *not* in that state in which a regiment ought to be, in order to afford ground for confidence that it would, at home or abroad, render efficient service; that there are lamentable disputes and differences among the officers; that they exhibit disrespect and insubordination to their commanding officer; that many of them are in a state of hostility with their commanding officer; that he, Lord Hill, has received various complaints from the officers

of the regiment, of the conduct of their commanding officer.”*. Lord Hill must know also, better than any other individual can, what was the state of the eleventh regiment of Light Dragoons before Lord Cardigan was appointed to it; and what has been the state of the fifteenth Hussars since Lord Cardigan was removed from them? He must know whether or not it is true that, without including Captain R. A. Reynolds, sixteen officers have left the eleventh Light Dragoons since Lord Cardigan was appointed to command them? and if he does not know, he can well imagine, that no captain or subaltern of the eleventh Hussars could now find an officer of another regiment to exchange with him.

But Lord Hill is not our only witness. Let the questions we have proposed be further answered by Major Morse Cooper; by Captain Richard A. Reynolds; by Captain Forrest; by Captain John Williams Reynolds; by Lieutenant Forrest; by Dr. Sandham; by Mr. Harvey Tuckett; by Mr. Hussey. Has Lord Cardigan given to these, and to his officers at large, that “example of moderation, temper, and discretion,” which, Lord Hill says, is expected from him? Has he viewed their errors, as Lord Hill says he ought, “with indulgent moderation?” As Lord Cardigan introduced new practices into the fifteenth Hussars, has he or not introduced a new practice into the eleventh Hussars—that of giving the lie to his officers? We refer to the evidence of Major Morse Cooper and of Captain Forrest. Does the general commanding-in-chief consider, or not, this practice to be “revolting to every proper and honourable feeling of a gentleman”?

Major Morse Cooper has stated frankly, in print, the reason for his leaving the eleventh Hussars. He felt himself called upon so to do, from seeing a letter signed “Miles,” published in a London journal, in which letter an erroneous reason was assigned. He wrote a letter to the editor, as follows: viz.

“TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING POST.

“Sir,—The reason assigned by your correspondent ‘Miles’ for my having quitted the 11th Light Dragoons is an erroneous one. Perhaps he, as an admirer of Lord Cardigan, would prefer the language introduced into the service by his lordship, and that I should say—it is false. But to my antiquated habits such language is ungentelemanly, and therefore I decline its use.

“For the information of ‘Miles,’ I will state the true reason and

* We do not insert this document at length. It is every way below criticism; and the only thing we can gather from it is a determination to support Lord Cardigan.

circumstances of my leaving a regiment wherein I had passed 'the morning of my life—all my best years,' twenty-one in number. I left it on account of the overbearing conduct, and unendurable insolence of its commanding-officer, which rendered the tenure of my commission insecure; and from experience I hold the opinion, that no captain or subaltern, of ordinary spirit or gentlemanly feeling, is safe under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Cardigan.

"Although I was *bond fide* the first captain for purchase of the regimental majority, I endeavoured to find a captain of cavalry to exchange with me, but in vain; they were too wise; and upon the strength of twenty-five years' service upon full pay, I applied for and obtained, from Lord Hill's consideration, permission to purchase an unattached majority."

This letter was published in the *Times* of the 16th Nov. 1840.

One might have supposed that it was open to Major Morse Cooper to state, without being subjected to censure or reproach, the reasons which induced him to leave the regiment in which he had served for twenty-one years. A man leaves his house, because he hears the timbers crack, and the walls sink or sever; and he reasonably judges that these warnings are sufficient, and that he will not be safe if he remain: we conceive that a man under such circumstances may justly assign these as his reasons for quitting that house, and that he may do so either voluntarily, or in answer to an inquiry. But such is not the opinion of Lord Hill. Lord Cardigan must be protected at all hazards, and at any price. Lord Hill will not censure him himself, nor will he allow any other man to censure him. Lord Hill called upon Major Morse Cooper to admit or deny his having written the obnoxious letter bearing his name in the *Times*, and Major Morse Cooper having acknowledged the fact, the Adjutant-general wrote to him the following letter:—

"Horse Guards, Nov. 26, 1840.

"Sir,—I have received and submitted to the General commanding-in-chief your letter of the present date, wherein you acknowledge yourself to be the writer of the letter which appeared in the *Times* newspaper of the 16th instant, and to which my letter of yesterday's date related.

"In reference to that acknowledgment, I have it in command to direct your serious attention to the accompanying General Order of the 5th of April, 1819, issued by command of his late Royal Highness the Duke of York, for the information and guidance of the officers of the army.

"I am further commanded to remind you, that by writing the letter in question, you have directly violated the principle so clearly and

forcibly laid down in that General Order, and have thereby exposed yourself to the displeasure of your sovereign.

"Lord Hill has not overlooked the circumstance that your letter was written with the *avowed* object of denying the correctness of a statement which had been made respecting you in a letter published under the signature of 'Miles,' in a newspaper. His lordship would have it fully understood, that so far as his authority is concerned, he concedes to you the right, in its most extended and liberal sense, of defending yourself against any statement in a public journal which you might think injurious to your public or private character; but Lord Hill cannot too strongly condemn the manner in which, on the present occasion, you have exercised that right. The highly-offensive and insulting terms in which you *have assailed* your late commanding officer, *for the manifest purpose of provoking him to a hostile collision with you*, would, in any case, have been wholly unjustifiable; but when Lord Hill adverts to the circumstance of your having left Prince Albert's Hussars without, to his recollection, having ever made objection to, or preferred complaint against, any part of Lord Cardigan's behaviour towards you, while you were serving under his orders in that regiment, and to the further circumstance of a period having elapsed since you quitted the regiment more than sufficient to have allayed any feeling of irritation which may have been excited in your breast during your regimental connexion with Lord Cardigan, the General commanding-in-chief is constrained to say, that he *can find no pretext or excuse for your conduct*.

"Lord Hill further considers that your offence is aggravated by the rank which you hold in her Majesty's service, and which ought to have induced you cautiously to abstain from setting so injurious an example to other officers.

"You must be aware that the consequence of so gross an *act of military insubordination* would, in all probability, have been the forfeiture of your commission, by the award of a general court-martial, had you been amenable to the provisions of the Mutiny Act; and you will observe, that, in the case which occasioned the general order before referred to, an offence of a similar character, committed by officers on half-pay, was visited by removal from the service.

"It is in the full confidence, that you will, on reflection, be deeply sensible of the great impropriety of your conduct, that Lord Hill abstains, in the present instance, from proposing the adoption of an extreme course towards you; but his lordship feels that his duty to the army, its discipline, and its general interest, imperatively requires that he should mark your conduct with the most severe censure; and I am to remind you, that any repetition of it would afford the most convincing evidence of your unsuitness, in the exercise of military authority, to uphold the discipline and maintain the subordination which are essential to the character and efficiency of the army.

"I have, &c., JOHN MACDONALD, Adjutant-General."

"Major L. Morse Cooper, half-pay unattached."

The accompanying General Order of 1819, referred to, is as follows :—

“ Horse Guards, April 6, 1819.

“ It has been represented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that Lieutenant Thomas Hasker and Ensign Edward Ring, who have recently been placed upon the half-pay, from the 55th regiment, have grossly insulted and challenged Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick, commanding that regiment, upon the grounds of his conduct towards them in his capacity of commanding-officer while they were on full-pay under his orders.

“ As it would be highly injurious to the discipline of the service to permit the notion to pass with impunity, that when an officer is placed upon half-pay he shall feel at liberty to set aside all the restraints of decorum and subordination, by indulging feelings of personal resentment towards his former commanding-officer, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, has been pleased to command that his displeasure upon this flagrant act of misconduct shall be marked by erasing the names of Lieutenant Thomas Hasker, and Ensign Edward Ring, from the list of the army.

“ The Prince Regent, in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, has also been pleased to command, that as Lieutenant Richard William Lambrecht, on the half-pay of the 3d garrison battalion, who was the bearer of the challenge from Ensign Ring to Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick, appears to have been equally culpable, his name shall, in like manner, be erased from the list of the army.

“ The Commander-in-Chief has received the Prince Regent's commands to promulgate to the army the above declaration of his Royal Highness's pleasure on the subject of Lieutenant Thomas Hasker and Ensign Edward Ring, and of Lieutenant Richard William Lambrecht, in order that officers on half-pay may be sensible, that whenever they so far forget their duty as to give vent to feelings of personal animosity and resentment against their former commanding-officer on the grounds of his conduct towards them in his official capacity during the time they were serving under his command, they will not fail to draw upon themselves the royal displeasure to the same extent as is hereby expressed against the individuals to whom this order especially applies.

“ The Commander-in-Chief has it further in command to express his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's approbation of the line of conduct adopted on this occasion by Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick, and to declare, that any officer who shall prove so unmindful of what is due to his station, and so regardless of military discipline, as to accept a challenge given on grounds similar to those on which those officers presumed to challenge their former commander, will incur his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's highest displeasure.

“ By command of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief,
“ HARRY CALVERT, Adjutant-General.”

The perversity of mind, or entire obscuration of reason, exhibited in this letter to Major Morse Cooper, exceed all belief. We look at it again and again, and still wonder whether it really and truly emanated from the Horse Guards, or "whether an enemy hath done this?" What are the facts? Major Morse Cooper left the 11th Hussars on or before the 10th January 1840. He did so for good reasons—but these he keeps to himself (at least from the public), until he is called upon and obliged in self-defence, to state them on the 16th November 1840, in answer to a letter in a newspaper. Lord Hill, with that same intuitive quickness which Lord Cardigan had exhibited in the case of Captain R. A. Reynolds, saw at once a purpose in this answer of Major Morse Cooper, totally different from what it professed, and from what the writer intended. Lord Hill admits that "the *avowed* object was to deny the correctness of the statement made by Miles;" but then, he says, the real purpose, and that not secret or disguised, "the *MANIFEST* purpose was to provoke his late commanding-officer to a hostile collision with him,"—conduct for which Lord Hill could find no pretext or excuse;—and so grossly insubordinate, that Major Morse Cooper must think himself too happy in not being dismissed the service! His offence is "military insubordination to his late commanding-officer,"—in saying that the conduct of that commanding-officer was overbearing and insolent. It is not allowed to any officer to say this of Lord Cardigan; he must content himself with thinking it, and feeling it. There is an injunction issued from the Horse Guards against any such freedom of speech, and the penalty is, being cashiered if on full-pay, and being dismissed if on half-pay. Truly, this is somewhat "overbearing and insolent," in a land of freedom! We hardly know whether to reprobate such pretensions with seriousness, or to laugh them to scorn for their egregious folly. Lord Hill saw that he could not directly censure Major Morse Cooper for merely defending himself; and therefore he converts him into an assailant, and assigns to him an object which "manifestly" he had *not*. If Major Morse Cooper was so excited in his feelings as to desire to fight a duel with Lord Cardigan, that excitement must have existed before the year 1840; and reasoning men might suppose that he would have sought his opportunity before the end of nearly a twelvemonth, and would judge, that if he did *not* do so, his excitement had, according to the natural course of events, subsided. They would further conclude that his writing a letter to the *Times*, furnished no

"manifest" proof of his still entertaining such a desire, seeing that such letter was an answer to the letter of another man, and would have never been written at all, but for the publication of the letter of "Miles." There is great tenderness exhibited by the Horse Guards, lest Lord Cardigan should be provoked, but none at all in favour of those whom Lord Cardigan does or may provoke. Lord Hill is a professor of military law; and having imputed to Major Morse Cooper the "manifest" intention of provoking Lord Cardigan to send him a challenge, he, Lord Hill, opens his books, and there finds a case in point, which he quotes against the offender. He says, "By writing the letter in question, you have DIRECTLY violated the principle so clearly laid down in that case." What is the principle of that case? Two young officers just removed to half-pay, and thinking that they were then free to gratify their resentment, grossly insult and challenge their late commanding-officer, on the grounds of his conduct to them as commanding-officer. They acted most improperly, and were therefore dismissed. The principle established seems to be, that no officer shall be allowed thus to misconduct himself with impunity. What is the application of that case, either in circumstance, or in principle? Major Morse Cooper was not removed to half-pay, except by his promotion from a troop to an unattached majority. He did not grossly insult his late commanding-officer, though that officer had grossly insulted him. He did not challenge his commanding-officer; and the letter which he wrote was written nearly a twelvemonth after his promotion, and that not voluntarily, but to correct a misstatement of which he was the subject. Parity or similitude between the two cases there is none; and yet Lord Hill pronounces judicially, that the principle established has been violated, and *that* not indirectly but directly. The justice of the Horse Guards is one-sided. It has one attribute of Justice—it is blind. It restrains Major Morse Cooper, but it does not restrain Lord Cardigan—nor does it restrain "Miles." It would be no very monstrous supposition, that a letter professing to state the reasons of Major Morse Cooper's leaving the 11th Hussars, may possibly have been written by some one who is, or has been, connected with that regiment. However that may be, and whoever be the author, Lord Cardigan, or any other person, is at full liberty to write and publish alleged reasons for Major Morse Cooper leaving the 11th Hussars—and Major Morse Cooper alone is to be restrained from correcting these statements, and from assigning the true reasons. Admirable justice!

The Adjutant-General's letter was an intelligible warning to the fifteen other officers who had left the regiment—or to such of them as still remain in the service—that they should not do as Major Morse Cooper had done. Unfortunately for Lord Hill, Mr. Hussey, one of those officers, is no longer subject to military jurisdiction; and the letter of "Miles" having referred to him, equally as to Major Morse Cooper, and with equal incorrectness, Mr. Hussey wrote the following letter, which was published in the *Times* of the 7th December 1840:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING POST.

"Sir,—Having been for the last month in a very remote part of Ireland, I have only just been able to procure a copy of your paper of the 6th ult., in which appears a letter signed 'Miles.' Could I believe it possible that any person of gentle blood, or entitled to be treated as a gentleman, would put forward an anonymous statement, knowing it to be untrue, or without taking the trouble to ascertain its truth or falsehood, I should take steps to find out the individual, and punish his insolence.

"As the matter now stands, your anonymous correspondent, in assigning untrue reasons for my having left the service, has placed himself in one or other of the above unenviable positions: I am therefore obliged to content myself by simply stating that my reason for having left the service to which I was greatly attached, was, that I found it as impossible to serve, with proper respect for my own feelings, under Lord Cardigan, as it was to effect an exchange from a regiment which has the undeserved misfortune to be commanded by his lordship. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

"JOHN HUSSEY,

"Late Lieutenant 11th Light Dragoons."

"Army and Navy Club, St. James's Square, Dec. 3, 1840."

The publication of this letter was "an untoward event" for the Horse Guards—it exactly confirms the letter of Major Morse Cooper, and all that Lord Hill can do is to regret that Mr. Hussey is beyond the reach of his censure. Of course the purpose of this letter also is "manifest"—to provoke Lord Cardigan to a hostile collision; but, nevertheless, it seems "manifest" that the purpose has not been attained, either in the case of Major Morse Cooper, or in that of Mr. Hussey; and hence we may conclude, that the extreme readiness of Lord Hill to interfere in a matter in which he had not the slightest concern, was unnecessary and misplaced,

Lord Hill's calculations have been altogether fallacious. The cashiering of Captain R. A. Reynolds, one of the best officers in the service, presented him a happy opportunity (as

he seems to have thought) for introducing harmony and cordiality into the regiment. He declared to the officers, by the adjutant-general, his confident trust, that he should hear of no more such complaints as they had made previously—that everything would be buried in oblivion; and he expected, that on his part, Lord Cardigan would present a pattern of moderation, temper, and discretion. The officers were to seem satisfied at the merciless punishment of their friend and companion, and were to compose their frowning faces into benignant smiles towards their chief. All things were to become new, and Lord Cardigan was to be perfection. These golden dreams were only of October last, and they are quickly followed, in about two months, by the two published letters of Major Morse Cooper and Mr. Hussey, the complaint of Dr. Sandham, and the application of Captain John Williams Reynolds for leave to retire from the regiment by sale of his commission. At an earlier period of the year, events had succeeded each other even more rapidly. There was first, the complaint of Mr. Brent of Canterbury—then that of Captain John Williams Reynolds—the duel with Mr. Harvey Tuckett—the court-martial on Captain Richard A. Reynolds, and the great affair of the key, in which Lord Cardigan was plaintiff, and Lieutenant Forrest defendant, and which was heard and decided by Lord Hill in the last resort. The confident expectation which Lord Hill professed to entertain in October 1840—Heaven knows on what grounds!—was, in a few short weeks, disappointed, and he was reduced to express his regret to Lord Cardigan, that his previous recommendation, through the adjutant-general, had proved ineffective. Lord Hill has been in error throughout; he was in error in appointing Lord Cardigan to the 11th Light Dragoons, and every step he has taken since has been but a repetition and multiplication of error. He has, now at least, discovered his error—but only to persist in it; and rather than that Captain John W. Reynolds should sell his commission, and thus give additional strength to the public opinion concerning Lord Cardigan, he grants to that officer (if the public are not misinformed) a sort of *carte blanche* to do what he will, provided only he shall not retire from the regiment. Let no one be deceived: nothing is granted for the sake of justice; nothing is conceded for the sake of an excellent young officer, who had been much wronged both by Lord Cardigan and by the Horse Guards; but anything and everything is given in order to save Lord Cardigan. The public

are shrewd observers of passing events, and seeing the excessive favour that is shown to Lord Cardigan, they look for a cause; and, as "his wealth and his earldom" are not to be deemed the cause, they ask what is it?—whence did it originate, and how has it thus continued?

In all the transactions connected with this regiment, we are forced to blame, much and deeply, Lord Hill, the General commanding-in-chief. All the faults of the court-martial are his, for he has adopted and confirmed them. But further—Lord Hill must answer the original fault of sinning against experience, in appointing Lord Cardigan at all to the command of the 11th Hussars. He must answer the further fault of keeping Lord Cardigan in that command under circumstances which, if they have not led Lord Hill, have at all events led the public at large, to conclude, that it is not for the good of her Majesty's service. He must answer the fault of "hoping against hope," in the confident trust he has expressed, and in which he has already been disappointed, that after the court-martial there would be harmony and concord in the 11th Hussars, and that there would be no further complaint from any officer against the lieutenant-colonel.

Lord Hill has executed justice (as he is pleased to call it) upon Captain R. A. Reynolds. The thing called justice is not really so, unless it be equal—impartial—without respect of persons—and founded upon immutable principles. Principles will never bend nor vary, though circumstances may. We will compare the offences and the punishments of Lord Cardigan and Captain R. A. Reynolds respectively, and see how far the comparison is satisfactory.

Lord Cardigan was found to have introduced into the 15th Hussars practices "revolting to every proper and honourable feeling of a gentleman." He was not charged simply with want of temper and discretion, or with error in judgment—the imputation was of an entirely different kind, and more grave. His punishment was removal to half-pay. We do not complain of the lightness of the punishment, for it was an act of mercy; and mercy is a sacred prerogative, which we would willingly leave unfettered.

Captain Reynolds' offence consisted in writing an offensive and disrespectful letter, under feelings of excitement. Which of the two offences was the greater? Was his conduct revolting to the "proper and honourable feelings of a gentleman"? His punishment was the being cashiered. His offence was less than Lord Cardigan's—his punishment infinitely more. Is

this to be called justice—and is the army, and are the public, to be satisfied with it? We know that they are not, and will not be, for we know that Englishmen, above all things, love justice. The voice of mercy was heard in the one case—it was silent in the other. A young and gracious queen would have been but too happy to be reminded of that mercy, of which it is said—

“It is twice bless’d.

It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes ;

’Tis mightiest in the mightiest ; it becomes

The throned monarch better than his crown.”

Yes, an act of grace to a gallant and high-spirited soldier, who would exultingly pour out his heart’s best blood in her service, would have more adorned our fair young queen in the eyes of her people, than does the brightest gem that sparkles on her brow. All that’s bright must fade—her beauty and her glory shall depart—be the time far distant ! but her deeds of mercy and beneficence will be remembered when all else is forgotten ; for they will be written with an everlasting pen, in that book by which princes and subjects shall alike be judged.

Further, we will compare the offences and the punishments of Major-General Sleigh and Captain R. A. Reynolds respectively, and see whether the comparison is more satisfactory. Major-General Sleigh, having a command in the East Indies, in the Bombay presidency, took upon him to put under arrest a distinguished officer, and of high rank, Brigadier-General Sir Thomas Willshire, K.C.B., being next in command to himself, for issuing an order which he was instructed to issue personally by the commander-in-chief. He informed Major-General Sleigh of the authority by which he had issued the order, and referred him, if he desired corroboration, to the commander-in-chief himself, who was on the spot. Major-General Sleigh made no reference to, or enquiry of, the commander-in-chief, but placed Sir Thomas Willshire in arrest, and assigned the command of his brigade to a junior officer. All the circumstances were reported to Lord Hill, and there is in print a copy of the letter of Lord Fitzroy Somerset, his military secretary, to General Sir Henry Fane, dated the 13th September, 1837, containing the judgment of Lord Hill upon the case. The offence of Major-General Sleigh was insubordination to the commander-in-chief, and that of a more flagrant and outrageous kind than any we can remember. To borrow some of the words of Lord Cardigan’s charge, “such conduct was highly unbecoming a general officer, prejudicial to the in-

terests of the service, and utterly subversive of good order and military discipline." To borrow the words of the court-martial in their sentence on Captain Reynolds, such conduct was "totally subversive of the fundamental principles by which all armies are governed, and ought to be stamped with marked reprobation." General Sleigh had not the excuse of youth, inexperience, or excitement, or indeed any other excuse whatever, and thus it appeared to Lord Hill. In the letter of the military secretary to Sir Henry Fane, there is the following remarkable passage: "There does not appear to Lord Hill to be the smallest circumstance, in any part of this case, which can be favourably considered as extenuating the conduct of Major-General Sleigh." These are the premises; now for the conclusion: "To remove the Major-General from his command in India, and thus to injure his present character and future prospects, however justifiable such a measure would be, might be said to be not altogether free from that severity with which he has acted towards another upon this occasion, and for which his conduct is now under the just censure of the General commanding-in-chief; and therefore, all circumstances considered, and giving full weight to the honourable testimonials, &c.," Lord Hill desires Major-General Sleigh to be removed from his command in Bombay, to such other station as Sir Henry Fane should think fit. His punishment, if so to be named, was simply to be removed from his actual command to another command of the same kind, and on the same footing. Again we say, we do not complain of an act of mercy; but is mercy in the army reserved only for the eldest sons of peers, and for general officers? For an unheard-of act of insubordination—an act utterly unjustifiable, and declared to be without the smallest extenuating circumstance, Major-General Sleigh goes virtually unpunished; and when, in due time, he comes home, he is rewarded with the office of inspecting-general of cavalry, which office he now fills, and with the colonelcy of the 9th Lancers. And in virtue of this office of inspecting-general, and presenting in his own person a pattern of subordination, he was sent, in June last, to convene the officers of the 11th Hussars, and read them a communication from the Horse Guards, as to the case of Captain John W. Reynolds; to which he added the flippant and presumptuous declaration from himself to Captain John W. Reynolds, that he had by his conduct deprived himself of the sympathy of every officer of rank in the service.

For a much more venial act of insubordination than that

of Major-General Sleigh, Captain Richard A. Reynolds is cashiered. Unfortunately for the captain, his case admitted of extenuating circumstances, which the general's did not. His present character, also, was excellent, and his testimonials weighty and honourable, whence it plainly follows that he must be cashiered, and his future prospects blasted. The general had the singular good fortune that his conduct was not only without justification, but without the smallest circumstance of palliation—whence the conclusion is evident that he must go unpunished for the present; and as to future prospects, the event has shown that they were not injured, but improved. Had his case admitted of any possibility of argument or mitigation, Heaven knows whether that severity with which he had acted towards another might not have been visited upon himself.

Let us add, that the authority which preserved Lord Cardigan to the army, in the year 1834, and restored him to command in the year 1836, the authority which left General Sleigh unpunished in 1837, and has since conferred upon him a double reward, and the authority which has cashiered Captain Richard A. Reynolds in the year 1840, are one and the same; Lord Hill has throughout been the general commanding-in-chief. With this observation we shall conclude, adding only, that the injury which has been done personally to Captain Richard A. Reynolds may be repaired; but that the outrages which have been committed upon public feeling in all these transactions demand a high satisfaction, which the people—the just, and thinking, and reasoning people—will require, and which the Crown, if well advised, will not refuse.

ART. V.—*The Quarterly Review for December, 1840.*

THE last number of the *Quarterly Review* contains an article entitled “Romanism in Ireland,” which has been generally attributed to a learned professor of the University of Oxford, and which may, perhaps, be taken as the manifesto of the party to which the *Review* and the University belong. Although it is not usual for one *Review* to enter into a discussion with another, yet, as the article in question is announced as the first of a series upon the same subject, and as it is possible that these compositions may correctly indicate the future conduct of one party in the state—as we are, besides, of opi-

nion, that to give any entertainment or countenance to the speculations and opinions which are advanced in the article, would be highly injurious to the empire at large, and would be most eminently detrimental to the deplorable country which is the subject of discussion—as, in the last place, the principal statements of fact which are therein made or insinuated, are altogether, or to a very great extent, unfounded, in as far as they are pertinent in any considerable degree to the matter in hand, or indeed to any other matter whatever—we think it right, for all these reasons, to submit the article in question to a minute and deliberate examination.

In proceeding to enter upon the performance of this duty, we find it to be altogether impossible to distribute our observations into any order of arrangement which can have the effect of presenting to the reader a distinct and harmonious view of the whole subject-matter in controversy. We profess not, however, upon the present occasion, to do anything more than to refute in detail some of the numberless errors of reasoning, and to subvert, by authentic and unquestionable evidence, a portion of the multitudinous misstatements of matters of fact which constitute almost the whole mass of the article in question. For the purpose of accomplishing this object, we must, of course, pursue the steps of the writer through all his tortuous entanglements of matter, style, and opinion; and we cannot, therefore, help shrinking at the contemplation of the confusion and perplexity of the scene upon which we are entering. The gentleman to whom the article has been universally attributed, is said in several quarters to be a person of great literary accomplishments. In reference to this point, one of two things must, we think, be unquestionably true: either that his admirers labour under the most extraordinary delusion, or, if he really possess the accomplishments for which he obtains credit, that the composition which we have now under consideration must belong to that species, described by Quintilian: * "*Cujus virtutes ex industria quoque occultantur.*" The style of the article belongs, in fact, to the department of what is called "easy writing," concerning which Mr. Pope has very justly observed,

"Your easy writing, though, is damned hard reading."

Indeed nothing can be more evident than that the writer, if we may judge of his capacity from the article under consid-

ration, is not enlightened by the smallest glimmering of an acquaintance with the commonest canons of composition; that he is not even *levissime imbutus* in the principles which regulate oratorical, or even grammatical arrangement; and that he understands the structure of a sentence no better than that of a flying buttress. It is said that the gentleman to whom this article is attributed, professes to imitate the style of Mr. Burke. If this be true, the attempt at imitation is about as successful as that of some persons in ancient Rome, who thought that they imitated the character of Cato by looking grim and going barefooted.* The exhibition of a few extracts from the article will enable the reader to judge for himself whether the opinion which we have expressed about its literary merits be well-founded or not. The following passages may be taken as specimens of what the writer can achieve in the department of the *style coupé*:—

"Democracy in Ireland! Alas! what *are* men thinking of? They may as well talk of democracy in Morocco. But add another fact."—p. 156.

"Once more. Ireland, it has been often *said*! has been confiscated three times over. We are no friends to confiscation, least of all *of* confiscations in Ireland. But this is not to the purpose."—p. 164.

"But the priests, it is acknowledged by witnesses, do give their assistance in repressing disorder. Undoubtedly."—p. 157.

"But the priests denounce ribbonism. Undoubtedly. The old priests did: and for so doing were ill treated by the bishops. This has been proved. But so did Doctor Doyle. Undoubtedly."—p. 156.

There *may*, for aught which we know to the contrary, be something very "sublime and beautiful" about this manner of writing; but we must, for our own parts, acknowledge that we cannot perceive any *very* strong resemblance between it and the oratory "whose triumphant march was accompanied by the spoils of the universe." Of the perspicuous intermixture of literal with figurative language, the following is a specimen:—"How is it," says he, (p. 121), "that Ireland is far more a *blot* upon Europe?" [far more than what?] "with almost every *spot* upon its *shores* branded with the *memory* of crime." How is it, says the learned writer, that every *spot* on the *shores* of the *blot* is branded with a *memory*! The following sentence forms the commencement of a paragraph in page 134, and, besides the elegance of its construction, presents what will, perhaps, be considered as a novel application of the figure

* "Vultu torvo ferus et pede nudo."—HOR.

called a *prosopopœia*:—"If any proof were wanted, how easily" [wanted, we suppose, *to show* how easily] "the *nineteenth century* would fall a *prey* before it, it is our ignorance of the nature of the adversary." It used to be supposed that *tempus* was *edax rerum*, and that centuries ultimately made a prey of everything else, even of the toughest adversary—according to that celebrated epitaph on the blind fiddler—

"Time and Stephen are now even :
Stephen beat time, and time beat Stephen."

It seems, however, that popery can furnish forth a feast, even out of centuries themselves, and that it finds no more difficulty in devouring some hundreds of years than the celebrated Mr. Dando ever did in eating a few hundreds of oysters.

Here comes an elegant combination of homogenieties. The sentence may be taken as an illustration of unity, perspicuity, and harmony:—"We hear of universal fraternization, of liberty, equality, and peace throughout the world—Popery calls itself Christian, and Christians are a people of brothers, without distinction of place, climate, or birth. We say again to the *nineteenth century, beware of Popery.*"—(p. 135.) Considering that the nineteenth century is to be devoured by Popery, we cannot say that this warning is at all superfluous. We are afraid, however, that it comes too late, as almost half the century has been devoured by something or other already.

Talking of certain oaths, he says, (page 165) "examine them with a *microscope*! as all such compositions must be examined, and *their* ingenuity will surprise." The *ingenuity* of the *oaths* will appear very surprising if you only examine them with the instrument through which you contemplate the operations of the industrious fleas, or the contents of a drop of dirty water at Mr. Carpenter's theatre.

Talking of Mr. Wyse's *History of the Catholic Association*, he says, "let a *man* study it carefully"—this being, perhaps, an imitation of the style of the old song, "Could a *man* be secure that his life would endure," &c. In page 156, he exclaims, "what are *men* thinking of?"—and in page 133, he solemnly asks, "do *men* know the meaning of the word Catholic?"—which important interrogatory he answers by telling us (*ibid.*) that it actually means "universal." "What will *men* think," say we, of the originality, perspicuity, elegance, variety, modal exactitude, and sound sense, of the following optative exclamation in page 124: "*would* to God the time *would* come when men *would* learn that the govern-

ment of states is indeed a mystery *far more than the arts of old.*" *Would to God*, say we, that the time *would* come when the persons who have the *government* of quarterly reviews *would* learn that the said reviews *would* be much less mysterious and more useful than the "arts of old," if the contributors, in return for their twenty guineas a sheet, *would* write English, tell truth, and have a little common-sense.

A favourite process with him is to intimate his own opinions in the form of interrogatories; and this, according to the best judgment which we can form about the matter, is the nearest approximation which this professor of moral philosophy can make even in appearance to the Socratic method of philosophising. He enquires (p. 151) "who is Dr. England who has been *recently* transmitted to America? and what did he carry with him?" Touching the baggage or *impedimentum* of the right reverend doctor in question, we can say nothing more than that we believe it to have been as modest as that of his brethren in general. In answer to the first part of the interrogatory, we can say that Dr. England is a Roman Catholic clergyman, formerly of the diocese and city of Cork; that he is a man of great abilities and great virtues, and that in consequence of his talents, his eloquence, and his piety, he was "*transmitted*" to America in the capacity of Bishop of Charleston, *so very recently as twenty-one years ago*. As his relations continue to reside in Cork, he has revisited his native country we believe twice during the period of his episcopacy; and has upon each occasion, when he returned to his pastoral charge in America, "carried away with him" the unlimited admiration of all persons that ever had the happiness of his acquaintance. What else he "carried away with him" we are unable to say, as we had no opportunity of overhauling his luggage.

He asks (p. 152) what is the number of the Jesuits' houses in Ireland, of their schools, and their pupils? If he can only restrain his curiosity for a few days, he will probably receive a full and authentic answer to the question; as the proper officers in Ireland are now preparing returns upon those particulars, in obedience to an order of the House of Commons. The first of these returns, which we have seen, was copied into a London paper of this morning (26th Jan. 1841), from the *Limerick Chronicle*, a tory journal, and it stated that there were no Jesuits at all in that county; and we believe that the same sort of return will be made from thirty out of the thirty-two counties of Ireland. We believe that it will turn out that they have a small preparatory school at one place, and a

school upon a larger scale, and for more advanced pupils, in another place, and a residence attached to a house of worship in a third place; and that these are all the houses which they possess. In page 152 he gravely asks, "Are any persons either avowedly or secretly Jesuits, entrusted with high offices in the Irish government? The same question should extend to the Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, and other bodies of the same kind." Whether Lord Ebrington be a Jesuit, or Lord Morpeth a Franciscan, or Mr. Norman M'Donald a Dominican, or Lord Plunkett a bare-footed Carmelite; whether the Catholic Attorney-General and Protestant Solicitor be or be not members of "other bodies of the same kind," we are unable to say; but we hope that our sapient querist will not be suffered to "burst in ignorance" upon a subject in which he feels so deep an interest. It seems, however, that the "true answers to all such questions" as the querist has put, are very well known to himself, for he positively affirms that they are "rather alarming;" but what those answers really are, this deponent for the present saith not. If, however, there be an enquiry, and the writer be "convened" before the committee, we shall probably hear some very important information.

In page 124 the writer asks, "What would be said of a man, who on seeing a naked, starving, infuriated maniac, should proceed to relieve him, by putting shoes on his feet, a coat on his back, *food into his mouth, and maxims of love into his head.*" Here we have the act of putting maxims of love into a *maniac's* head spoken of as if it were exactly the same sort of operation as that of putting morsels of food into his mouth. The maxims and the morsels being introduced, as it would seem, by the same passage; and the introduction of both being equally easy of accomplishment.

In the same page we have the following practical question: "What would be said of a man, who seeing an officer of justice struggling with a man for whom he had a warrant, should" do so and so; and in the paragraph next following we are informed, that in this elegant parable the Roman Catholic Church is the man against whom the warrant has been issued, and that the Church of England, in Ireland, is the *bound-bailiff*: "a term," says Blackstone, "which the common people have corrupted into a much more homely appellation."

Some of the questions appear to be of a very singular character, if we consider them as proceeding from a clergyman:

"Let the peace and harmony of a family," says he, (page 125) "be disturbed by an adulterous connexion on the part of one of the parents,"—not the lady, we hope—"how is it" (the peace and harmony) "to be restored?" Our own experience does not enable us to answer this graceful and sensible question; but our readers will find, upon turning to the *Quarterly Review* (p. 125), that the writer who puts the question has answered it himself. We shall have occasion to refer to some of these passages again, for the purpose of shewing that they are infected with vices of a much more serious character than mere barbarism in the expression, perplexity in the construction, obscurity of meaning, or no meaning at all.

The degree of ignorance, affectation, and absurdity which he exhibits in the use and application of single words, is, if possible, equal to the amount of those qualities which he shews in many other respects—using terms in a sense diametrically opposite to that in which they are taken by the rest of the world; and more especially by the parties who are chiefly interested in the subject matter of the discussion. The following is a sample of his ridiculous affectation in this respect. In page 168, having occasion to mention the Catholic Association, he writes the name of it in the following manner:—"The Catholic [*i. e.* Romanist] Association." The "*i. e.* Romanist" in the brackets, being intended to caution the intelligent reader against supposing that the *Catholic Association* was an Association of *Protestants*; whilst in page 124, he tells us of the "conflicts between Popery and the old Catholic Church";—to discern the difference between which two bodies, will certainly very much "puzzle the natives" of Ireland. Elsewhere we have the following reasonable and gentlemanly passage:—"We use the word popery—not any of the smooth-sounding apologetic titles by which the parties of whom we are speaking, are so desirous to be addressed."—(p. 137.) Now, we humbly submit that every party is naturally desirous to be addressed by the proper name by which that party has always been designated; and that there is no very great violation of analogy or propriety, in giving the designation of Roman Catholics to those who profess the Catholic Faith in the communion of the Church of Rome. Such a name is however to be considered *smooth-sounding* and *apologetic*; and therefore this uncompromising Christian hero will not use it in speaking of persons who have never called themselves by any other denomination; whilst the writer himself actually declares (page 139, line 18), that "*Catholic Christianity forms a*

very large part of the faith of the *Roman* Church; which *Catholic* Christianity, says he, the *Roman* Church *asserts boldly*, and *maintains firmly* in places where *dissent* has *shattered* them in *fragments* and caused them to be *lost*."

In page 119, he says,—“The first *paradox* in the condition of Ireland is formed of two facts—namely, that there rarely if ever was a country so blessed by nature!—rarely if ever one so cursed by man!” Now, this very original statement is certainly true, but as certainly it neither exhibits nor involves any *paradox*. What is there “contrary to rational expectation,” in the fact that a country blessed by nature should be cursed by man? There are many other countries besides Ireland which have been so cursed. Indeed there are very few which have *not* been cursed by man, whether they have been blessed by nature or not. Sin, crime, oppression, misery, degradation, destitution, despotical cruelty, and popular fury, are all very deplorable matters, but not at all *paradoxical*. From the beginning this has been so, because every country in the world has always had within it a body of cruel, cunning, and selfish men, who endeavour to secure for themselves the greatest portion of the advantages which result from the exertions of all the remainder of the population.

The following specimen of his humour will shew that his jocularly “is not a thing to be laughed at.” In page 158, he says,—“We by no *means mean* to imply that the priests are the authors of Ribondism; but there are other relations in life besides those of *father* and *son*, and where there is an evident similarity of objects, identity of principle, and mutual influence and interest, will the reader be quite wrong in suspecting *some familytie*.” This very subtle subsummation, reminds us of the late worthy Hibernian Professor Higgins, who, in the course of a lecture delivered by him at the Dublin Society, informed his auditory that the celebrated Mr. Boyle was the father of Chemistry and the uncle of Lord Cork; from which it would appear that the Earl of Cork was a cousin-german to the science of Chemistry.

As exhibiting a striking specimen of the practical character of the writer's lucubrations upon government and policy, we may present the following passage from page 119:

England, says he, is at present labouring under a “judicial blindness” inflicted from above; and a “strong delusion of such a nature, *which* a careful observer will scarcely think to be accidental, is at this moment hanging over this country.”

Strong delusions have, it seems, taken the place of strong drinks. But the *Quarterly Review* will enact the part of Father Mathew to the intellect, and introduce a tee-totalism of the understanding. If, however, the blindness and delusion, as the writer states, be the result of the omnipotent volition of Heaven, and the consequence of men neglecting religious truth, we fear that it can scarcely be expected that the blindness and delusion will be dissipated even by the brilliant wisdom of the *Quarterly Review*. But this fanatical folly has not even the miserable merit of uniformity; for the person who writes in this strain in one part of the article, writes in the following manner in another part, (p. 143) concerning the Catholic priests who were educated abroad, and who are now very nearly extinct: "They lived on friendly and courteous terms with the clergy" of the Establishment; "for if neither party were *very zealous in their spiritual functions*, both were gentlemen," which important fact of course atoned altogether for the want of zeal in the discharge of their spiritual functions. The contradictions with which the article abounds are indeed truly ridiculous; thus, in page 123, he tells us that "there opens an impassable gulph between England and Ireland:" in the same place, he tells us that, "the two countries can't flourish apart;" whilst in another place (p. 118), he informs us that, "even the good and sober-minded in England itself, contemplate the repeal of the union as an alternative not utterly to be rejected." In page 123, we are told that "*emigration is hindered* because you cannot encourage it wisely and as a Christian, *without ensuring the blessings of religion* [i. e. the Protestant religion] to those who are removed from their own country." "Thus far," says he, (ibid.) "the statement is secure against contradiction from any party." It happens however not to be secure against contradiction from the very party who makes it, and who tells us (p. 156, line 29), that "*emigration is prevented by the priests*, in order to fix the peasantry to the soil."

Of the skill which the writer exhibits in the operations of definition and division, the following may be taken as a sample. In page 141, he distinguishes all the ecclesiastics of Ireland into priests and clergy, the priests being, as we must suppose, not clerical, and the clergy not sacerdotal. In pp. 123-6, he distributes all the calamities of Ireland under three heads, of each of which he gives a separate account, and he states that each of the three heads is resolvable into a question of religion. The first

of these three heads is "*Religious Dissension*" (p. 123), whilst the second is said to be "the Conflict between Popery and the *Religion* of the Reformation." So that, after having carefully perused three pompous pages of the *Quarterly Review*, we are enabled, through the medium of this refined and original analysis, to arrive at the very profitable and important conclusion, firstly, that a matter of "religious dissension" is resolvable into a question of religion, and secondly, that a conflict between the religion of Popery and the religion of Protestantism is resolvable into a question of religion. *Quod erat demonstrandum.* As an evidence of the consistent accuracy with which he estimates different matters, even according to the standard which he has set up for himself, it may be mentioned, that in an article consisting of no less than fifty-four pages, and which professes to have for its principal object to produce an enquiry into the extent of the influence possessed by the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, the writer having told us in the *fortieth page* of his article,* "that the Inquisition is in Ireland at this moment," adds immediately afterwards, that "his limits" did not *admit of the production of the evidence* in support of this very awful statement. Now, as the proof of the statement would prove his whole case and a great deal more, no limits, not even the *limites flammantes* of the world itself, ought to restrain him from producing the evidence, if any he had to produce, by which this extraordinary allegation was to be established. The grand object of the whole article, and, as it would seem, of those others which are to follow, is to show that the Pope governs Ireland through the medium of the Inquisition, which is at this moment, according to this very wise person, in the actual exercise of the administration in that part of the United Kingdom—the working of the machinery having been transferred from the Dominicans to the Jesuits, and the graduated concatenation of the clerico-inquisitorial influences being to the tenor and effect following, that is to say, the Jesuits rule the Pope, the Pope rules the bishops, the bishops rule the priests, and the priests rule the people (p. 126.) The absolute existence of the empire, and the stability of the Church and of the Christian faith in this country, depend, according to the writer, upon having an enquiry immediately instituted into this subject (p. 138) by the House of Lords. He tells us (p. 145), that even a year hence the enquiry may be too late; and is so excessively af-

* P. 156 of the "Review."

fectured with "windy suspirations," upon the subject, that in a single page (135) he twice cries out, "Beware of Popery!" Yet he informs us, at the same time, that "his limits do not admit of the production of the evidence" in support of his allegations—although we have something about everything except this "one thing" which is the most "necessary" of all; something about Peter Lombard and Urban the Second, and the theological works of O'Mahony, O'Conga, and O'Broden, about the great rebellion and the less, about the letters of Columbanus, and even about the Vespæ of Aristophanes. It seems, however, that, for the present, we must take his word for the very serious and startling fact that St. Dominic is actually domiciled in the dominions of St. Patrick. Indeed, we must frequently "take the ghost's word" for some of the most important matters which he states; as a great number of the documents to which he refers are quoted in such a way as to render any specific examination of them in reference to the point in question altogether impossible; and, in this respect, he reminds us perpetually of the following lines, which we heard a young lady warble very melodiously a few evenings ago—

"I leave not the print of a footstep behind me,
So those that would find me, must look for me well."

The following are a few instances of this *inscrutable* method of allegation. In page 164, he says, "We are referring to the words of Baron Smith." In support of a statement, (p. 162) he says, "we are *almost* repeating the account of them delivered from the bench by Baron Smith;" leaving us to conjecture as well as we can, what were the words, where the account was delivered and when; and in what degree that which professes to be *almost* a repetition differs from the truth. Talking of another matter, he says (p. 154) "All this has been proved by the late trials and before the Lords' Committee." Of another statement, he says, (p. 156) "All this has been proved as distinctly as anything of the kind can be proved, by the evidence before the House of Lords,"—there being actually *four* reports of the House of Lords enumerated at the head of the article itself. Another statement which he himself declares to be astonishing, and which anybody else would probably pronounce to be incredible, he founds "upon an *assurance* which he received *the other day* from *an* authority which he *could not doubt*." (p. 150.) What the "indubitable authority" was which had the "assurance" to make the statement we are left to imagine as we best may. In p. 165 he states

what we believe to be totally untrue, upon what seems to be the alleged authority of a private communication from a convert. In support of a very atrocious statement in page 165, he says in a parenthesis, "(we quote from documents.)" In the next line he makes another statement equally atrocious, for which he claims credit upon the ground that "again he is using documents;"—but in what way he *uses* the documents he saith not, nor does he give the smallest intimation of their natures, or their names, or their authors. Another most absurd libel rests, as we are told, upon the authority of "one of many documents before us, upon which we are authorized to place the strongest reliance." (p. 159.) It is scarcely necessary to add that the document is anonymous. We have, however, the satisfaction of hearing that the author of it, whoever he was, received *his* information from — of —, who was a Ribondman! Another allegation, perhaps equally true, is ushered in as follows (p. 157): "Some years back, *says another document*, a man came to lodge information before me," &c. In support of a statement in page 154, and of another in page 155, we are referred to "Report on Tithes." For the joint effect of the testimony of Dr. Doyle, Dr. Murray, and Mr. Blake, we are directed, page 131, to consult their "Evidence before the Lords' Committee," but when or where? In support of a statement in page 154, we are referred to the "Report on Crime," in which the questions and answers, taken altogether, amount to 30,000! A bundle of particulars in the same page is placed upon the authority of "The late Trials and the Lords' Committee." One of the most important statements in the whole article is said to have "been sufficiently proved before the Lords' Committee," but neither in this case, nor in the preceding, is there any reference made to the question, or the page, or the volume, or the witness; nor are we even informed before *which* of the Lords' Committees the "sufficient proof" has been given. Some of the proof which is referred to, appears to furnish rather a droll foundation for the allegations which it professes to support. Thus, after having told us, (page 165) that the popish tenantry in Ireland are ready to claim the soil to themselves, the writer goes on to say, "the resumption of these confiscations" [*anglice, confiscated estates*] "*enters as an essential feature into the ecclesiastical movement in Ireland.*" The maintenance of these old titles is *proved* by"—what?—"by the Bullarium of Benedict the XIVth!"—whilst in respect to some of the most important statements of fact contained in the article, no

evidence whatever is quoted in any form, or even said to be in existence.

This matter is of the greater importance, as many of the statements of fact which profess to rest upon *some* authority to which we are *not* referred, are certainly untrue, as we shall abundantly shew hereafter.

For instance, we are informed in page 154, that "Ribondism sends *cannon!* over from Liverpool to Ireland." "Oh the father!" as Dame Quickly says, "how the man keeps his countenance."* It is, perhaps, unnecessary for us to say that the writer quotes no authority whatever in support of an absurdity so monstrous. We believe that the statement has reference to some evidence given by Captain Despard before the Roden Committee, as we never heard of such a piece of transcendental folly in any other quarter. A comparison of the evidence of the Captain with the positive assertion of the Quarterly Reviewer, will shew the regard which the writer, although a clergyman as is said, entertains for truth, honesty, and candour. In the Index to the Evidence, under the head of Arms, page 1591, a reference is made to five passages in Captain Despard's evidence. It will, however, upon the present occasion, be sufficient to adduce the answer given by Captain Despard to Questions 4721 and 4722. In answer to the former, he says, "Mr. — has a piece of artillery for the purpose of amusement and firing occasionally. It was *stated* that the Ribondmen *intended* to make *some* machine for *carrying this away!* There were also two pieces of artillery *mentioned to me* as being rolled up in flannel and concealed *somewhere* in the ground!" Question 4722: "*Does that strike you as a probable story?*" Answer: "No; *that was a part of the communication in which I did not put faith.*" Here, then, the very witness who brings out the story upon the authority of an anonymous Ribondman, expressly declares that it was not entitled to belief; but the writer in the *Quarterly* not expecting, perhaps, that anybody would take the trouble of referring to the original evidence, produces the Ribondman's absurd lie as if it were not only a matter of fact, but almost a matter of course.

The ignorance of the writer—"most ignorant of what he's most assured"—is truly ridiculous. Having, in page 154, told us that the Ribondmen were all Papists, he goes on to mention as an extraordinary fact, that "they are bound to

* First Part of "King Henry IV."

attend mass *once a year*"! We must infer from this statement, that he is ignorant that the sacrifice of the mass composes the public worship of the Roman Catholic faith; or of the other equally notorious fact, that every Roman Catholic is bound to attend mass upon *every Sunday and holiday* of obligation in the year; and that nothing short of the absolute impossibility of attendance can be received as an excuse for non-attendance upon public worship.

Speaking of the Roman Catholic priests who existed before the establishment of Maynooth, he says (p. 142), "They were located permanently in their parishes, and thus possessed a proper independence;" and in respect to this independence and location, he wishes it to be believed that the "old priests" were distinguished from the new. We do not very well know what the statement is intended to signify; but if it means anything like what the words appear to import, it is as applicable to the new priests as to the old; and every body, except the grossly ignorant person who is the author of the article, knows that the old priests were frequently changed from one parish to another. We recollect the late bishop of Limerick as having been parish-priest of three parishes, at the least, in succession: we know several of the new priests who have never been moved from the parishes to which they were originally appointed, and we believe that the bishop of the diocese cannot, at his own discretion merely, remove them after three years' possession; and it is quite notorious, that there is no difference in that respect between the clergymen of the present and those of the past generation. Talking of the same parties (*ibid.*), he says, that "the incomes of the old priests were smaller, and derived from a less distressed population than those of the present." Upon this subject it is quite notorious to every one except the sage in the *Quarterly*, that the dues of the old priests were often considered as oppressive as the demands of the parsons; that in the insurrectionary placards published by Whiteboys and other such associations, from 1787 to 1815, the rates were occasionally set forth according to which the conspirators permitted the priests to be paid; that the members of these combinations actually bound themselves by an oath, neither to pay, nor allow any one else to pay, more than the price appointed by the insurrectionary tariff; and that they frequently caused the "old priests" to suffer great pecuniary and personal privations, and sometimes inflicted upon them very severe personal punishment, upon the alleged ground of their extortions. The bishop of Limerick, to whom we have

already alluded (Dr. Tuohy), broke up such a combination against himself by his good-humour and musical talents. Being at a wedding, where the whole company universally refused to contribute more than a mere trifle (perhaps not more than five shillings upon the whole, that being the sum appointed for such service by the tariff of 1787*), he borrowed the pipes from the professional minstrel in attendance, and having delighted the company by his excellent performance, he said, "Although you won't pay the priest perhaps you'll pay the piper." Every body knows the extraordinary effects produced upon the Irish population by kindness and good-humour, and nobody will be, therefore, surprised to hear that the ecclesiastical musician was most amply compensated for his "voluntary;" and we ourselves, who knew this most amiable person from our infancy, can testify that the most extreme affection existed between him and the population of that parish, long after he had been removed to another, and indeed up to the hour of his death.

In page 143 we find it written as follows: "It is well known that immediately after the passing of that healing measure, the Relief Bill, the Romish clergy were ordered to withdraw from the society of Protestants." This passage is printed in italics, in order that it may attract more notice and receive more attention. Now any person at all acquainted with the state of society in Ireland, must be aware that what this gentleman calls a well-known truth is a most foolish falsehood. We ourselves, during a short visit to Ireland, "since the healing measure," have met one or two priests as often as three times in a week at the table of one Protestant gentleman. Everybody knows that Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, has been in the habit of dining at the table of the last five Lord-Lieutenants of Ireland; and, indeed, the ordinary newspapers contain frequent accounts of dinners at which the "Romish clergy" enjoy the society of some dozens of Protestants at a time.

The idiotical manner in which he outrages common-sense and self-evident truth will appear from the following passage (page 156, line 12 from the bottom): "observe how murder after murder is committed, *like minute guns!* to keep up the alarm, *without rousing the public indignation too far.*" From this disgusting falsehood, and ferocious nonsense, it would appear that a murder a minute = 60 murders an hour = 1440

* O'Leary's Defence, p. 147. Lewis, p. 28.

murders a day = 10,080 murders a week = 252,000 murders a year, only "keep up an alarm" in Ireland; and that "the indignation of the public is not aroused" by an amount of slaughter which, if directed against the members of the Established Church in Ireland, would absolutely destroy, in two years, the whole number of persons who belong to that particular negation of Catholicity. The reader can scarcely fail to admire the beautiful propriety of the simile, which compares *murder* to a *machine* for ascertaining the progression of time: as if it were not an act or an operation, but a sort of Irish "alarm" clock, the purpose of which is to make people "wake up" at certain short intervals.

In the same strain he says (p. 155), that "*it is now understood* that the temperance medal will be a security not only against the torment of another world, but, in the coming massacre, to distinguish Papists from Protestants." Here the "coming massacre" is spoken of in the same way as we speak of the next circuit, or the sittings after Easter; whilst the medal, which is universally given to all who receive it—to the Earl of Glengall as well as to Phelim O'Flanagan—is not only to *distinguish* the Protestants from the Catholics *in this life*, but to secure the salvation of both parties *in the next*, by *putting an end to all distinctions* between them.

There are some passages in the article, indeed, so shockingly fatuous, that we think they would support a commission of lunacy against the author. "This power," says he, "watches over what is called the purity of the priests' faith. A sermon indicating anything like heresy, that is Protestantism, on his part, will make him as obnoxious to this secret tribunal, *as a civil offence in any of his flock*. Priests have been beaten as well as Protestants. This is *therefore* a spiritual power."—(p. 156.) We have three things to observe concerning this passage. Firstly, That we are informed as of a novel and remarkable fact, that where a Roman Catholic priest indicates in his sermons anything like Protestantism, he is, however odd such a matter may seem, considered not to be acting in a manner very agreeable to the Church of Rome. Secondly, That such conduct renders him as obnoxious as a civil offence in any of his flock. [Of which allegation we shall only say, that whoso understandeth it, has a very great advantage over ourselves.] It is in the third place to be observed, as a matter of some curiosity, that when a priest in Ireland has indicated an inclination to Protestantism, he is not, as uninstructed persons may think, summoned before the bishop of his diocese, much less

before the Propaganda or other authority in Rome, to answer concerning his heretical propensities, but is quietly handed over to the secular arms of the peasantry, in order that he may be what they call in Ireland "walloped" into orthodoxy, by a peasantry between whom and himself there exists "the widest difference," (p. 145); "but who commit murder at his institution"! (p. 159.)

The cool complacency with which such a person assumes all through the article to correct the erroneous judgments, to supply the defective knowledge, and illuminate the dark understandings of all the rest of mankind upon the subjects in question, is truly amusing. A sample of this absurd assumption can scarcely fail to entertain the reader.

In page 123, he says,—“Before we venture upon a cure for any social mischief, we ought to *look deep* into the principles of society itself. Where are the statesmen who have approached Ireland with such principles? and without them how can we hope for any permanent or *radical* relief. Now—” When he arrived at this “now,” we thought that we were going to have a “deep look” into the principles of society, and had fallen at last upon a statesman who understood something of his profession. How far this anticipation upon our part was well-founded, will appear from the remainder of the sentence,—“There is one evil on the *very surface* of Irish affairs.” This superficial evil, is, in page 123, said to be religious dissension, concerning which, a huge mass of self-contradictory mystification is heaped up in the same page, until we are told once more of some cause of evil, which is the source and parent-stem of all the rest.” Here we thought that we had a chance of being introduced to the “source of the causes,” *fontes adeundi remotos*; that we had yet a chance of seeing the root of “the parent-stem,” which blooms with such a superabundance of deadly fruit. The page, however, to our disappointment, concluded in the following words:—“*How this state of things was produced*, is a separate question. *Its existence* is all that we are concerned with at present.” We now began to think that we should never get a “deep view into the principles of society” at all; but upon turning over the leaf, our hopes were again revived upon reading the following passage at the very head of the next page (124): “But let us examine the fact a little *more deeply*. *Would to God* the time *would* come when men *would* learn that the government of states is indeed a *mystery, far more than the arts of old*, and that, without *deep and searching thoughts piercing*

down to *the very foundations of society*, he who attempts to save will only destroy them." Now it is, we believe, a fact, that under even the foundations of society is placed a "mystery," called the necessity that mankind should live; under which again are placed three other mysteries which support it like three columns, and which are called respectively the necessity of food, of clothing, and of lodging. We should therefore conclude, that one of the first truths to which a statesman of "deep and searching thoughts, piercing down to the very foundations of society," (page 124), would discover under the foundation, was, that food, clothes, and lodging, were the first of all things necessary to keep society together. Our philosopher has, however, drawn a different conclusion, as will appear from the following passage, which comes immediately after that which we have quoted above:—

"What," says he, "would be said of a man, who, on meeting a naked starving infuriated maniac, should proceed to relieve him by putting shoes on his feet, a coat on his back, *food into his mouth*, and *maxims of love into his head*, overlooking his one great calamity, disordered reason—forgetting that the *mind* and not the *body* is the *man*, and that where the *mind wants truth*, IN WHATEVER DEGREE,—whether in madness, or error! or IGNORANCE!! there to dress up the body, is only, as Bishop Taylor expresses it—'to wash the face of the dead.' We ask if religious truth be not the first and most essential of all truths, and whether a nation of which one large portion must be destitute of this truth, is not like the maniac labouring under a radical disease, which *must be cured, before ANY OTHER REMEDY* be applied to its ills?"

The moral to be enforced by this story of the maniac is, that it is quite preposterous to give clothes, food, or lodging, to the Irish people, until they have been saturated with religious truth; that is to say, with a belief in the doctrines of the Church of England in Ireland; that to "dress up the body of a papist is like "washing the face of the dead;" and that the Irish people, who are now very busily engaged in an attempt to improve their physical condition, are no better occupied than the old cat by the fireside in Burns' song—

"Auld Baudrons by the ingle sits,
And wi' her loof her face is washin'."

Such is the brilliant philosopher and politician who has suddenly flashed upon the world, and who professing to dispel the existing darkness upon the state of Ireland—promises that he will enlighten us with the salutary splendour of his reful-

gence in the *Quarterly Review*, for Heaven knows how many future numbers of that publication.

Having asked, "first, what would be said of a man that met a maniac," the writer proceeds (p. 124) to ask "secondly, what would be said of a man who, seeing a sheriff's-officer struggling with a man for whom he had a warrant, should endeavour to sooth the feelings of both parties by texts from Scripture, and exhortations to mutual charity and amicable association, forgetting that it was the appointed duty of the officer to take the culprit into custody, and the vital interest of the culprit to make his escape?" In the same place we are informed, that, in this exquisite parable, the Established Church is the sheriff's-officer, and that the *man* for whom he has the warrant is *every man in Ireland* who does, or at any time hereafter shall, profess the Roman Catholic religion. The sympathies of the *Quarterly* are, of course, upon the side of the bound bailiff, and upon his principles the struggle is to be continued until the said bound bailiff has been completely victorious; that is to say, until there shall not be left among the whole Irish population a man that knows how to bless himself. The probable results of this contention may be conjectured from the following passages, which occur at pages 135 and 136. Speaking of "Popery," he says—

"Never was a system constructed, so undying, so various, so universal, so capable of living in every form, under every change of circumstances, of PERPETUATING ITSELF THROUGH EVERY OBSTACLE, of RULING OVER EVERY HEART, and so asserting its own internal falsity by the VERY EXTENT OF ITS RECEPTION in a corrupted world; and NEVER, we firmly believe, was there a time MORE FAVOURABLE TO ITS GROWTH, or more likely TO WITNESS ITS TRIUMPH, THAN THE PRESENT AGE. THE VERY SPIRIT OF SUCH AN AGE, ESPECIALLY IN MATTERS OF RELIGION, IS PAPISTICAL ALREADY"!!!

Taking this all for granted, we think that it will be acknowledged that our friend the bailiff is likely to have a tough job on hands to put his warrant into execution; and his business will not be rendered much lighter by the fact which the same writer mentions in page 150—namely, that "no people were ever more formed than the Irish for religion, for obedience, for respect to the ministers of God, for belief in mysteries; and therefore none more fit to be duped and ruled over by popery." To this we may add, upon the same high authority, that "Rome has always looked to Ireland as the great stronghold of her dominions; and that there is *an old prophecy*, that

whenever the Catholic faith is overcome in Ireland, the mother Church of Rome will fall."—(ibid.) If the mother Church is to remain upright as long as the daughter continues vigorous, there seems very little danger of caducity to the old gentlewoman at present; and we believe that, for the reasons above given, as well as for some others of perhaps equal importance, the Pope will interfere to an inconvenient extent between the bailiff and "the man against whom he has the warrant." There does not, however, seem to be any ground for apprehending any actual breach of the peace; for the bailiff himself, to say the truth, has not been in the habit of making any very vigorous exertions for the arrest of the culprit. His method, in fact, hitherto has been "to keep continually never minding," with most exemplary perseverance; and he has contented himself, like the sheriffs, his superiors, with taking his fees to the fullest extent, without at all minding whether he took his prisoner or not. We are told, in page 129, that he "was quiet from the Reformation to the Revolution, on account of the convulsions of the times; and that from the Revolution to 1824, he did as little, in consequence of the mismanagement and false principles of governments." During all which time, from the Reformation to 1824, he regularly fobbed his fees, although he never executed the warrant. It even appears that his means of success are now less than ever; for we are told, in page 132, that he has been of late "so much impoverished," that he is unable to perform "divers of the acts which belong to his occupation;" that his "energies" have been "of necessity weakened" very much by another party being put into the "commission;" and that he is, moreover, a great deal put out of countenance by the public encouragement which is given to "the man against whom he has the warrant;" and that for all these, and perhaps for other reasons, "his means of influence must be rapidly diminishing," whilst the "culprit" is destined to exercise an universal dominion. In page 151 we are informed of the cause which gives to Popery such superior power over the modern forms of Protestantism, and even over the Anglican Church; whilst, in another publication,* a gentleman, supposed to be a minister of state, informs us, *multa gemens*, that the culprit, who was alive "when the leopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre," will probably "exist in undiminished vigour at that period,"—a little distant, we hope—"when

* Edinburgh Review, Oct. 1840, p. 229.

some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand upon the last remaining arch of London Bridge, to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's." The *Quarterly Review* informs us, notwithstanding this probability, that "it is by no means allowable to remove the evils arising from the contest between the culprit and the bailiff, until one party or the other is victorious" (p. 124)—which victory, according to the calculations of the bailiff's own friends, as recorded in the tour of Mr. Arthur Young,[†] cannot, according to the rate at which matters have hitherto progressed, occur sooner than 4,000 years from the day of the date of these presents. According to this calculation, the bailiff may reckon upon receiving his quietus about the same period as the Wandering Jew; and if the Rev. George Croly should wish to write a companion to the novel of *Salathiel*, he knows where to look for a similar and congenial subject.

We must dismiss the bailiff for the present. We, however, give him notice that, before the conclusion of the proceedings, we shall call upon him to answer the matters, not of one affidavit, but of many; amongst which are some even made by himself, and to show cause why he should not disgorge the money which he has extorted under the false pretence of having executed his warrant; and why he should not, in consequence of his numerous delinquencies, be disabled from ever acting as a *bound* bailiff again.

The arrangement of the *matter* is not much more elegant than the character of the style, having indeed a very strong resemblance to the distribution of coals in a sack, according to which method of disposition the writer has conglomerated a heap of materials, tragical, historical, comical, political, theological, and farcical; exhibiting in full activity his talents and attainments of every description,—logical, sarcastical, oratorical,—and his capacity for facetiousness, flattery, and calumny. But unfortunately, the sun, sneering, evidence, argument, slander, statistics, &c. are all shuffled up into a chaotical indigestion, where cool calculations are mixed with polemical fury, dry details with sanguinary intimations, hard abuse with "soft sawder,"[†] and levity of argument with ponderosity of wit.

"Frigida pugnant cum calidis humentia siccis,

Mollia cum duris sine pondere habentia pondus."

If, at least, there *be* any method in the affair, it must be of

* Vol. ii. p. 135, Eng. Ed.

† Dialect of Mr. Samuel Slick.

the species called cryptical, of which the character is that it eludes all efforts at detection, or perhaps of that other sort called arbitrary, of which the principle is that the writer "can do what he likes with his own" as completely as if he were himself a Duke of Newcastle, and the fragments of the composition of no more importance than so many electors of Newark.

As the article is, to say the best of it, an extremely preposterous affair, we think that the most appropriate method of proceeding (especially as the subject is an Irish one,) will be, in descending to details, to begin at the end. The principal object then of the production, as stated in the conclusion, seems to be to procure a revival of the parliamentary committee of 1839, giving a new direction to the investigation; and the purpose to be accomplished by the enquiry is the discovery of a certain "power, of a mysterious and alarming nature, which is now, and has been for years, working in the heart of Ireland." Concerning the essence of this mysterious potentiality, it is very correctly affirmed that the reader of the *Quarterly* can form but a very inadequate conception from the previous hints which are contained in the article itself; but as the writer states that he will, in the next number of the Review, "ask the attention of his readers," as he elegantly expresses himself, "to another very important branch of the papist system in Ireland," it is to be presumed that, as the showman says, we shall see "what we shall see" some time upon or before the first day of April in the year 1841. In the meantime, it will be some consolation to us to know that this "mystery" has a quality which, to say the truth, is not a very common quality in the mysterious department,—namely, that "every part of it throws a light upon every other," for which reason, says the writer, "the parts ought to be all studied together." But, says he, when the enquiry is once commenced, the developement will "proceed easily," it being as we presume, the fact in this case, as in that of the gentleman who perambulated without his head, that the *pas premier* forms the most important part of the progress.

Of the sources of information which are to be made available in the forthcoming enquiry, some at least are a little out of the common line. All committees have the "power to send for persons, papers, and records." It has, however, hitherto been very generally the custom to confine their jurisdiction within the limits of the domestic and colonial possessions of the British empire; whereas the proposed

committee of the present session is to possess the power of "enquiring into the archives of the Propaganda." (p. 171.) We are not yet informed, but we shall be, of course, in the next number of the *Quarterly*, whether the members of the committee are to adjourn to Rome for the purpose of examining the archives, or will merely cause a *subpoena duces tecum* to be served upon the registrar of the Sacred Congregation, commanding him "to produce all records, papers, letters, writings, and all other documents whatsoever in his custody, possession, or power, touching, or in any manner concerning, a certain mystery, which is at present unknown," but of which we shall probably have some description in the next number of the *Quarterly Review*. Now, although the Pope's people are not in the habit of swearing that the King of England "neither hath nor ought to have any jurisdiction and so forth" in the States of the Church, as the King of England's people are in the habit of swearing "that the Pope *has no ecclesiastical authority!* in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, yet as the Pope, like every other sovereign, is "the man of the house when he is at home," we apprehend that his Holiness will scarcely yield obedience to the warrant of even the lord chancellor himself, and that the most interesting portion of the anticipated evidence will therefore not be forthcoming at all. For our own parts, as we really have a curiosity to get a sight of the pope's account books, we should be sorry if any disappointment should occur from that quarter; and we therefore take leave to suggest to the writer in the *Quarterly* the propriety of being prepared, in any event, with secondary evidence of the contents of the ledger of the Propaganda. For this purpose he may apply to the editor of the *Portfolio*, who is at present engaged at Paris, in conjunction with M. Thiers and Mr. Attwood, in preparing articles of impeachment against Lord Palmerston, for the disgrace which his lordship has brought upon the arms and policy of Great Britain by the disastrous failure of all our naval and military operations in Egypt, India, and China, and for the general depreciation which the power and character of the British empire have suffered in consequence all over the world. The pigeon-holes of Cardinal Frasoni must be as accessible as those of the Emperor of Russia, and with Mr. —'s assistance it would be easy enough to procure, for an adequate consideration, copious extracts from the books of the Irish department of the Propaganda; and these, especially if "*cross compared*," would be as satisfactory as office copies, or perhaps even as

the originals themselves. In order, however, to lay the foundation for the admission of these documents of a secondary nature, he must prove that he has taken all possible means to secure the production of the originals; and for this purpose we recommend him to apply to Major Brown, the military commissioner of police in the city of Dublin. The major, who was examined before the Roden Committee, stated* that the Dublin police, established by Lord Normanby, were "the most noble corps that ever was seen," and that there was not a man of them that would not arrest either the Pope in the Vatican, or the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. Now a man that would arrest the pope in his palace would of course make very little difficulty about serving "a notice to produce" at the Propaganda; and as we do not know any body of men, except the papists of the Dublin police, upon whom full reliance could be placed for the due performance of such a service,—and as we are, moreover, anxious to procure the preference of the job for some fellow-countryman and fellow-religionist,—we hope that our "contemporary" will thank us for a suggestion which is so very much and so very evidently to his own advantage.

To return to the article; one of the subordinate objects which it professes to prove, in order to prepare the ground for the proposed enquiry, is that the outrages which are committed in Ireland are not at all of what is called an agrarian character—not attributable to any misconduct of the landlords towards the tenantry, or to any desire upon the part of the tenantry to retain possession of the land; but that they (the outrages) proceed from some secret cause which is a mystery and a problem; which mysterious and problematical cause is itself caused by some religious opinions and principles which happen to be at present under a lock; of which lock, as this writer observes with great sagacity, "the archives of the Propaganda might possibly furnish the key." (p. 159.) The luminous and stringent consequentiality with which this theory is wrought out, will appear from the following passages, which are extracted from pages 119-20.

"There are two facts on which all parties seem tolerably agreed, and they form the first paradox in the condition of Ireland. There rarely if ever was a country so blessed by nature—rarely if ever one so cursed by man. It seems to contain within itself every thing which a politician could desire to form a happy and mighty nation. A vast

population, fertility of soil, variety of produce, a mild climate, mineral treasures, abundant fisheries, extraordinary facilities for commerce, and a position, which, if properly occupied, would form the link between the new world and the old." [One would suppose that this was an extract from a speech of Mr. O'Connell.] "If the happiness and greatness of nations were to be measured by such things as these, Ireland ought to be the happiest upon earth. Instead of this she is peopled by paupers—crawled over by beggars, annually struck down with famine and fever: her land strewn with ruins from the cabin to the castle: her population haggard, *tattered*, and *broken* by want: her fields overgrown with weeds: her fisheries neglected: her harbours deserted: her towns streets of hovels: her hovels sheds, which an English farmer would scarcely think a shelter for his pig."

Here be goodly materials for the production and preservation of tranquillity amongst a population who, according to the same authority, are "warm-hearted and impetuous; whose *quick sensibility to justice* makes them revengeful, and who are full of intelligence and courage, as well as of devotion to the objects which engross their desires" (p. 120); among which objects, it is humbly submitted, that we are entitled to include the articles of clothes, lodging, and food. He elsewhere observes:

"We console ourselves with the epithet agrarian. It is *indeed UNDOUBTEDLY true*, that these outrages are *connected with the possession of land*: that land is of the *utmost importance to the Irish peasant*: that his *LIVING DEPENDS on it*; and that when he is threatened with *STARVATION by EJECTMENT of any kind, violence MIGHT WELL BE EXPECTED*."—p. 163.

Here, then, he himself expressly declares, that land is a *necessary of life* to the Irish peasant; that his *very existence depends* upon it; that *ejectment* from the land will consequently bring him to *starvation*; and that in such circumstances it "*may well be expected* that he should commit violence" for the preservation of his life. Yet no sooner does the peasant commit the violence *which the writer himself anticipated* as the *necessary consequence* of the actual or apprehended ejectment and starvation, than the writer immediately turns round and charges the violence to the account of a "mysterious agency;" attributes to "occult qualities" the open insurrections of an impetuous, intelligent, revengeful, courageous, and *starving* populace: and making no account of hunger, destitution, and destruction, as principles of causation in such a case, charges all the movements of Irish turbulence to the influence of a certain subtle, ecclesiastical

ether, whose fluctuations are propagated all the way from the "Sacred College" to Tipperary. Elsewhere he says,

"Let us not be supposed to recommend the notion of remedying the evil of a surplus population accumulated on estates *through the negligence of landlords*, by turning the *miserable paupers* into the roads and ditches. Over population is a great evil; *but if such steps should be taken to cure it, Ireland can expect nothing but a more AWFUL CURSE and a HEAVIER VENGEANCE!*"

Having stated that hunger and approaching destruction must necessarily produce violence, and that hunger existed with its most loathsome accompaniments to an extent as unprecedented as it is horrible, and that the violence which he *expected* as its *inevitable consequence* had *ensued as a matter of fact*, he attributes the violence not to the cause from which *he himself* expected that it would result, but to a certain "dark mysterious influence, which is felt rather than discerned, and which does indeed require all the power and ingenuity of government to trace it to its source," (p. 142-7)—a "power which keeps Ireland ready to move at any moment, and by a hand which no one sees." (p. 159.) We are told by some writers that there are bodies so exceedingly fine that their very exility makes them susceptible of active sensation. But the present writer goes even farther than that, and has discovered a power whose invisibility is so decided as to make its existence perfectly certain. The advantages to be derived from this theory are quite the reverse of those which are procured through the medium of Lord Oxmantown's new Irish telescope, which is of such an extraordinary power that it enables the spectator *not* to see the two rings of the Georgium Sidus, which Dr. Hershell saw (inaccurately, of course) through his instrument of inferior power.*

We are informed that the University of Oxford received its first lessons in Metaphysical Dialectics from "the subtle Hibernian Doctor;"† and it is perhaps in consequence of the original bias impressed upon the direction of their studies, that the alumni of that establishment have so frequently exhibited so very elaborate a deviation from common-sense. One of them now informs us that there is in Ireland "a singular mysterious power which is now establishing the reign of terrorism there"—page 129; and which causes all the outrages

* See Professor Robinson's account of the instrument, in a lecture lately delivered at the Royal Irish Academy.

† Scotus Erigena.

and controls all the parties in that country. This power, says the writer, is not in the Government; for by this power "the Government is bewildered and paralyzed"—page 160. It cannot be "in the aristocracy or in the gentry, for they all repudiate the connexion"—page 170; and although it "not merely *spreads through the peasantry*, but penetrates into the bosoms of families," (page 163), yet "it is *not in the people*." (page 170.) It even "bows the people down into a fearful submission," (page 160); and although "its ministers are spread throughout the whole country," (page 162), yet "it cannot be of a democratical nature." (page 165.) This latter proposition is established by several proofs in the same page, but perhaps a more satisfactory reason than any of them for assenting to it, is that which is given in page 156, in the following words:—"Democracy in Ireland! Alas, what are men thinking of? They may as well talk of the democracy of Morocco!" We are finally told, that "it cannot be a Roman Catholic spirit even in Mr. O'Connell's followers, for his maxims would destroy Popery as well as the Church of England." (page 170.)

This enumeration completely exhausts all the possible varieties of the lay population of Ireland. Let us, with the assistance of the *Quarterly Review*, endeavour to trace, if we can, the existence of this mysterious power amongst the clergy. "This power in Ireland," says our philosopher, "*cannot be the priests*, who are evidently only instruments in the hands of this power," (170), "who are *checked*" Hibernice, "by this power, when they *hesitate to march* along with it" (169.) This operation of *checking* a priesthood which *hesitate to advance*, would be considered a piece of supererogatory interference in any part of the world except Ireland.

An additional reason for believing that this power is not in the priesthood, is, that the power is "an arm of physical violence *distinct from the priesthood*," (p. 159); and a still more satisfactory one is to be found in the fact, that "this power spurns and *attacks the priesthood*, for *priests* in this case are *beuten* as well as others." In the same page, however, the power is described as "allied with the priesthood," "*joined with it*," "*distinct from it*," "*united with it*," "*obeying it*," and "*attacking it*!" we are then told that the power which is *not* in the *people*, is embodied in the amiable form of a "population of Thuggists which bows down the people." (p. 160.) That there is a committee of these Thuggists in every parish,

under the name of Ribondmen and Whitefeet; that this committee are cooperating with the parochial priesthood; (p. 160); that, in obedience to the priesthood, they murder everybody who is denounced from the altar, (p. 159), but that they are not responsible to the priesthood (p. 158;) that the power in question cannot be other than priestly (165); that the power must be some power within the Church of Rome (159), but that its agents are bound by an oath not to communicate their secrets to any priest or bishop, or any person within the Church of Rome (159); that the priests, beyond contradiction, possess *absolute* power over the people (p. 155); and that the people prove the absolute quality of their submission by occasionally thrashing the priests. (p. 159.) This very copious and very satisfactory induction reminds us of the luminous explanations which the philosophers of Sir Thomas More's time used to give of the nature of *materia prima*, which they negatively described as consisting *neither* in quiddity, nor in quantity, nor in quality, nor in any of those—*aliquid eorum*—which determine the essentiality of entity. One Adrian Heereboord, who happens oddly enough to have considered this definition to be slightly deficient in perspicuity and positiveness, has, for the benefit of posterity, completed the explanation of the subject by informing us that *materia prima* is neither body, nor exists by the form of corporeity, nor in that of a simple essentiality. And yet, says "Adrian," it is an entity, and indeed a substance, though an incomplete one, and is capable of both an entitative activity and a subjective potentiality. The "explanation" of Adrian Heereboord had hitherto been, as we believe, unrivalled. But it is no longer so. From the university which received its first lectures from the subtle Scotus, we have heard a dogmatical and oracular professor of something or other, proclaim to the world that all the evils of Ireland are attributable to a power which exists in that country, but which is not in the government, or the aristocracy, or the democracy, or the bishops, or the parsons, or the priests, or in the followers of Mr. O'Connell, or even in Mr. O'Connell himself. From which premises, the only conclusion which we can draw, is, that the power in question, like the island of Medamothi in Rabelais, is to be found in that peculiar sort of a locality, called *nowhere*. As to the nature of the power, we must for the present content ourselves with a description à la Heereboord, which informs us, that it is generally speaking neither ecclesiastical nor temporal. Then, descending to specifications, that it is neither archiep-

copal, episcopal, sacerdotal, or diaconal; neither legislative, administrative, judicial, territorial, aristocratical, squirearchical, or democratical, in either of the religious departments. "And yet," says the Heereboord of Turle Street, "it is a power, and even an irresistible one," and so forth, copying Heereboord *ut supra, mutatis mutandis*. That any man, much more that a gentleman who by some persons is looked upon as one of the lights of the world, should exhibit such an example of serious and elaborate self-stultification, is truly extraordinary. Yet the same writer, in the same article, even out-Herods this Herod. In page 163, he says, "How can the attribution of these outrages to disputes about land be reconciled with the fact so often urged against the Irish landlords, that *they are ejecting their tenantry by hundreds*." The ejectment, according to himself, naturally generates violence, but how, says he, can the violence be attributed to the ejectments, when the ejectments are so numerous? This cause may be well expected, as it seems to produce this result; but how, says the philosopher, can the result be expected to happen at all when the cause happens so frequently? In this case the cause is not, like the lady's grief in the tragedy, "great because it is so small," but small because it is so great. When professors of moral philosophy build up their argumentations in this wise, the dialectical dexterity of a freshman at Exeter College must be something like a negative quantity. In another place, he says, "Think of this, and then ask, if you will, whether these agrarian outrages have not some deeper meaning than the struggle of a peasantry for *land*." We shall be happy to ask the question, and to procure answers to it from witnesses whom the *Quarterly Review* will certainly consider to be of the very highest authority.

"The anxiety of the peasantry to keep land," says Mr. Barrington (H. C. 1832, No. 11 to 49), "is such, that they promise any rent, *however unable to pay it*. I attribute the disturbances in some degree to the *over* letting the land for more than its value, and then dismissing the tenant when he is unable to pay the rent promised; knowing that when he is turned out he must probably starve."

"There is in Ireland," says Mr. Barry, "such a competition for *land*, that it generally rests with the landlord to name his own rent." (Evid. H. C. 1830, 195, 367).

"This competition," says Mr. Wyse, "is *universal and unabated*. Landlords take advantage of the DREADFUL NECESSITY, and *exact rent out of all proportion* with the value of the land. The consequences are obvious—if the tenant *pays* he must *starve*" (H. L. 1824, p. 8; idem. H. C. 1824, pp. 5 and 6)—if he does *not* pay he

is turned out—"converted," says Mr. Smith O'Brien, "into a forlorn outcast, without employment or provision."* "The desolate wretch," says Sadler,† "is in such circumstances, driven to desperation, and forming a connexion with a multitude of others who have been similarly treated, he proceeds to those acts of violence which are so frequent in Ireland."

"Land," says Mr. Francis Blackburne, "is to the Irish peasant a necessary of life. The consequence to him of NOT getting it is STARVATION."—Lewis, p. 78.

Mr. Blackburne has been twice attorney-general of Ireland, and may yet possibly be the chief justice of the Queen's Bench, or even lord chancellor of that country. His politics are nearer to toryism than to those of any other party. He administered the Insurrection Act, in 1823, in Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary.

"Mr. Matthew Barrington says (Roden Committee, 764), the actual existence of the peasantry depends upon their having land; and the WHOLE DISTURBANCES of the country are produced by a desire to possess it."

Mr. Barrington, besides having been for about seven-and-twenty years the crown solicitor of the province of Munster, is a large landowner himself, and is one of the landlords enumerated by the *Quarterly Review* (p. 141), "as shewing an interest in their tenants, and studying their comfort and improvement."

"Major Warburton says, the destitution produced by turning persons out of their land, when they have no other means of existence, is a very great source of crime, as such a state of things must naturally involve the people in criminal endeavours to procure the means of maintaining their families."—1266-7-8.

"Mr. Piers Geale says, if a poor man is deprived of his land, he has little to depend upon, and is therefore extremely reluctant to leave the ground, and indignant at any person that takes it over his head."—8605.

"Judge Moore says, that the outrages in Clare, Galway, and Limerick, in 1830 and 1831, arose from the pressure on the lower orders by the extreme price of potato land. The people turned up the green ground in order to increase the quantity and diminish the price of potato ground."—14,375, 14,379.

"Mr. Sylvanus Jones says, that the outrages committed in Wexford lately have been the result of persons taking land over the heads of others."—14,475.

"Mr. Tomkins Brew says, that there is great difficulty among the

* Speech on Emigration, in the House of Commons, June 2, 1840.
 + "Evils of Ireland;" Murray, Albemarle-street; 158.

peasantry in procuring *land* for potatoes. Although they are willing to pay from 8*l.* to 10*l.* an acre for it.—12,719-20.”

“Mr. Barrington says, that the threatening notices lately served upon the farmers in the county of Clare were produced by the *anxiety of the poor people to get conacre*. And the late *outrages* in Clare have been *put an end to* by giving the people *some ground for potatoes*.” 7,636, 7,343.

“Mr. Tomkins Brew says, that the cause of the crime of Terry-Altism in Clare, was the *tenants receiving notice to quit*; that the people of Clare are, in many districts, in a state of great destitution, and likely to be worse next year; that the attacks on houses in Clare, in 1837, proceeded from the scarcity of provisions—*when a supply came the outrages all ceased*.”—12,717, 12,726, 13,048.

“Mr. Tabiteau says, that there is great destitution in his district (Tipperary); that the disturbances mostly prevail during the season *when there is no employment*; that when they have no employment they have *nothing* to depend upon, unless they can get *a bit of ground*; and that *something about land* is the cause of *all* the murders committed there.”—9735, 9914, 9739, 9746.

“Mr. Drummond ‘says, the *subdivision of land* no longer proceeds as heretofore; it is *now checked*, and a *contrary process* is taking place by the *enlargement and consolidation of farms*; while the *population, which depends upon the land alone* for support, is *still increasing*. The demand for land is consequently, and of necessity, *greater than it was before*; while there is a *decrease in the supply* of it, arising from the consolidation of farms. In a former answer I alluded to that circumstance with reference to the state of crime, showing that a *great proportion of the violent infractions of the law prevalent proceeded from this class*, and that, as long as from any cause there is increasing destitution, there will, as a matter of course, be increasing crime.”—14,024.

“Major Warburton says, that such a state of things *must necessarily involve people in crime*, when they are reduced to *destitution* by being *turned out of their lands* without having *any means of subsistence*. He also states, that the causes which produce crime and outrage at present, are the same causes which for many years back, have produced the same results.”—1266-7-8, 1272.

“Colonel Shaw Kennedy says, the great groundwork of all white-boy offences is connected with land. Whatever affects the tenancy of *land* will instantly affect crime.”—266, 282, 283, 286, 291.

“Sir William Somerville says, that the only violent outrage he can recollect in Meath for three or four years, is the murder of Mr. Hatch, which was committed ‘for the old cause of *ejectment*,’ he having turned out a tenant.”—14,591.

“Mr. Kemmis says, that the *great majority* of violent crimes in Tipperary are produced by *turning tenants out of possession*. *Three-fourths or more*.”—7149, 67,434-5-6.

“Mr. Howley says that, from conferences with other barristers, it

appears that ejectments at sessions are *more numerous in Tipperary than in any other county*; and that he himself has had more than 150 at one sessions. There are also a great many ejectments brought in the superior courts."—9991-2, 9974.

"Mr. Tabiteau says that ejectment is synonymous with reducing the cottier tenant to destitution and misery."—9720.

"Mr. Barrington says the general cause of outrages at all times in Ireland is *anxiety to possess land*; such has been the case since 1761. Whilst I have been crown solicitor (for five-and-twenty years) I could trace almost *every outrage* to some dispute about *land*."—7346-7.

"Mr. Tierney says that the prevailing cause of outrages is the letting and possession of *land*, and the *dispossessing of the former tenants and occupiers*."—7728.

"Mr. Hickman says, that in Roscommon, Leitrim, and Sligo, the outrages arise from the taking of *land*. That they all arise from *land &c.*"—8321-2-3-4, 9605.

"Mr. Piers Gale says that *outrage* has almost *always* a connexion with *land*."—8605.

"Mr. Seed states, that the two great causes of outrage are faction-fights and disputes about *land*. (See the same witness, 10,750 to 10,755, for a description of the desperate character of these fights, and the complete success of Lord Normanby's government in putting them down.)"—10,736.

"Mr. Barnes (stipendiary magistrate) says that the murders in Longford were the consequence of people being *turned off their land*, and strangers put in."—11,765-6-8.

"Captain B. Warburton (stipendiary magistrate) says, the murders and outrages that have happened lately in Galway, have risen from disputes about *land*. The *principal and primary object of all associations* among the *peasantry* is the *taking and keeping of LAND*. 'I am *not aware of ANY conspiracy among the peasantry of Ireland not IMMEDIATELY connected with LAND*.'"—9379 to 9421, 9382.

The preceding five-and-thirty statements were made before the committee of 1839, and among the witnesses are the six crown solicitors of Ireland, who are *immediately* concerned in prosecuting *every* outrage committed in that country. Of these gentlemen something more will be said *infra*. What will the querist in the *Quarterly* say to this evidence, taken from the very documents the names of which he has placed at the head of his lucubrations? Is it possible that he can have been ignorant of the existence of this evidence, when he put the question which we have just answered? Is it possible that he can be ignorant of the hundreds of similar passages which we could produce, if there were space to do so, from other witnesses, equally or if possible more respectable than

the gentlemen whose testimony we have just cited? But the writer in the *Quarterly* adventures upon a still bolder flight. In page 165, he says, "*In the kindness of their landlords, much abused and calumniated as they are, there is every thing to keep the peasantry quiet.*" In answer to this shameless assertion, in support of which no evidence whatever is even referred to, we could cite some hundreds of authorities of the most unexceptionable character. We must, however, content ourselves for the present with calling only four witnesses into court. The Right Hon. John Wilson Croker, whose word will pass for something in Albemarle Street, informs us, in his work upon the state of Ireland, that "rents in that country are *not a portion* of the produce, but *nearly the whole of it*; that the actual cultivator is seldom *better paid* than by *scanty food, ragged raiment, and a miry hovel*; and that competitors for land will offer the *whole value of the produce*, minus the daily potatoe."* These are comical proofs of the benevolence of landlords, and of the absence of causes for discontent amongst the tenants. In the *Times* of the 25th of Oct. 1839, some very interesting and important extracts are given from what the editor very justly calls a very valuable book. Amongst these extracts are the following: "*More misery is crowded into a single province in Ireland than can be found in all the rest of Europe put together.* To this pass are things come, in order to benefit a *small knot of haughty, unfeeling, rapacious landlords, the well-being of millions is disregarded, famine and misery stalk through the land, and all good government in Ireland is rendered impossible, and government of any kind impracticable, except through the medium of a military force.*"

The next witness whom we shall examine is Mr. Sadler, who represented the Duke of Newcastle in the House of Commons, and who, in a work upon the evils of Ireland, which was published by John Murray of Albemarle Street, hath expressed his opinion upon the matter in question in the following words:

"Is a system which can *only be supported by brute force*, and which is *kept up by constant blood-shedding*, to be perpetuated for ever? *Are we still to garrison a country to protect the property of those whose conduct occasions all the evils under which the country has groaned for centuries—property which has*

* Cited in Mr. Spring Rice's (Lord Mounteagle) "*Inquiry into the effects of the Irish Grand Jury Laws*;" published by John Murray, Albemarle-street.

been treated in such a manner, that it would NOT BE WORTH A DAY'S PURCHASE were the proprietors its sole protectors; but the presence of a large body of military and police enables them to conduct themselves with as little apprehension as REMORSE. The possessions of the whole empire would be lost to their owners were such conduct GENERAL; and are these so meritorious a class, that they are to be protected in the audacious outrage OF ALL THOSE DUTIES, upon the direct and reciprocal discharge of which THE WHOLE FRAME OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM IS FOUNDED. If they persist in this course let them do so at their own peril; the British soldier is too noble a being to be degraded into the exactor of enormous rents, &c.*

The fourth and last authority to which we shall appeal is none other than the *Quarterly Review* itself, which, miraculous as the fact may appear, does actually contain the following passage upon the subject in question:

"In Ireland alone is to be found a population abandoned to the mercy of the elements of chance, or rather of THE LEGAL OWNERS OF THE SOIL, who are protected by an ARMED POLICE, AND A STRONG MILITARY GARRISON, IN THE EXACTION OF UNHEARD OF PECUNIARY RENTS from a DESTITUTE TENANTRY—rents which are ONLY paid by the EXPORTATION OF THE GREAT BULK OF THE FOOD RAISED IN THE COUNTRY, leaving to those who grow it a BARE SUBSISTENCE UPON POTATOES, EKED OUT WITH WEEDS. We fearlessly assert, that there rests not so foul a blot upon the character of any other government. The wretchedness of the mass of the people has no parallel on the face of the globe, in any nation, savage or civilized. A population of eight millions left to live or die as it may happen—the people STARVED, DISPIRITED, NAKED, and BEGGARLY—the produce of whose industry is swept off to other lands to be sold for the EXCLUSIVE BENEFIT OF MEN WHOM THE LAW INVESTS with the unconditional ownership of this fair portion of God's earth, and with the POWER OF ABSOLUTELY STARVING ITS INHABITANTS; and THIS LAW WE EXPECT THIS UNHAPPY POPULATION TO CHERISH, VENERATE, AND IMPLICITLY OBEY.—SHAME! SHAME! we repeat,"† &c.

Here then we have the *Quarterly Review* declaring in one place, that in the kindness of the Irish landlords, there is everything to keep the population of that country quiet, and that the persons who attribute any part of the disturbances to the landlords are abusive calumniators; whilst the same *Review* states, in another place, that the same landlords habitually murdered the same population, by robbing them of almost the whole of the food which they had themselves produced, and leaving them to live, or rather to die, by feeding upon

* Second Edition, pp. 161-2.

† *Quarterly Review*, Dec. 1835, p. 145.

weeds. Where is the editor of the *Quarterly Review*, or what is he about?

“Sleep you or wake you, oh L——t bright.”

Thy *Quarterly Review*, like the “delicate monster,” in *The Tempest*, hath, in the language of Stephano,

“Two voices. His *forward* voice *now* is to speak well of his friends. His *backward* voice is to utter foul speeches, and to detract.”
—Act ii. scene 2.

Both voices cannot be true. By which, then, will it abide? If its forward voice be correct, then is the monster, according to its own decision, an abusive calumniator. If its backward voice is entitled to credit, then is it, self-evidently, guilty of uttering a wilful and a deliberate falsehood.

Here we must for the present conclude. In our next number we shall proceed to refute the remaining arguments, and subvert the other assertions of the *Quarterly Review*. In the meantime we submit as a question for the consideration of the editor of that eminent publication, whether it be in conformity with the established principles of civilised, political, or polemical warfare, to allow the influential work, over the composition of which he presides, to be made the medium for propelling into the world a mass of wild and calumnious assertions, some of the most important of which we have shown to be not only destitute of the smallest semblance or shadow of truth, but to be contradicted in the most glaring and inconceivable manner by other passages, not only in the same publication, but in the very same article itself.

ART. VI.—*Sketches in Ireland, descriptive of interesting districts in Donegal, Cork, and Kerry.* Second Edition. Dublin: 1841.

THE speakers in that admirable dialogue which exhibits Spenser's “View of the state of Ireland” towards the close of the sixteenth century, set out with the following remarks.

“*Eudorus.* But if that countrey of Ireland whence you lately came, be of so goodly and commodious a soyll as you report, I wonder that no course is taken for the turning thereof to good uses, and reducing that nation to better government and civility.

“*Irenaus.* Marry so there have bin divers good plottes devised,

and wise counsels cast already about reformation of that realme; but they say it is the fatall destiny of that land, that no purposes whatsoever which are meant for her good wil prosper or take good effect, which, whether it proceed from the very genius of the soyle, or influence of the starres, or that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that Hee reserveth her in this unquiet state still for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England, it is harde to be knowne, but yet much to be feared.

"*Eudorus*. Surely I suppose this is but a vaine conceipt of simple men, which judge things by their effects, and not by their causes; for I would rather thinke the cause of this evil which hangeth upon that country, to proceed rather of the unsoundness of the counsels and plots, which you say have bin oftentimes laid for the reformation, or of faintness in following and effecting the same, then of any such fatall course appointed of God, as you misdeem; but it is the manner of men, that when they are fallen into any absurdity, or their actions succede not as they would, they are always readie to impute the blame thereof unto the heavens, so to excuse their own follies and imperfections. So have I heard often wished also, (even of some whose great wisdomes in opinion should seem to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration), that all that land were a sea-poole;* which kinde of speech is the manner rather of desperate men farre driven to wish the utter ruine of that which they cannot redress, then of grave counsellors which ought to think nothing so hard, but that through wisdom it may be mastered and subdued, since the poet saith that 'the wise man shall rule even over the starres,' much more over the earth."

Nearly two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since these observations were made by a clear-headed and most kind-hearted man, himself one of the "grave counsellors" who loved Ireland well, and sincerely desired to promote her welfare. Nevertheless, there is much in these remarks which may still be justly asserted as applicable to the measures intended for the benefit of this country. There is, perhaps, no portion of Europe concerning the amelioration of which more has been written by economists of various descriptions than that which a great majority of them agree in designating as "unfortunate Ireland"—unfortunate truly in many points of view, but most especially in the utter failure of numberless private and public projects desired for her social, political, agricultural, and commercial improvement.

The truth is, to use a coarse but very intelligible adage, "the bull has never yet been taken by the horns." The

* The late Sir Joseph Yorke's famous exclamation—"That it were well if Ireland were buried in the bottom of the sea!"—has not therefore the merit of novelty.

laws by which the aboriginal population of Ireland was governed, were calculated to repress and resist every form of legislation or custom by which any large mass of families could be brought within the pale of a fundamental system of organisation. On the contrary, the system which prevailed amongst our early generations, resembling closely that of the Scottish clans, by dividing our people into many factions, each having its separate chieftains, hereditary or elective, tended perpetually to keep asunder, and in an attitude of hostility against each other, sections of the inhabitants, who ought, for all purposes connected with the cause of tranquillity and order, to be combined by local arrangements into one great national family.

If we examine the history of England, we shall find that all her great juridical and legislative institutions are traceable to the tithings, and the hundreds, and the wapentakes, which were originally introduced from Germany. When Alfred inquired into the causes of the disorders which prevailed during the early part of his reign, he soon found that they were chiefly to be ascribed to the desuetude into which those noble devices for the maintenance of the public peace had fallen. He applied himself at once to the revival of those systems. He "took the bull by the horns." He felt that the best mode of governing the multitude was to teach them how to govern themselves; he re-divided them into the local societies known under those ancient titles; those societies became answerable to each other and to the community at large for the preservation of order in their respective districts. The members of each society easily learned and practised their duties, acquired a respect not only for others but for themselves, learned not merely to obey, but to love and cherish, and enforce every ordinance of their legislator which facilitated the execution of the office they had pledged themselves to perform, and thus constituted a solid foundation, upon which the great pyramid of British society has since been raised.

No course of legislation parallel, or at all like to this, has ever yet been adopted with reference to Ireland. When the English first turned their attention to this country, their predominating design was just the same as that of the Danes—plunder. They next became ambitious of making conquests. They discovered here a land fertile beyond all expectation, charming for its scenery, and of a climate much milder than their own. They overran it, parcelled it out among their

military chieftains, erected here and there castles and fortresses, and expected that by such measures they had secured their new possessions. They were not long in discovering that they had made many false calculations, when they supposed that their incursions created enough of terror to protect their acquisitions from invasion; and, without going into further details, it may be affirmed that almost every law for the political government of Ireland, from the first period of the English invasions to the moment in which we write, has been founded in the idea of "conquest."

For the justification of this assertion, we need only refer to the ordinances against the "mere Irishry" which denounced them all as outlaws, and set rewards upon their heads; to the municipal corporations designed chiefly to carry those ordinances into effect; and to the repeated and obstinate efforts which at a later period were made to force upon our ancestors a form of religion to which our people were, and still are, most resolutely opposed. The line of the "pale," castles, schools, colleges, churches, barracks, prisons, were all established here in the spirit of military violence and subjugation; and the well-known code of the penal laws against Catholics, though since, in a great measure, repealed, stands out as a frightful monument of the injustice to which the frenzy of legislation can be carried, when it is conducted in a spirit of hostility, and finds itself baffled and disgraced at every step it takes.

The very act of emancipation itself, do we not now know from irrefragable evidence, that though yielded as a measure of state expediency, it was not intended, by those who last proposed it, to be executed to any material extent? The outcry raised against Her Majesty's Government in consequence of the appointment of two or three Catholics to subordinate offices—raised, too, chiefly by the very party who were in power when that act was carried, shews, in language not to be misconstrued, that they, when they sanctioned that measure, had not the most remote intention of reducing it to any practical form of benefit for the use of the people of Ireland. On the contrary, it was designed to be applied as a new instrument for preserving and perpetuating discord throughout the nation.

What is Lord Stanley's Registration Bill, but another phase of the old law of the "pale?" Can we yet forget the harangues made in both Houses of Parliament against the Irish Municipal Corporation Bill—all of them dictated by the

same spirit which animated the followers of Strongbow, of Cromwell, and William III, when fighting against our national forces for the soil on which they stood—a spirit which, during the whole reign even of George III, denounced as overt acts of high treason all the constitutional steps adopted by the most enlightened and patriotic Irishmen of the day for the attainment of reforms that have since been by degrees extorted from Parliament through the force of public opinion.

The territorial divisions and subdivisions of Ireland into provinces, counties, baronies, and townlands, had no more to do with the Saxon system of the tithing and hundred, or in other words the system of self-government, than had the divisions of archdiocese, diocese, deanery, and parish, which were for mere ecclesiastical purposes. It would appear from Spenser's "View of the state of Ireland" already referred to, that he had contemplated the introduction into this country of the Saxon system.

"*Eudoxus*. Therefore now you may come unto that generall reformation which you spake of, and bringing in of that establishment by which you said all men should be contained in duty ever after, without the terror of warlike forces, or violent wresting of things by sharpe punishments.

"*Ireneus*. I will so at your pleasure, the which (methinkes), can by no meanes be better plotted then by ensample of such other realmes as have been annoyed by like evils that Ireland now is, and useth still to bee. And first in this our realme of England it is manifest by the report of chronicles and ancient writers, that it was greatly infested with robbers and outlawes, which, lurking in woods and fast places, used often to breake forth into the highwayes, and sometimes into small villages to rob and spoyle. For redresse whereof it is written, that king Alured, or Aldred, did divide the realme into shires, and the shires into hundreds, and the hundreds into lathes or wapentakes, and the wapentakes into tythings."

The speaker then proceeds with a detailed description of these institutions, with which we need not trouble our readers. He compares this scheme of government to that suggested by Jethro, who advised Moses to divide the people into hundreds, and to set responsible captains over them. He appealed also to the policy of Romulus, who divided the Romans into tribes, and the tribes into centuries or hundreths.

"By this ordinance (he proceeds), this king brought this realme of England (which before was most troublesome), unto that quiet state, that no one bad person could stirre, but he was strait taken holde of by those of his owne tything, and their tything man, who being his

neighbours or next kinsmen, were privie to all his wayes, and looked narrowly into his life. The which institution (if it were observed in Ireland), would worke that effect which it did in England, and keep all men within the compasse of dutie and obedience."

It is, however, suggested by Eudoxus, that this advice is inconsistent with an opinion which his friend had previously advanced, that there was a great dissimilarity between England and Ireland—so great, that the laws which "were fitting for one, would not fit the other." To this objection it is answered, that the situation of England, when the institution in question was resorted to, very much resembled the situation of Ireland at the time when they were speaking, "every corner of England having a Robin Hood in it, that kept the woods, that spoyled all passengers and inhabitants, as Ireland now hath." They then go on to discuss the matter, and finally agree in opinion that some such arrangement as that which they had thus spoken of, was an indispensable preliminary to all other measures that could possibly be projected for the effectual civilisation of this country.

To this opinion we entirely subscribe. It is impossible, we think, for any stranger, who has travelled through any considerable portion of the south or the south-west of Ireland, not to come away with the impression that he has been amidst a vast conflux of people, to whose individual good feeling or morality alone he has been indebted for the safety of his person, and of such property as he may have had with him during his travels. He feels that he might have been plundered and even murdered with entire impunity; for, although there is a large body of police distributed through the country, exceedingly well organized and conducted in every respect, yet it is not in their power to prevent crime, or, with the utmost exertion, to detect the robber or the murderer in nine cases out of ten. The localities are not responsible. Inquiry is made; but nobody is bound to give an answer. Assistance for the discovery of the criminal is asked, but it is rarely given. On the contrary, it cannot be denied that the sympathies of the multitude are not with the law; for the people have seldom known the law approach them in any other than an inimical form.

Foremost, therefore, in our catalogue of "the wants of Ireland," stands this fundamental measure of a division of all the families of the kingdom into societies, such as those of the tithing and the hundred. There was undoubtedly a time when local associations, even for laudable purposes, might

have been speedily perverted to evil; but we are of opinion that this time has gone by. The Temperance Registries already comprehend four millions of our population. Here is a pledge for the safe working of a system of organization of the kind we have mentioned. Indeed, local associations and committees, formed already by all those who have taken the temperance pledge, would furnish such facilities as never before existed in this country for the establishment of the system in question. That system, moreover, would seem to be one of the natural results of the temperance resolutions which have been so widely adopted, and so faithfully acted upon. The season, therefore, for such a measure would appear to have arrived, and the sooner it is arranged and applied, the better.

It would, however, be vain, we fear, to expect much benefit from the mere organization of the people, unless the measure were accompanied by other arrangements of an equally important character, connected with the distribution of the land throughout the country. One of the results of organization ought to be the creation, sooner or later, of a numerous class of yeomanry, possessed of a permanent interest in the soil. We are perfectly aware that we now approach a part of the subject which presents many difficulties, and requires to be treated with the greatest circumspection and delicacy. The facts that a very large proportion of our territory is owned by Protestants, a great proportion of whom derive their titles from laws of confiscation; and that the actual occupants and cultivators of that territory are Catholics, to whose ancestors it belonged down to a period of our history not so remote from the present day as to have acquired the obscurity of entire oblivion, do undoubtedly tend to throw in the way of the measure which we advocate impediments of a very perplexing nature. And unless the land proprietors be prepared to enter into the consideration of this matter in a spirit of patriotism and generosity, the discussion of it might, possibly, be productive rather of danger than of benefit to the relations already subsisting between landlord and tenant.

We need scarcely remark, that most of the capital crimes recently, or indeed for many years back, perpetrated in this country, are traceable to disputes connected, under some shape or other, with land. We fear that at no period did a mass of resentment more bitter or more deep, exist in the minds of our agricultural population, than may be found in it at this moment, arising, in many cases, from the actual or menaced

expulsion of small holders from the miserable cabins and gardens which they have occupied for years. They suspect, some perhaps not without reason, that some of the principal landowners have entered into a kind of confederacy against them; that the small farms are to be done away with altogether, and that a design is entertained to send out of the country, if possible, and if not possible, at least to remove from the cultivated soil, the Catholic cottiers and peasantry, with a view to make room for Protestants. Undoubtedly, some circumstances have occurred, which afford a strong presumption in favour of this suspicion.

Indeed, we happen to have obtained possession of a manuscript, consisting of nearly a hundred closely written pages, copies of which have been in course of private circulation during these last ten years, amongst landowners in Ireland. Its main object is to accomplish the purpose just alluded to. It begins by denouncing the authority alleged to be exercised by the Catholic clergy, and insists that no means should be left untried with a view to put that authority down altogether. The writer points out, as a terrible blunder on the part of the landlords, the multiplication, in former years, of the forty-shilling freeholders, inasmuch as it tended to the breaking up of the grass lands, to the conversion of them into tillage, and to a great increase of the Catholic population. He proposes that the "Irishry" should be sent away to Canada, or elsewhere, and that the tracts which they occupy at home, as well as the waste and bog-lands, should be colonized by English. He is of opinion that manufactures ought to be encouraged in Ireland, as they would necessarily bring over from England great numbers of the operatives, who being Protestants chiefly, would in due time supplant the Catholics.

These topics being disposed of, the author enters into some general observations of a less bigoted and a much more practical description, which deserve some attention. He calculates, from experiments made in England, that the Irish bog lands might be transformed into good soil at an expense of about £5 per acre (English), and that an income might be thus created of £30,000 a year, at less than six years' purchase. He remarks, and here our own observation fully bears him out, that the Irish bog lands are, in general, so situated, as to be easily rendered accessible to inland navigation, by which the supply of lime and sand would be greatly facilitated, and their produce carried to the nearest market at a very moderate expense. All attempts to diffuse manufactories throughout

Ireland must, in his opinion, turn out to be abortive, unless the bogs be colonized, and coals be rendered plentiful throughout the whole of the interior. Ireland also, he very justly observes, wants copse-wood and timber, for mining and other purposes.

It is much to be lamented that any body of men, especially of men of so much influence as the landed gentry of Ireland, should in any manner connect their views for her welfare with designs hostile to her religion. That those designs will be frustrated we feel perfectly assured. No combination of human power can ever make the slightest impression upon the Catholic population of this country, so far as their religion is concerned. That object has been attempted over and over again through various kinds of instrumentality—military armaments, persecuting laws, confiscations, new systems of worship;—all have utterly failed. Instead of expending their energies upon experiments which can be of no sort of advantage to themselves, the landowners would do well to consider whether they could not devise some measures for the creation of a numerous class of yeomanry, without reference to any form of faith. Amongst these measures, a leading one should be, in our opinion, the distribution among the people of the bog and waste-lands upon such terms as might enable a considerable number of them to become proprietors of allotments, varying from ten to fifty English acres, according to circumstances. These allotments might be made by government agents; a price fixed upon them at which owners should be obliged to sell, and which persons willing to purchase should be at liberty to pay; for all such payments every possible facility should be given through the medium of loan banks, and the receipt of the purchase money according to a graduated scale of instalments. An operation of this kind would, we freely admit, be attended with great and numerous difficulties—difficulties arising especially from the competition to which such a plan would give rise; but the difficulties are not insurmountable. The plan might embrace not only the bog and waste lands, but also such estates as are ordered to be sold by the courts of equity, or announced for sale by direction of their proprietors. All such properties might be bought up by government, and disposed of in the way we have suggested.

We are, of course, aware, that societies for the cultivation of waste and bog lands in Ireland have been organised in London, and that recently, what is called an “agricultural movement” has been attempted by a most respectable associa-

tion in Dublin. We beg to be understood as entertaining no sort of disposition to undervalue the exertions of these various confederations. They have it in their power, undoubtedly, to do much good, and if they should accomplish even a small part of all the improvements which they propose, they will entitle themselves to the gratitude of the nation. Even the public discussion of the subjects which appertain to the designs they have announced, cannot fail to be of service to the community. But the pervading defect of all these volunteer associations is this, that although the requisitions for meetings, and even the actual meetings, are often graced by high names, ultimately the *business* falls into the hands of a few individuals, who, however zealous they may be, find themselves eventually unable to carry the great plans they had in view into effect. The pecuniary means necessary for the realization of those plans are not to be obtained from such associations; and unless the requisite funds be furnished by the government, no alternative remains, except a general subscription by the people themselves. In the latter event, the people must be permitted to take the whole management of purchase and resale into their own hands—a mode of proceeding open, certainly, to many objections.

The creation of a body of substantial yeomanry necessarily implies the diffusion through the community of a constant stream of useful information upon all topics connected with their improvement in the cultivation of the soil, and with their civilization in every respect. Speeches of great eloquence, and replete with practical as well as theoretical doctrines, are frequently uttered at public meetings, and printed in the newspapers. The misfortune is, that in Ireland the newspaper is a luxury with which the great body of the people are unacquainted. Endowed, though they be, with intellect of the highest order, and vast as may be the crowds which assemble at the call of Father Mathew, or Mr. O'Connell, nevertheless, even those who can read are not in the habit of reading. The fact is, they have nothing to read. Books they cannot purchase; tracts do not reach them, as no machinery exists for the distribution of publications of that description.

That a very great proportion even of the adult population can read, we are much disposed to believe. The public schools, which have already existed for some years in Ireland, now begin to exhibit their results, in the great numbers of persons who may be seen on Sunday in the great aisles of the

Catholic chapels with prayer-books in their hands. We speak principally with reference to the south of Ireland; and from our own observation we can affirm, that out of a body of one thousand young men, at least four hundred are able to read the "Prayers for Mass." The books they very generally use are those which contain prints representing the different parts of the holy sacrifice, beneath which are short forms of suitable prayers, printed in small type.

This is a fact which ought to elicit attention from the government. Means should be adopted for the preparation of periodical journals of a character suitable to a people situated as the mass of our peasantry is at this moment. The price of those journals should not exceed a penny or three-halfpence each; they should be rendered acceptable by containing a miscellany of articles bearing upon national topics—for it is wonderful what charms the description of our ruined abbeys, churches, and various old edifices, possess for our people. Tradition connected with our ancient history, our bards, music, and early customs, have also great fascinations for our peasantry. With a fair proportion of matter of this description might be interwoven instruction of a practical and moral character. Reading societies, and itinerant lending libraries, should be formed, and small rewards should be given for the encouragement of cleanliness and comfort in the cottages of the lower orders. A few hundred pounds' worth of flower-seeds and plants, distributed annually amongst those cottagers who cannot afford to buy them, would be productive of a world of good. There is a spell in the rose that awakens the heart to a sense of enjoyment, which leads to other consequences intimately connected with the purity and tenderness of domestic manners.

Whatever tends to the instruction of the people, in their juvenile or adult stages, ought, we think, to form part of the duties of the Irish board of education. Ample means should be afforded to the board for that purpose. It ought, in fact, to follow its pupils from the rudiments of knowledge taught in its schools, through their occupations afterwards in life; we may say, in short, from the cradle to the grave.

Next in importance, perhaps, to the points on which we have touched, would be the formation of equitable institutions for the insurance of life and property, and the endowment of children. It is terrible to see the perils to which house-property, especially, is exposed in Ireland, without the least means of guarding against their occurrence or their conse-

quences. We could enumerate many country towns, containing a population each of more than five thousand, in which there are not ten houses insured, and in which no fire-engine is kept. As to the insurance of lives, or the endowment of families by means of insurances payable at certain ages, these are economical sources of wealth, we may say altogether unknown amongst the great majority of our community. The savings-banks are becoming highly popular amongst them. If due means were taken for connecting with these banks the other institutions we have just mentioned, we feel no doubt that very great benefit would be thereby conferred upon our people. They have implicit confidence in the savings-banks, and any institution set up in union with them, under the responsibility of the state, would most certainly be successful.

We have not yet become acquainted, as extensively as we should desire, with the operation of the loan banks, which have been established in several parts of Ireland. We have learned enough of them, however, to incline us to believe that they have become, in some cases at least, mere matters of private speculation, and that they charge an enormous interest. Few institutions could be more beneficial in Ireland at this moment than loan banks conducted upon fair and equitable principles. Might not such establishments be made appendages to the banks for savings?

As to the branches of local joint-stock banking companies, and of other companies which we forbear from naming; we must say, from all we have heard, that the terms upon which they afford accommodation to the people, are of a most grinding character. They are seldom satisfied with an amount of interest under twelve, or at least ten per cent., and then the borrower has to pay charges for commission, and other expenses, which press upon him most severely. Advantage, too, is taken of times of pressure, which the banker cannot, we fear, always justify in a moral point of view. We could wish therefore, that loan banks were generally diffused through Ireland, under the superintendence more or less of some authorised agency. The true nature of bank establishments, and the extent of power wielded by banks of issue, have not been yet sufficiently considered by the legislature. The permission allowed to private persons to create money for their own gain—to create it simply upon the credit of a charter, or of a mere nominal capital, is a mode of proceeding which ought to be contemplated by the public with the utmost jealousy. It furnishes temptations of the most irresistible character to

fraud and swindling of every kind; and when we observe that within these last forty years particularly, banking speculations have been entered into which have been attended with frightful consequences to the community, we must say that the Government is greatly to be blamed which suffers such open robbery to be perpetrated with impunity. The man who steals five pounds out of a letter is transported for life, while the individual, or the members of a company, who rob their depositors and the receivers of their notes, to the amount of thousands—nay, of hundreds of thousands—escape all penalty except the momentary stigma of bankruptcy. This is a state of things that ought not to be suffered to go on. It is not to be denied that the banking trade in Ireland has conferred benefits upon that country. But it has also worked injuriously in many cases to the interests of the farmers, who have been obliged by pressure of their landlords, in bad seasons, to avail themselves of the accommodation, such as it is, which the local banks afford.

It would be expedient, in our opinion, that the construction and repair of public roads should be removed altogether from the hands of the grand juries. Notwithstanding all the precautions that have been taken of late years by the legislature, with reference to the exercise of the power delegated to those institutions in this respect, it is certain that a great deal of "jobbing" still goes on with regard to presentments, and that very great delays in the repair of old roads still take place, very much to the annoyance, as we personally know, of travellers in Ireland. We would take the liberty to suggest, that all public works of whatever nature, in Ireland, should be committed to four provincial councils, composed of individuals elected for that purpose by the grand juries of each county. Each county jury might choose one or more of their own body, with this view, and the council should sit periodically in the principal town of each of the four provinces. It should be the duty of these councils to hear and examine the reports of the county surveyors, to receive and consider, and also to originate, presentments, not only for the construction and repair of public roads, but also for the erection of piers, the making of harbours, the improvement of fisheries, the formation of canals and railways, the navigation of lakes and rivers, the exploration of mines; and in short to attend to every matter bearing on the improvement of the country. The resolutions of these councils should be passed to the Board of Works, where they might undergo a thorough investigation, and if approved of

by the Board, the latter should be empowered to advance the funds necessary for giving effect to those resolutions. In certain cases, grants to a reasonable amount should be made; but in the great majority of cases, loans would be probably sufficient, upon the security of the works themselves, and the county-rates. Should the Board disallow the resolutions of any provincial council, an appeal should lie to the Lord-Lieutenant in council. Some such institution as this would relieve Parliament altogether from what may be called the private business of Ireland—a relief of which the legislature stands much in need, as its various occupations, public and private, have of late years swelled to such an enormous amount, that great numbers of private bills have been passed without anything like due consideration, and often have been postponed year after year to the great injury of the empire. The members of the economical councils which we have suggested, should undoubtedly be paid for their services. It is well-known that institutions of nearly a similar kind have been long established in the French departments. Of their great utility no doubt has ever been entertained.

There is another subject of vast importance to Ireland, which we now approach with a full sense of all the difficulties by which it is surrounded. During the course of an extensive tour through this country, we have had occasion to observe that a great number of the existing Catholic chapels may be said to be in a condition utterly disgraceful to any nation affecting to call itself civilized. In some parts of Kerry and Mayo, chapels of mud walls and thatched roofs, which freely admit the snow and the rain, are by no means uncommon spectacles. In other places, by means of the indefatigable exertions of the clergy, and the pious offerings of the poor people, houses of worship of a better order have been erected, built of limestone, and covered with slates. But the interiors of those edifices for the most part present a most unfurnished appearance. The inside of the roof is seldom plastered—the mud floors are wretched, presenting everywhere inequalities, and so damp, that it is astonishing how the poor who kneel upon them are ever free from rheumatism. Should the glass windows happen to be broken by the wind or by accident, they remain for years unrepaired. Above all, the sanctuary, though in general boarded, exhibits a most deplorable want of cleanliness, the sides of the altar, and even the very steps leading to it, being rendered filthy with dust and cobwebs. The utensils also, necessary for the due solemnization of the

holy service, are often of a very mean description; and the vestments of the clergy and the surplices of the attendants, when surplices they wear, which often is not the case, truly do require to be subjected to some system of reform.

These are all circumstances to be extremely lamented. But there is one other fact still more to be complained of, that the number and size of the chapels already existing, especially in the midland, southern, and south-western counties, are altogether inadequate to furnish the necessary accommodation to the crowds that repair to them on Sundays and the great holidays. We have seen many chapel-yards which during divine-service were as densely thronged as the chapels themselves, and this often occurs in those parishes or unions in which of necessity only one mass is celebrated on Sundays and days of obligation.

The returns presented to parliament by the Irish board of works, exhibit several cases in which advances to a limited amount have been made, to assist in the completion of Catholic churches and chapels. Now there is no good reason why this principle should not be extended. It being once admitted that such edifices are to be classed amongst the public works entitled to the consideration of the Board, we conceive it to be the duty of the Government to order inquiry to be made, and wherever it is found that there is not a sufficient number of chapels to meet the wants of the neighbourhood, the Board should be empowered, in concert with the bishop of the diocese, to direct proper houses of worship to be erected, upon a scale suitable to the locality. Wherever it may be practicable, loans or absolute grants of the requisite funds should be made, upon condition of certain proportions of the estimated expense being supplied by the parishioners. We should certainly offer no objection to the application of this rule to other religions, *mutatis mutandis*.

The circumstance has also often forced itself upon our notice, that the number of the clergy, especially in those unions or parishes in which the population is scattered over a large area, is altogether disproportioned to the necessities of the congregations. In such unions the chapels are frequently four or five Irish miles, or even more, distant from each other. Where there are three chapels and only two priests, of course one of the priests must celebrate mass in two chapels every Sunday and day of obligation. Having finished his duty in one chapel, he is obliged to mount his horse and ride as speedily as he can to another, through rain and storm, and often

may be seen ascending the altar booted and spurred, fatigued from fasting so long, and utterly incapable, from want of physical strength, of giving instructions to his flock after he has concluded the holy sacrifice.

We submit that this is a state of things to which a paternal government ought to devote its care. We give every credit to the legislature, as well as to the Irish government, for the attention which has been paid during these last fifteen or twenty years to the education of the rising generations. We must say, however, that the moral improvement of the adults has been entirely overlooked. The Protestant prelates of England have very vehemently contended that no literary education should be afforded to the people which is not based upon religion. To that general proposition we fully accede; and if they admit that it is a part of the duty of the state to supply the community with the means necessary for the purposes of literary education, they must further admit, that it is the duty of the state also to supply means, wherever those means may be wanting, for the advancement of the people in religion.

All the civil and military authorities of the kingdom have cheerfully and most laudably come forward, to assist Father Mathew in his truly apostolical progress through the country. The two houses of Parliament, the viceroy, ministers of state, individual peers and commoners of every party and religion, many magistrates, and, we believe, all the judges and assistant barristers, have borne testimony to the marvellous success of his labours. One of the great results of the temperate habits already acquired by the millions of our Catholic community, is the great increase that has taken place in their attendance at their respective chapels, and their participation of the Holy Sacrament. The actual number of the clergy, and of Catholic houses of worship, is not at all proportioned to the vast influx of the people who hasten to pour forth their thanksgivings at the altars of their ancient faith. Does it become the government then—is it consistent with common-sense or justice—that the Parliament, which approve, and, as far as in them lies, encourage this national movement towards one of the greatest of the virtues, should refuse to perform their part in confirming the community in the practice of the vows thus made in the face of the world, and hitherto observed with a determination which deserves the most unqualified applause?

It is high time for Parliament to understand, and to admit, that it can no longer, consistently with the duty which it owes

to the empire for whose interests it exists, stand aloof from the presence and the power of the Catholic religion. In Ireland, especially, it presents itself to the civil authorities in an attitude of supremacy, which forbids any further thought of resistance, and commands their homage. They should at once openly acknowledge the fact to which their vision bears testimony; they should not hesitate to build new altars, in every part of the country in which the bishop may deem them necessary, and to facilitate, in every possible manner, a proportionate augmentation of the clergy. A few hundred thousand pounds expended on such purposes would, even in an economical point of view, be most judiciously applied, for they would render unnecessary the voting of millions hereafter, under the head of estimates for the maintenance of military and police forces in Ireland.

We studiously abstain from discussing any questions connected with the pecuniary support of the Catholic clergy in Ireland. We have inquired diligently into their views as to that most important subject, and we have found that a very decided jealousy does exist amongst a great majority, of the slightest approach upon the part of the state towards the relations which have so long subsisted between them and their flocks, with reference to this point. Some of the elder clergy have also expressed apprehensions, that a state provision, however administered, might tend to a relaxation of zeal amongst the junior members of the sacred order, or, at all events, generate suspicions to that effect, which it would be prudent to avoid. Others again say, that it would very much comport with the dignity of the Church, and the feelings of its ministers, if any means could be adopted for obtaining the requisite funds for their decent maintenance, without making periodical appeals to their congregation from the altar for that purpose; and above all, without reading from that peculiarly sacred spot, lists of names of payers and non-payers,—lists which are undoubtedly calculated to give pain to all pious Catholics, who have not been accustomed from infancy to such exhibitions.

But whatever may be the sentiments of those who are more competent than we are to form a right judgment upon these delicate subjects, we conceive that no doubt will be entertained as to the expediency, or rather indeed the necessity, of having suitable residences for the clergy permanently attached to the churches and chapels in all those parishes where such essential accommodations are not at present to be found. We know of

several instances, indeed, in which the parish priests have settled dwelling-houses, built and furnished at their own expense, on their successors for ever. But we also know of instances in which, from intestacy, or other causes, the habitations which were the private property of the priest, have been claimed by his relatives, and that considerable inconvenience has been the result to the clergyman by whom he has been succeeded. In our opinion, it is the duty of the legislature to provide the clergy with decent residences, and also a portion of land sufficient to constitute a vegetable garden and pasturage. These would be but small gifts to an order of men, who have done more for the preservation of this country than all the arms which have ever yet been wielded, and than all the laws that have been to this hour passed, with a view to secure its tranquillity.

It is scarcely necessary for us, who have already, upon more than one occasion, zealously pleaded in favour of the execution of the admirable plans projected by the commissioners for the formation of railways in Ireland, to enter into any further argument upon that important subject. The resistance given to the execution of those plans on the part of particular localities, which were not immediately comprehended in them, of individuals who were anxious to substitute for those great designs petty lines of their own, and of political partisans who wished to thwart the government in every measure which contemplated real benefit to Ireland, has now vanished into empty air. Even the celebrated "note," concerning which so much calumny was spoken and written, is consigned to oblivion, and all men begin to acknowledge, that the greatest boon which, in an economical point of view, the legislature could confer upon Ireland in her present circumstances, would be the immediate construction of the great trunk lines recommended by the commissioners.

Would that Drummond had been spared to have witnessed the meeting which lately assembled in Dublin, to urge the Legislature to give effect to his truly statesman-like labours upon this question. Never was a mind more determined than his to explore, through all their intricacies, the difficulties which before his time had checked the growing prosperity of Ireland. His ardent love for the country of his adoption soon enabled him to obtain a thorough knowledge of all the anomalies which retarded her progress, during a period when other countries, not half so favoured by nature, were rapidly outstripping her in all the paths of prosperity. Being possessed

of that knowledge, he applied all the instrumentality of his office, and all the powers of his vigorous intellect, to the formation, and, as far as he could, to the immediate realization, of such measures as he deemed best calculated to compensate Ireland for the long ages of barbarous rule to which she had been subjected. The railway he believed to be the most potent agent he could employ for the purposes he had in view, and there can be no doubt that it was in preparing that mighty work his health suffered injuries which no medicine could repair. No record can tell the loss which Ireland has sustained by the premature fall of such a man.

Next, if not almost equal, in importance to the establishment of the designed railways in Ireland, would be the construction of good roads through all those mountainous and other tracts of territory, which are at present without these most necessary auxiliaries to civilization. The new lines made during the administration of Lord Anglesea, have already produced benefits to an amount difficult to be calculated. By shortening the distances between villages and market-towns, those roads have wonderfully increased the intercourse between many localities ; and besides this great improvement, they have opened up for cultivation, and rendered amenable to the law, many districts which had previously been inaccessible to both. We trust, therefore, that any measures which may be brought before parliament for giving effect to the report of the railway commissioners, will also give ample power for the extension of all practicable lines of communication, whether by tram-roads or those made in the ordinary manner. It would be a great satisfaction to Lord Anglesea, if he could learn how often his name is mentioned in the south of Ireland, in connexion with one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed upon it by occupants of the Castle.

A subject has lately engaged very general attention in Ireland, which it would be impossible for us to pass over. We allude to the establishment, or rather re-establishment, of manufactures in this country. Men's minds are by no means agreed upon the expediency of diverting any portion of whatever capital we may possess, from the cultivation of our "green acres", to channels of employment in which England, it is said, on one hand, has already obtained so complete an ascendancy as to render rivalry with her upon our part a mere vision. By way of answering this allegation, it is suggested on the other, that Ireland might and ought to resolve not to purchase any manufactured article which is not made at home ; and

there can be no doubt that if a determination to this effect were generally agreed to, and could be acted upon, manufactories of every kind would speedily be seen springing up throughout the country.

For our part, we must confess that we have no great faith in the resolutions of public meetings upon a subject of this nature. Patriotism is a very excellent virtue, but to assume that any considerable class of men will voluntarily purchase pieces of woollen or calico cloth in one shop at a comparatively high price, when they can obtain articles of an equally good description next door upon cheaper terms, is perfectly chimerical. It is indeed affirmed that the woollens of Ireland are, generally speaking, of a more substantial description than those imported from Manchester, and sold somewhat lower than our native produce. This we believe to be the fact. *Valeat quantum.* On the other hand, the Irish article is of a coarser texture than the English, and the question then will resolve itself into a matter of taste amongst all those who aspire to be clothed in a material above the rank of frieze.

In the present state of things, when steam-power places Manchester almost as near to the interior of Ireland as Dublin, and to the southern and south-western extremities nearer than Belfast, it is idle to talk of excluding English manufactures from Ireland. Any rules attempted to be laid down for any such purpose, would be so easily evaded, and there would be so many temptations to evasion upon the part of the wholesale as well as the retail shopkeepers, that it would be to expose capital to great losses, and eventual ruin, to enter at *this moment* upon new manufacturing experiments in Ireland—at least to any considerable extent.

But, although such may be our impressions for the present, we, nevertheless, have experienced great satisfaction in seeing the attention of the country attracted to this subject, because we are of opinion that, although the sanguine views of many persons with respect to it may not be reducible to practice to-day or to-morrow, the period is not remote to which we may look for Ireland becoming a considerable manufacturing country.

There are persons who suppose that manufactures would be altogether a novelty in Ireland. No such thing. Mr. Inglis, in his well-known tour, about seven years ago, speaks of a very prosperous cotton factory, situated at Mayfield, near Waterford :

“ I found here,” he says, “ no fewer than 900 persons employed, of

whom a large number were, of course, young persons; the wages of the boys and girls were from 2s. 6d. to 7s. per week; the up-grown persons worked at task-work, and might easily earn 1*l*. The most marked improvement has taken place in the neighbourhood since the establishment of this manufactory; not in the lodging only, but in the food also a great change has taken place; and although high wages, which leave a surplus, are some incentive to intoxication, it is a fact that not an hour's labour is ever lost in the factory by reason of dissipated habits on the part of those employed in it.

"The calico manufactured here finds an advantageous market not only in Ireland, but in England also, and is able to compete with the fabrics in Manchester. It has been commonly said that Irish manufacturers cannot compete with those of Britain; but this establishment at Mayfield *does* compete successfully; and with sufficiency of capital, and an equally favourable situation, one would imagine that any other might be equally prosperous. The expense of erection is less than in England; labour is cheaper; and where there is navigation the difference in the expense of conveyance to market is but a small item."

The number of persons employed in the manufacture of linen, at Westport, when the same writer visited that place, amounted, according to the information which he received, to 30,000 persons. We have reason to believe, that since that period, the number here stated has rather increased than otherwise. The linen, diaper, muslin and calico factories in and near Belfast, are also, as everybody knows, numerous and successful. It is the peculiar feature of the linen manufacture, that a great portion of the process can be carried on by the persons engaged in it, jointly with agricultural occupations. The tabinets manufactured in and near Dublin, are celebrated for their texture and beauty, and the woollen cloths also made in the vicinity of our metropolis, have obtained a high reputation for their durable qualities.

It is a fact, attested by history, that at one period, at all events, this was a manufacturing country. The Act which recognizes the title of king James, acknowledges that "many blessings and benefits had, within these few years past, been poured upon this realm;" and, at the end of the Parliament in 1615, the Commons returned thanks for the extraordinary pains taken for the good of this republic; whereby, they say, "we, all of us, sit under our own vines, and the whole realm reap the happy fruits of peace!" Davis, who had served under that sovereign in eminent stations, and had personally visited a considerable portion of the country, bears ample testimony to the prosperity of that period, and observes that this was effected "by the encouragement given to the maritime

towns and cities, as well to increase the trade of merchandize, as to cherish mechanical arts." He adds, in his quaint but cordial manuer, on the consequence of this happy state of things, "that the strings of the Irish harp were all in tune."

In the succeeding reign, for fourteen or fifteen years at least, the commercial prosperity of Ireland went on increasing. Leland assures us,* that in 1639, the commodities exported were twice as much in value as the foreign merchandize imported: and, that during the period above-mentioned, our shipping had been augmented a hundred-fold. A decisive test of the progress of our mercantile trade at that time, is, that the customs which had been farmed at the beginning of that reign at the miserable sum of £500 yearly, were relet, during the progress of it, at no less a sum than £54,000. The speaker, in his speech of 1639, declares, after enumerating the many blessings which the country then enjoyed, that "our ingates and out-gates do stand open for trade and commerce."† A little of this high-flown language may, perhaps, be ascribed to the taste for adulation which then prevailed; but, at a subsequent period, when the legislative style tended rather in a contrary direction, the Commons fully admitted, that when Earl Strafford obtained the government, Ireland "was in a flourishing, wealthy, and happy state."‡

This course of things was unfortunately interrupted by the civil war of 1641; and soon after that period, England became so jealous of the reviving manufactures of this country, that a career, not merely of discouragement, but of actual hostility towards them, was commenced by the English government and legislature, and pursued with the most persevering tenacity. During the latter part of the troubled reign of William III, the woollen manufacture was in fact our staple trade, and wool our principal material, the linen trade not having been by that time thoroughly established. In the preamble to the 10th and 11th of William III, c. 10, it is recited, that great quantities of the woollen manufactures were then made, and daily increasing in Ireland, and were exported from thence to foreign markets. In an address from the English house of Lords to the king, (9th June, 1698), it is stated, as matter of very grave complaint, that "the growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland, both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries for life, and goodness of materials for making all manner of

* Hist. of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 41.

† Ir. Com. Journ. vol. i. pp. 228-9.

‡ Ir. Com. Journ. vol. i. 280-311.

cloth, doth invite your subjects of England, with their families and servants, to leave their habitations to settle there, to the increase of the woollen manufacture in Ireland, which makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive, that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here." Their lordships then beseech his Majesty, to tell his Irish subjects, that as to the linen manufacture, they should be quite at liberty to improve and extend it as much as they liked, but that "the growth and increase of the *woollen* manufacture hath long been, and will ever be, looked upon with jealousy, by all your subjects of this kingdom; and if not timely remedied, may occasion very strict laws, totally to prohibit and suppress the same." The address of the English House of Commons, (30th June, 1698), is a complete echo of that of the Lords. His Majesty's answer, though laconic, was abundantly expressive of his resolution upon the subject:—"I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen trade in Ireland, and encourage the linen manufacture there; and to promote the trade of England." The result of these proceedings soon shewed itself in the transmission of a Bill from England, which, to the indelible disgrace of the Irish legislature, was passed here by a large majority, imposing an additional duty of 4*s.* for every 20*s.* in value of broad-cloth exported out of Ireland, and 2*s.* on every 20*s.* in value of new drapery, friezes only excepted. In the manufacture of the latter, Ireland had long been, and still continues to be, distinguished. She had been in possession of it before the reign of Edward III. But the infamous subserviency of the Irish parliament did not, it seems, go far enough. The English parliament actually prohibited, from the 20th of June 1699, the exportation from Ireland of all goods made, or even mixed with wool, except to England and Wales, and with the license of the commissioners of the revenue; duties, in fact, having been already laid on the importation into England, equal to a prohibition. The Act, consequently, operated as a total prohibition of the exportation. Even before these disgraceful statutes were enacted, we were not allowed to export our woollen manufactures to the English colonies, or to import dye stuffs direct from those colonies. Upon this system of policy, we need offer no commentary. The most scandalous part of the whole proceeding is this, that no proof was ever even offered in either Parliament, of the truth of the allegations upon which these laws were framed, namely, that our woollen trade had ever, in any market at home or abroad,

supplanted or injured the woollen trade of England. The whole of these measures arose from mere sordid jealousies, entertained on the part of the English wholesale and retail shopkeepers! A ludicrous instance of the prevalence of a kindred spirit amongst a different class in England, appears on the face of two petitions preferred to the English house of Commons, in 1698, from Folkstone and Aldborough, setting forth, as a great grievance, that "by the Irish catching herrings at *Waterford* and *Wexford*, and sending them to the streights, they thereby forestalled and ruined petitioners' markets." So that, if the petitioners were to have their way, we should not have been permitted even to catch our own herrings.

It is not necessary for us to press this topic further. We have said enough to shew that Ireland was, at one period of her history, a very considerable general manufacturing country—so much so as to excite extreme jealousy on the part of England; and that her progress in the accumulation of capital from that productive source, was intercepted only by positive law; and the only reason which can now be shewn for the absence of such general manufactures from this country, is the want of the necessary capital. Had we been allowed to pursue the career we had got into in the time of Davis, we should have been at this day, in all probability, upon an equal footing with England, with reference to all the principal manufactures for which she is now distinguished. But we have been stopped in that career—stopped by legislative hostility of the most violent and wanton character.

We have, however, a manly Irish phrase, which Englished says, "never mind." The capital we want at this moment to enable us to compete with Britain, at least in the woollen and cotton trade, is in process of rapid growth. We have before us the savings-banks returns for one small town in the interior of the south of Ireland, for the years 1836, 7, 8, and 9, which shew, that in the year ending 20th November, 1835, the fund accumulated amounted to 11,504*l.* This fund was increased in 1836, to 12,800*l.*; in 1837, to 14,977*l.*; and in 1838, to 18,476*l.*; shewing a very decided increase of savings amongst, as the details shew, a great majority of small holders, whose deposits range between 20*l.* and 100*l.* This statement for one town, whose population does not exceed 10,000, may be taken as an index of what is going on pretty generally through the south of Ireland. In the north, we understand,

the gradual saving of capital exhibits still more satisfactory tokens of prosperity.

We are indebted to Mr. Mahony for the perusal of a report which he drew up in May 1839, at the request of the late Mr. Drummond, and which speaks a volume—a highly satisfactory one—upon this subject. The evidence furnished to several committees of both houses of Parliament by this gentleman upon the affairs of Ireland, from the year 1824 down to 1837, shews that he is thoroughly conversant with all the great movements of capital through that country. In his brief, but pithy statement, he says, that before 1824 no great undertaking was attempted in Ireland, particularly by English capitalists. Since that period, however, have been established here the “United General Gas Company,” with a capital of 800,000*l.*, by which Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and some other places, are lighted; similar companies for lighting Waterford, Clonmel, and Drogheda, whose united capitals are about 100,000*l.*; the Limerick Water Works Company, 50,000*l.*; the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, whose original capital (in 1824) amounted only to 24,000*l.* It was not long after raised to 650,000*l.*, all paid up, and within the last three years were added to it 300,000*l.* to build additional vessels for the Channel trade, and 500,000*l.* for the Transatlantic, besides 300,000*l.* for the trade between Dublin and London only.

“This Company,” Mr. Mahony states, “is essentially Irish; and out of fifteen hundred proprietors, I do not believe that we have *fifty out of trade or residing out of Ireland*. The Directors are only five, and the head of the establishment is Mr. Charles Wye Williams, whose talents and energy have raised this Company from 24,000*l.* of capital to the enormous sum of 1,750,000*l.*, dedicated to supplying steam-vessels and canal boats only for Irish purposes; and by his successful management, a large reserved fund has been established, while a regular dividend of 6 per cent. is paid to the shareholders.”

Next in order comes the Provincial Bank of Ireland, which, we need hardly observe, has been attended with an extraordinary degree of success. It commenced in June 1824; the head office is in London, and it has now about forty branches spread throughout this country. The capital is 2,000,000*l.*, of which 500,000*l.* was paid up in 1825. The company, after paying all the expenses of outfit, have given their proprietors a bonus of 40,000*l.* in their own stock, equal to 80,000*l.* in money, and they now pay 8*l.* per cent. dividend on 540,000*l.* capital. They lately distributed another bonus to the amount

of 21,600*l.*, and their then remaining undivided profits amounted to 106,000*l.*

Mr. Mahony states the capital of the Dublin and Kingstown Railway Company to be 200,000*l.*, all, we believe, now paid up. The proprietors, with two or three exceptions, are Irish, and in number do not exceed 138. The capital of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway Company amounts to 600,000*l.*; that of the Ulster Canal Company to 200,000*l.* With respect to the latter it is but justice to add, that the canal—a most important work—was opened from Lough Neagh to Monaghan in 1839, and we believe that it has been since extended as far as Clones. Mr. Mahony mentions other companies, and details some loan transactions, in which, as solicitor, he has been engaged, which shew that, under his management alone, between 1824 and 1839, operations have taken place to an amount exceeding “four millions and a half paid capital, with three millions and a half subscribed, and ready for employment when called for.”

Exclusive of these sums, there are amounts of capital paid up, or ready to be paid up, by other companies, such as the National Bank of Ireland, the Northern Banking Company, mining and steam-boat companies, &c., all established since 1824, giving a result of nearly 9,000,000*l.*; which, added to the operations already mentioned, exhibit a total of about 18,000,000*l.* The dividends paid by these various companies shew that, in general, their undertakings have been remarkably successful.

We learn from the same source another highly important fact, viz. that whereas funded debt upon which interest was paid in Ireland in 1817, amounted only to about 18,000,000*l.*, in 1839 it amounted to 33,774,912*l.* Ireland therefore imported from the English Stock Exchange a sum exceeding 15,000,000*l.*, and paid for it by capital created here within that period. Mr. Mahony adds, “that between 1817 and 1838, the *gains* accumulated in Ireland, through the instrumentality of the savings-banks, amounted to 2,048,338*l.* It would be no exaggeration, we think, to set down these acquisitions now at an amount exceeding 3,000,000*l.*, taking into the calculation the hundreds of thousands that must have been already saved through the effect of the temperance pledge alone.

Mr. Mahony specifies a variety of facts, which clearly establish the constantly increasing value of landed estates in this country. He further adds:—

“In the counties of Down and Armagh, the market-rate last year

and now, is not less than thirty years on the improved rental ; sometimes thirty-five years' purchase is given. About the town of Drogheda, and in the county of Wicklow, the rate is thirty years. Building ground, let a few years ago at farm-rent, near Drogheda, at only 1*l.* an acre, has lately been let by public auction in that town at 36*l.* per acre per annum ; and a piece of land adjoining that town (twenty acres), let five years ago for 25*l.* a-year, is now letting for 5*s.* per foot annually, on the frontage, and running backwards 300 feet. In Drogheda alone, within ten years, capital to the amount of 500,000*l.* has been expended in shipping and factories, the whole of it belonging to Drogheda merchants and tradesmen. But the most singular fact I can state is, that six years ago a nobleman's agents sold an estate in the county of Wexford for 179,000*l.* : under my advice the contract was rescinded, and after reserving 500*l.* a-year of that rental, I have received for the same estate within the last year no less than 255,000*l.*, and the whole of that money (except about 10,000*l.*) was paid out of profits on trade conducted in the city of Dublin—the chief purchasers being—Mr. Guinness, the brewer, a Protestant ; Messrs. Thunder, ditto, Catholics ; Mr. Power, distiller, ditto ; Mr. Bryan, Ironmonger, Protestant ; Messrs. Boyce, grocers, ditto ; Mr. Whitcraft, pawnbroker, ditto."

We have descended to these details in order to establish, beyond all doubt, the fact, that Ireland is collecting capital, which must, sooner or later, seek profitable investment in manufactures. The quantity of water power which we possess, the cheapness of labour as compared with its price in England, and the facilities that will probably in a few years exist, for the exportation of the produce of the loom to all parts of the world, from the mill itself, must moreover attract to this country English capital, in addition to our own, for the purpose of being employed in the same manner. We have hands enough for the cultivation of all the mechanical arts, without injury to our agriculture.

With respect to our political wants, the first, in point of importance, at the present moment, is an extension of the franchise. It is manifest, from the voluminous statements which have been lately placed before the public, that the numbers who have been polled at keenly contested elections, fall far short of the just proportion which, according to the spirit of the constitution, Ireland ought to possess. Lord Morpeth's new bill, which has been hailed with just approbation throughout Ireland, would materially amend the existing state of things in this respect. But we must complain, that amongst the people generally in this country, there prevails great apathy in securing and exercising their political rights.

It is with very great difficulty they are induced to attend the registration courts. Even under the system now in force, the ranks of the constituency might be much augmented, if the persons entitled to the franchise would only take the trouble to have their names enrolled. No appeals can make them generally understand, that it is upon their votes the fate of their country mainly depends; many even of those who do comprehend all the importance of the franchise to the preservation of their liberties, look upon it with the most lamentable negligence.

We think also that Ireland is not sufficiently represented in parliament, whether we regard the amount of our national property or population. The doctrine of the constitution, if it were allowed to prevail, would entitle us to have at least one hundred members in addition to our present proportion. This is an object which we must obtain; and obtain it we shall in a few years, if we only seek it firmly, according to the mode which the constitution points out.

We have infinite reason to be grateful to Providence for all the blessings we have for some years now enjoyed, through the agency of a just and really paternal system of government. In Lord Normanby and Mr. Drummond we found two men, who felt no hesitation in breaking down every obstacle, in whatever quarter they encountered it, which stood in the way of any of the rights appertaining constitutionally to the Irish people. In their straightforward and manly course they met with violent opposition: but they beat it down, and have left the channels of administration so clear for all their successors, that those successors, to whatever party they may belong, can hardly deviate into error, even if they should have the disposition so to do. It was particularly fortunate that Lord Ebrington should have been selected to follow Lord Normanby. Circumstances not to be controlled compelled the latter to defy the hostility of the faction which had so long appropriated to itself the rule of this country. Wounds were thus, of necessity, inflicted upon the feelings of individuals, many of whom were certainly persons of great respectability and influence, and whose assistance in their respective districts it would have been desirable for the government to have possessed. The personal character of Lord Ebrington is peculiarly fitted to heal those wounds, and to conciliate those former opponents of a liberal system of administration. We do not detract from the reputation that belongs to the successful warrior who has triumphed by the force of arms, when we estimate also with due admi-

ration the acts of the statesman who seeks by a mild and considerate sway to reconcile the conquered to the new order of things, to confirm the attachment to the state of the great party through whose aid the conquest was made, and to blot from the history of both those painful recollections which had so long divided them from each other. The latter is the mission of the nobleman who now represents the crown amongst us, and his acts hitherto have proved how capable he is of fulfilling the functions assigned to his care. As to Lord Morpeth, he has shown that he is equally fitted for peace or war: he can command, when the occasion requires it, the *fortiter in re*, as well as the *suaviter in modo*. In Mr. Norman Macdonald he has an able auxiliary, well suited also to the circumstances in which he is placed.

Ireland certainly never, at any period of her annals, exhibited such a universal picture of tranquillity as she does at this moment. It is a peace too beneath which there is no volcano, so far as her political prospects are concerned. Agrarian wrongs—outrages by individual proprietors against the poorer occupants of the soil, have, as we already intimated, produced a great mass of resentment against their oppressors. Nor is it to be doubted that Lord Stanley's open war against our freedom, and the harangues of his associates, have rekindled many of the old prejudices which alienated the Irish from the English people. But making due abatement for the operation of these two evil influences, still we assert that more perfect tranquillity never prevailed in Ireland than that which we witness at this moment.

Undoubtedly, much of this happy change from the riotous habits of days not long gone by, is to be attributed, under Providence, to the marvellous abolition, as we may truly call it, of the vice of intoxication amongst our people. The spectacle of a drunken man, in places where even very lately no assemblage was held without giving rise to fierce contests and murders, is now a rarity seldom to be discovered. Crowded fairs and markets occur, day after day, and week after week, without producing even a single case of common assault. The gaiety of the olden times is fast returning to our weddings and our christenings. Our hurling matches go off without a blow struck in anger. Our wakes too—often the scenes of terrible crimes, are conducted with their ancient *pleasantry*! Let not the English reader be shocked at the word. The smile is often very near the tear on the fair faces of our country-women, and more matches originate in the fields and gardens

near which a wake is held, than in the cottage where the merry dance is kept up until sunrise. In short, to borrow again the illustration we have already quoted, the strings of the Irish harp so long broken—

“The harp that once through Tara's Halls
The soul of music shed—”

are again restored, and if not yet quite “in tune,” give out under a master-hand the sounds that promise perfect harmony.

The task of our local government is one of comparative ease to what it used to be. The military and the police are upon the best terms with the people. Indeed, a red-coat is seldom to be seen at all, and the police appear, in many places which we have visited, almost superfluous. They would be entirely so, if the suggestions which we have presumed to offer, as to the organization of the population, were to be carried into effect.

Other highly interesting circumstances besides those we have already mentioned, have recently occurred, which open to us the most cheering prospects of the future destinies of our country. Mr. O'Connell's appearance for the first time in Ulster, occasioned a display of numbers attached to our national liberties, upon which we had not heretofore calculated. We beg it to be most clearly understood, that we do not, in using the word “liberties,” wish to commit ourselves, as to any peculiar questions or topics touched upon at those meetings. We rather allude to the general tone of freedom which prevailed amongst them, and which was also rendered so strikingly manifest in the resolutions of the Ulster association. We do not desire to enter here into any of the points controverted between Mr. Sharman Crawford and Mr. O'Connell. We may say, however, without the least hesitation, that we have been delighted by the fine, uncompromising, ardent tone of patriotism which has thus been sounded in that province, so long the source of those wicked principles of tyranny by which our native liberties were too successfully opposed. The four provinces are now, we may affirm, of one mind, with respect to the great interests of Ireland. Let parliamentary parties therefore contend as they may, we feel satisfied, that whoever holds the reins of government, there is but one course for him to pursue in this country. No cabinet can long exist, which could not be consistently represented by such a man as Lord Ebrington. The ascendancy, for any time, of the Orange faction, or of any administration at the

Castle which is not sincerely friendly to Ireland, has become henceforth a moral impossibility.

The experiment of the Poor Law system in Ireland, has not yet made sufficient progress to enable us to offer any observations on that important subject.

ART. VII.—*Scotland and the Scotch.* By Miss Catherine Sinclair. 1840.

HAVING read "England and the English," as also "Austria and the Austrians," we were pleased on seeing a work put forth under the attractive title of "*Scotland and the Scotch*," and hastened to scan the merits of the chivalrous spirit who thus seemed to court a rivalry with Bulwer and Trollope. We opened the volume, confidently anticipating that it would afford us much interesting matter touching the people and "the land of the mountain and the flood;" our expectations had been indeed raised in no ordinary degree by the title, and were much increased on our reading the encomiums upon other literary labours of the fair authoress, extracted from various public prints, and appended to the present production. We commenced the perusal of it with no small enthusiasm, and with the most kindly feelings towards her, which, she may rest assured, were not diminished by her earnest profession in the conclusion of her preface, of her wishes that the pen might fall from her hand before she wrote "a page not devoted to strict propriety, or which can injure either the dead or the living." But scarcely had we got through a dozen pages ere our hopes were doomed to disappointment, and we were startled to discover how soon our fair authoress had forgotten the rule which she had laid down for herself. As we advanced, it became evident, that in some instances she seems to have neglected Bulwer's excellent observations:—"That one of the sublimest things in the world is plain truth;" and that when the world has once got hold of (we will not use his word, "a lie," but) a misrepresentation, it is astonishing how hard it is to get it out of the world again.

Her lack of knowledge of Scottish localities, and of accuracy in the details relating to them, surprised us. She exhibits frequently a most extraordinary deficiency of common information on common subjects. Indeed, many of the

blunders committed by her are inexcusable, particularly when we consider that she is a Scotswoman writing of "Scotland and the Scotch." It is superfluous to add that the stranger who wishes to form an acquaintance with the Lowland and the Highland Scotch in their different characteristics, habits, manners, genius, and feelings, will be grievously disappointed if he seek an introduction through the medium of this volume. But this is not all; the worst feature is yet to come. No tone of liberality pervades the work, such as would recommend it to the heart of the patriot and the philanthropist; but, on the contrary, narrow-minded prejudices and bitter anti-Catholic feelings are everywhere displayed. A horror of Popery, and a dread of its rapid increase, appear to have haunted the imagination of the writer, and of course have produced their almost invariable results.

In page 13, we find an insinuation injurious to the "dead," or, to say the least of it, a rather uncharitable allegation against the gallant Charles Edward. In quoting some lines said by her to have been written by that prince when in concealment in the island of Bute, she remarks: "How much these lines might have gained in interest, if the royal fugitive had only added any allusion to his being a Christian."—Why doubt it? Is it necessary that every person who scribbles a few lines should add a profession of his Christianity? but then he was a Catholic, and that seems to her quite a sufficient reason for such an unwarrantable attack upon his memory. What are the facts? Prince Charles was never in the Isle of Bute!! The plain unvarnished truth of the matter is merely this:—a Dowager-Marchioness of Bute was much afflicted with asthma, and after having tried Italy, Devonshire and Madeira, in vain, for the recovery of her health, considered her case hopeless, and went to reside at the family place, Mount Stewart in Bute, where, to her agreeable surprise, she was soon completely restored. When the Castle (Mount Stewart) was repaired some thirty or forty years ago, the lines above alluded to were placed on the walls, in commemoration of her recovery, but without any allusion to her being a "Christian," or any expressions of thanks to Providence for such a mercy.

Neither doth our authoress overflow with the milk of human kindness towards the "living," when, with the political economy of a housemaid, she would deny the lower orders the use of tea, snuff, and tobacco—"these three ruinous luxuries of the poor," as she is pleased to term them.

Is it just to praise the dead at the expense of the living, by disparaging their motives, and misrepresenting their conduct? She gravely announces that the late Chisholm of Chisholm, (who unquestionably was much respected for his estimable private character) in his pious zeal, built a church!! but to what purpose was it applied? She herself very good-naturedly and very truly informs us, viz. that the Editor of the *Inverness Herald* (a violent political partizan) there preached politics or political sermons; and then she boldly asserts, that *Lord Lovat built an opposition Catholic chapel* on the opposite side of the river. But the very reverse happens to be the fact. The chapel built by Lord Lovat was erected eight or ten years at least previous to the one built by the Chisholm, and for what purpose? To accommodate a most respectable Catholic congregation of seven or eight hundred souls, many of whom, owing to the anti-Catholic feeling of a certain deceased proprietor, had been turned out of lands held for generations by their forefathers, and were on the eve of abandoning their loved native glens and mountains for the wilds of America, when Lord Lovat, with true patriotic feeling, took many of them under his protection, and gave them lands on his extensive property. She says that the priests rejoice at "the Chisholm's" decease. On what authority does she make this assertion?—what had they to gain or lose by the Chisholm, whether alive or dead?—*did* the *opposition* church which he built draw off the people from attending the Catholic chapel? No, no; on the contrary, many returned to the ancient faith, and others have sent their children to the excellent Catholic school there established.

As the Catholic Church is the object of her detestation, so, of course, she travels out of her way to discharge the overflowings of her pious spleen against its various institutions. In visiting the magnificent Highland lake, Loch-Awe, surrounded with stupendous scenery, bearing on its dark bosom groups of verdant isles, she is wafted to the fair Inishiel (or, as the name denotes, the Beautiful Isle); there, on viewing the venerable remains of an ancient nunnery, she breaks out, with all the ardour and ignorance of a boarding-school lassie, into the usual common-place execrations against monastic establishments, and takes a fling at the lazy monks. Had she made a historical enquiry, she would have found that the ruins she contemplated were those of an institution not for lazy monks, but for a sisterhood of devout women of the Cistercian order. Although eloquent in her abuse of religious

establishments, she is silent regarding the savage barbarity which drove these sainted recluses from their lonely and peaceful domicile.

Even Catholic practices of heavenly charity, and the most benevolent institutions, cannot escape the virulent remarks and bitter animosity of our fair presbyterian. She is pleased to assert that "the effect of superstition is more obvious on the purses of its votaries (*viz.* the Catholics), than those of a purer and holier faith. The presumptuous hope of purchasing heaven by their own merits, has caused the Catholic Church and their charitable institutions to be richly endowed; and individuals of that persuasion, whatever be their motives, devote themselves more avowedly and exclusively (to charitable purposes), than the generality of Protestants." This last sentence is certainly most true; and a very pretty compliment; but it does not counteract the venom of the uncharitable and impious insinuation contained in the first part of the paragraph.

In attributing superstition to the Catholics, she seems to forget, as has been well observed, that superstition is a word of great latitude. Every person is apt to call that superstition in another, which he himself disapproves of or is not disposed to follow. Festus deemed the Jewish law superstition, though given by God himself; and put the doctrine of our Lord Jesus upon the same footing, because *he was ignorant of it*. For the same reason, many term superstition not only the practices of piety used in the Catholic Church—but also the austerities approved of and recommended in the Gospel, when found in monasteries. Is it charitable of her to attribute to the Catholics that they believe or entertain such monstrous doctrines, as "that they can purchase heaven by their own merits"? Does she not recollect that "charity covereth a multitude of sins"? Is it not the paramount duty of every Christian to serve and honour our blessed Redeemer, by complying with the declaration,—"What you do to the poor is done to me—that a cup of cold water given in my name shall not go without its reward." Hence she need be at no loss to discover the motives which induce Catholics to establish so many institutions consecrated to the succour of the poor and the service of the sick. Are the sisters of charity, so much esteemed over all Europe and America, established in vain, or for superstitious purposes? She would find, that those now settled in the capital of Caledonia, will be found ready and willing to attend the sick-bed of the poor in a garret, or

those of the sick in a palace, if called upon, without distinction of sect or creed. While on this topic, may we be permitted to ask our fair presbyterian whether she can point out any more pure, exalted, and unquestionable evidence of active faith in the followers of the Kirk, than the sacrifice made by a delicate sex, of youth, beauty, high birth, to solace in the hospital that collection of human miseries, the sight of which is so humiliating to our pride, and so disgusting to even the strong nerves of man? Would she not also do well to recollect, that if the tide of zeal in earlier times ran upon building religious houses, it now runs upon supporting bible societies—increasing “Church accommodation”—and sending out missionaries and their families to reclaim the heathen and the papist?

A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate our fair authoress's great inaccuracy in the description of Scottish localities, and in her genealogical lore and information. Let us take one district, the Aird.

In proceeding up this vale from Inverness towards Strathglass, she mentions the “Falls of the Beauley”!! Now we much doubt if it would not puzzle a tourist in search of the picturesque, to find out any Falls specified by that name. Proceeding further, she describes Erchless Castle as being in Strathglass, and then carries us on to the entrance of a wild glen, which she declares ends in nothing! The Falls of Kilmorack she denominates the Falls of Beauley, and removes the former to a locality where they are not to be found.

She notices the island of Eilan Aegas, not for the charms of its scenery, but apparently to have *a hit* at Lord Lovat, the proprietor, who, being a Catholic, comes under her censorship; hence she must needs give vent to a sneer at his expense. In alluding to two gentlemen who reside upon the romantic isle—and who, she informs her readers, are said to be descendants of the royal house of Stewart—she seems to take upon herself to make a most gratuitous assertion: “that the family of Lovat, unable to bestow upon them the whole island of Great Britain, according to their inclinations, had succeeded in presenting them with a little one.” If this is her wit, we wish her joy of such a smart piece of impertinence. If not, is it not a libel on their loyalty? It appears to us the most unwarrantable piece of presumption for any individual to assume, and still worse to publish as facts what they may choose to imagine to be another person's inclinations, and to father opinions upon them, without having any shadow of foundation for such conclusion.

In retracing the steps of our authoress towards Inverness, we find that she cannot pass Lord Lovat's gate without having another sneer at his Catholic lordship. "We were at a loss to guess," says she, "why his (Lord Lovat's) cottage-looking house was ever dignified with the name of Beaufort Castle, not being more like our notion of a castle than a pistol is to a cannon." What a bright idea!—what ignorance of the local history of her country is here displayed! Had she referred to the interesting historical memoirs of the famed 1746, she would have found that Beaufort Castle was erected on the site of a former fortress, after the powerful family of the Frasers came to the North, about the year 1296; and that it was plundered, burned, and blown-up by the royal forces, under the orders of the Duke of Cumberland, after the battle of Culloden, in 1746. So totally destroyed was it, that when the government took possession of the estates, and appointed a manager, or factor, they were obliged to erect a house for his accommodation, which afterwards being found too small, other additions continued from time to time to be made. After this, we need be at no loss to guess, or rather to account, for its cottage-like appearance, as she terms it; and we may inform her, if it would afford her any satisfaction, that on inquiry we find that the evil she complains of is about to be remedied; that designs of a splendid baronial residence, worthy of an ancient noble family, and the superb site and domain, are already in preparation. Her genealogical incorrectness with regard to his lordship's lineage, is less excusable. Had she consulted any work on the peerage, she would not have stated that the present Lord Lovat is descended from Simon, who was beheaded; she would have found that he is a main collateral branch (the house of Strichen), lineally descended from Alexander, sixth Lord Lovat, and which branch was never affected by any attainder. But we are at a loss to guess what motive could have induced her to drag any individual, much less so unobtrusive a nobleman as Lord Lovat, before the public, and, with uncalled-for liberty, publish to the world her own suppositions as to his motives and opinions, whether in regard to building a chapel, choice of friends, or any other object. Could it be her anti-Catholic prejudices, or that his lordship's political principles do not accord with her own? Be that as it may, we must assert, that the inaccuracies, errors, and omissions, such as we have detected in one particular district, must shake our faith with regard to the correctness of her accounts of other parts of Scotland in general.

After a careful perusal of her book, and having given mature deliberation to the style, the various subjects, and opinions on the matters it contains, we cannot but express the disappointment which the vivid anticipations in which we had allowed ourselves to indulge have experienced. We had been led to hope that the daughter of a statesman of such literary fame as the late Sir John Sinclair—whose admirable works on agriculture and the statistics of Scotland are so universally esteemed at home and abroad—would have at least produced a work regarding her own country not unworthy the daughter of such a sire. The public have long since condemned the work for its offences, both of omission and commission, and we regret that we see no ground for doubting the correctness of their judgment. We cannot conclude without assuring the authoress, that should she ever afford us further opportunities for commenting on other literary productions, we trust they may be of such a nature as to merit our approbation, and prompt us to praise rather than to “blame,” which latter is at all times a most ungracious task, and most truly painful when a lady is in question.

ART. VIII.—1. *Miscellaneous Verses*. By Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, Bart., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. 12mo. London: 1840.

2. *Poetry for the People, and other Poems*. 8vo. London: 1840.

3. *Melaia, and other Poems*. By Eliza Cook. 8vo. London: 1840.

DOES the reign of poetry amongst the sons of men partake in any fashion of the character of those cycles, in which, as some sages believe, the harsh and the genial years, the abundant and the scanty autumns, follow each other through the various climates of our globe? Is there a time for sowing and a time for reaping, a time when the land must be fallow, and a time when it is sure to be exuberant, in the region of the Muses? We have seen Pindus night-capped in clouds when the Ægean was a perfect field of azure, and the islands lay upon her bosom as lightly as the lotus upon its leaves; their vineyards, and those hills dedicated to Ceres, basking meanwhile in all the rays of the noontide sun. The

native races of the Indus and the Ganges, believe that their favourite tutelary god abandons earth for a while, and returns to it periodically; departing when the evil one is allowed to domineer, coming again when the virtues resume their sway. Is it thus with poetic inspiration? Does she sleep, when we become too busy with the plough or the loom? Has she any particular horror of us, when crime stalks with giant strides through the land? Does she not relish the smoke of our steamers? Does the rattle of the railroad frighten her away? and does she, on some distant mountain side, or by some solitary fountain, weep over our once flowery meadows, cut up and quartered by those inexorable tyrants, Brunell, Stephenson, and Co.?

"Ye gods annihilate both time and space, and make two lovers happy!" was the fervent aspiration of the true victims of passion in the days of yore. The double prayer may now be easily gratified, provided the lover has a sovereign or two in his purse, and feels no fear of being blown up on the way. Whether his mistress be in the north, the east, the south, or the west, he has only to choose the proper train, and off he goes. He has scarcely leisure to count the minutes, when he is already at her feet. But the mode in which this is done—the fire borrowed from Newcastle, not from Olympus, by which he is whirled along—is so very vulgar, the face of the fireman is so very unlike that of Venus, and his poker has so very little in it of the arrow of Cupid, that it seems to us as if the days of poetry were to be no more. The steam-engine accomplishes our every wish with such a downright mechanical certainty, that romance is altogether left behind in the race. Whether the new atmospheric railway is to produce any alteration for the better in this respect, we are quite at a loss to conjecture.

Perhaps we are grown too fastidious. Our palates having been so long accustomed to the highly-seasoned viands prepared by *Childe Harold*, and to the "sweets" with which they were intermixed under the auspices of the Irish melodist, can perchance experience no delight in the simple fare of Wordsworth and his followers. There are, we know, many—too many by a great deal—who have taken the vow of poetical teetotalism; who abhor Lord Byron's gin, and the bard's legacy—the "balmy drops of the red grape;" who have forsworn even the mountain dew of the "Northern Wizard." Hence, most probably, the insipidity of the day in all things that relate to poetry. We have never yet known a water-

drinker to turn a verse with anything like Sapphic energy. If that lady has not been belied, the nectar of Tenedos was no stranger to her lips. Everybody knows Anacreon's partiality for a bumper; and Horace plainly tells us, that if he had not had a good dinner, and a *quantum sufficit* of the purple juice, never could he produce a stanza worth a *Euge! euge!*

We are certainly no Wordsworthians. Whenever by accident we look into some of his multitudinous pages, we are reminded of a tiny brook meandering in a shallow bed, in numerous unpicturesque circuits over a sandy plain—a little ripple here—a dull silence there—a murmur just sufficient for a nightingale to swear by further on; and then a flow in an uninterrupted level until the waters mingle with a dead lake—a regular *mare mortuum*. Yet this is the man whose works are now, it is said, sought for with insatiable avidity. They one and all fell, years ago, still-born from the press; but it seems, if we are to repose our faith in the eulogies of his admirers, that they were instinct with a peculiar species of vitality, which remained inert for a prescribed season, and that the said season having expired, the creatures are now escaping from their chrysalis shape, putting on their brilliant wings, and seeking the skies! Nay, laws are proposed for turning back the course of time in Wordsworth's favour—for annihilating the copy-right years that have already passed without profit to his fortune, or sufficient celebrity to his name; and by a sort of *ex post facto* renown, to compensate him for the obscurity in which his productions have, down to a very late hour, been entombed!

We truly wish the posterity of the bard all manner of success, so far as the good things of this world are concerned. May they receive and enjoy golden benefits to the fullest extent which the "dreams of avarice" can picture! But if it be true that the models of versification which Wordsworth has wrought in such numbers and with such marvellous facility, are becoming fashionable, and exercise influence amongst the poetic aspirants of our age, we fear that we have but little chance for at least half-a-century to come, of any poem that will merit immortality.

When, after having examined with some attention the effusions now before us, we turned to compare them for a moment with the full tide of passion in *Lara* or the *Giaour*—or with that picture of

" Azure gloom
Of an Italian night, where the deep skies assume
Hues which have words, and speak to ye of heaven,
Floats o'er this vast and wondrous monument,
And shadows forth its glory :"

We feel, indeed, that

" there is given
Unto the things of earth, which time hath bent,
A spirit's feeling ; and where he hath leant
His hand, but broke his scythe, there is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
For which the palace of the *present hour*
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower."

If it be a sign of genius to have caught the spirit and the peculiar transparency of style belonging to Wordsworth, the author of the first of the volumes on our list is undoubtedly entitled to considerable credit. His productions, though but lately entered into life, have already attracted some notice—and this is a great deal to say, looking at the mass of verse which during the last eight or ten years have passed unheeded by from their cradle to their grave, through all the highways and byeways of the press, from the splendidly illustrated and typographed annual of imperial octavo, down to the Moxon duodecimo.

The external decorations now so lavishly bestowed on new works—the beautifully figured and gilded cover—the pellucid and elegant type—the fine paper woof upon which the stanzas are spread out in all the luxury of self-enjoyment, really tempt one to buy and put on the drawing-room table many a volume of verse, which, however, when they come to the ordeal of perusal, do unhappily too often turn out to be most villainous impostures—literary members, as it were, of that well-dressed fraternity called, *par excellence*, the "swell mob," who assume a fashionable air in order that they might pursue their light-fingered trade with more success and fewer perils of detection.

To the initiated eye, your Wordsworthian is discernible at once by his invocations to the "Spirit of Beauty," "inner suns," embodied "memories," and "charities," "loves," "effulgeucies" of the soul, and all that tribe of impersonated impulses, which do indeed belong legitimately to true poetry—but to poetry in her impassioned moods, when, exalted above the earth, she mingles with the choirs of heaven, and borrows the language of the seraphim. The blunder of the school of Wordsworth is this, that when the soul is scarcely moved at

all—at least when it has no power to move any other soul—when it is dozing through some dull dream, or describing some little fat urchin, some new-born cock, kitten, or puppy, it affects the dialect of the skies, and humbles the fiery expression of noble thoughts to the meanest uses of the poultry-yard or the kennel.

This dressing-up of the commonest objects of life, these attempts to surround with celestial haloes ideas of a very ordinary class, and to introduce within the poetical climate paltry flowers and hedge-side weeds, are decided symptoms of the school. Sir Francis Doyle acknowledges his vassalism at once, in a sonnet, which he says he wrote in “the first page of Wordsworth’s poems” :—

“In this high poet’s song you will not find
Fierce passion painted with a demon’s fire ;
Vice by *wild incongruities refined*,
And every virtue *poisoned at its source*.”

May we ask how vice can be *refined* by “*wild incongruities* ?” By such additions we can understand that vice might be rendered uncouth, objectionable to any person of taste, and rather devoid of refinement than otherwise, seeing that “wildness” and “refinement” are diametrically opposite to each other. “Incongruities,” also, by what process can they be justly said to “refine” anything whatever ? They may tend to present vice in a ridiculous or contemptible shape ; but how could they civilize it ?

“And every virtue poisoned at its source.”

What is the meaning of this line ? It alludes manifestly to Lord Byron’s productions. Does Sir Francis intend to say that in those works we can find the *source* of every virtue, but that the said source is uniformly poisoned ? If this be his meaning, we must discredit the assertion in both respects ; for the “source” of every virtue is not to be met with in those writings, neither is every virtue poisoned in them. On the contrary, there are many passages in the noble poet’s works, which serve to elevate the mind, and to nurture in it the germs of pure affection, veneration for the Deity, patriotism, faith, and hope, and charity. It is indeed to be deplored, that the same mind which has left us the most glorious representation of St. Peter’s at Rome, that has ever yet fallen from the pen of man, should have frequently defiled itself with licentious thoughts and language. But perish those remains of Byron which disgrace his name, and let those live which do honour

to our age! Much has he written under evil impressions—too much of his fine genius did he indeed throw away upon “wild incongruities,” to borrow a phrase from the page before us; but he calls upon the sons of Greece to restore their ancient liberties—calls since so successfully answered. The many splendid thoughts with which his poetry abounds, and the true emanations of the *mens divini* which characterize so large a portion of his writings, if put in the balance against his mischievous and depraved compositions, would weigh them greatly down. By the side of such a sun, the “star” to which Sir Francis compares his idol in the sonnet alluded to, does indeed “pale its ineffectual light.”

We do not remember that Lord Byron has, in any of his pages, written in admiration of “prussic acid.” Sir Francis has some stanzas about this real poison, which require a remark or two. It is correct to assimilate the skeleton in the tomb to the “wrecks” of some noble ship shattered on the rocks. But when the writer goes on to say—

“These are the wrecks of life—not death,
Before whose loveliness benign
Each earthly sorrow vanisheth
From all, who cross her calming line,”

we must ask how, in any poetical point of view, death can be here made to resemble the globe with its equatorial line, for that is the comparison suggested, and yet in the very next stanza spoken of as a “scythed monster?” Perhaps we do not rightly interpret the stanza in question.

“Weak man with her identifies
A scythed monster—he miscalls;
Still this is life, who, as he flies,
Turns back, to mock the wretch who falls.”

In grammatical construction, we do not see what connexion the words “he miscalls” have with the sentence in which they are placed. They serve to afford a rhyme to “falls,” and nothing more. But what is it that “is life”? Is it the “scythed monster”? No; for that is death. And yet the verse tells us that the said “scythed monster” is life, who, as man flies, turns back, and mocks the wretch who falls. Now if it be true that earthly sorrow vanishes from all who cross the line of death, how can the navigator be at the same time a wretch, and yet free from all earthly sorrow? We ask these questions with a view to show the absurdities, the downright nonsense, into which the Wordsworthians insensibly glide, when they attempt

to beautify things that really have no beauty in them. . Death is indeed an awful change for the human creature—it is no monster, and certainly no mocker; nor can we, in any sense, call it a being endowed with loveliness. It is the termination of existence here, and whether sorrows vanish

“ From *all* who cross her calming line,”

is a problem which we have no means of solving.

Further on, we find this same Death represented by the “ Spirits of Death,” as known to them

—“ in another guise
Of deepening thought, and quiet love,
Serenely fair, divinely wise,
And changeless as the heavens above.

“ We know her as the faithful spouse
Of sleep, from toil and evil free,
And around her pale and placid brow,
Wreathed blossoms of the almond tree.”

The moral critics who anathematized Lord Byron, especially charged him with the crime of painting death as an “ eternal sleep.” Sir Francis Doyle does not indeed go so far as this. He says that death is only the wife of sleep, and that on her pale and placid brows, which a few lines before were so lovely and benign, she wears wreaths of the almond tree, from whose fruit, as we all know, is produced the prussic acid! It will be difficult, by and bye, should the Wordsworth school become really fashionable, to find in nature any object which does not deserve to be called “ benignly lovely,” “ quietly lovely,” “ serenely fair,” “ divinely wise,” beautifully “ pale and placid,” if prussic acid is to be considered as endowed with all the charms above enumerated.

But it seems that prussic acid hath even more potent spells than these :—

“ She loves the flower, she loves the fruit,
Because, within them hidden flows
An essence, rapid to transmute
Man to the dim caves of repose.”

To transmute is to change one substance into another. To transmute man to “ caves” is therefore to turn him into more than one cave; and to convert him into more than one cave of repose is perhaps the most strange of all the fates that our poor mortality has ever yet been threatened with!

" Loud-throated war is swift to kill,
 When cannon roar across the *lea* ;
 We honour him, but swifter still
 The noiseless work of the almond tree."

That is, the Spirits of Death, who are supposed to be singing this song, honour war much, but prussic acid much more, because it does its work still more rapidly. We doubt the alleged fact, especially when a man's head happens to be taken off his shoulders by a cannon ball.

"The lowing herd winds slowly o'er the *lea*."

This perhaps is the line that first suggests to ninety-nine out of a hundred the signification usually attached to the word "*lea*," that is, a pasture, with which one is not much accustomed to associate warlike ideas. Spenser does indeed use it in that way.

" As when two warlike brigantines at sea,
 With murd'rous weapons arm'd to cruell fight,
 Do meet together on the wat'ry *lea*."

But the authority of Spenser does not convince us that his is a justifiable application of the word ; more especially, we think it objectionable in the way he puts it—the "*watery lea*." Shakspeare generally uses it in an agricultural sense, and this sense best agrees with its Saxon origin. We shall not cut up this unfortunate composition further, though it affords "*verge enough*" for criticism.

It would be a cheerless task to bring together all the specimens of weak prose which in this volume assume the form of verse. The author writes about a lady to whom he gives the name of Genevra ; she disappeared, and he heard no more about her for fifty long years. It is thus he paints the agonizing emotions which he says he experienced when he first learned that she was gone :

" How terrible the *rise* and *fall*
 Of soul-killing *suspense* !
 I tore myself away from all
 Upon some weak pretence ;
 I hid myself in *darkness black*,
 Upon the hard cold ground,
 That I might hear, when I came back
 The lost one had been found !"

What does our poet mean by the *rise* and *fall* of suspense ? The misery of suspense is that it has no change of that kind,

but remains unalterable between hope and fear. The addition of the epithet *black* to *darkness* is, at least, superfluous; and the lines are certainly as little expressive of mental agony as any that could possibly be got together for such a purpose.

It may be supposed that we "papists," as we are often politely designated in English verse and prose, felt a little impulse of curiosity when lighting upon a composition to which our poet has given the title of "The Old Cavalier," to know how he treated a theme so full of old associations. One or two stanzas soon quelled all our eagerness upon that point.

"The other day, there came, God wot!
A solemn pompous ass,
Who begged to know if I did not go
To the sacrifice of mass:
I told him fairly to his face,
That in the field of fight,
I had shouted loud for church and king,
When he would have run outright.

"He talked of the man of Babylon,
With his rosaries and copes,
As if a Roundhead wasn't worse
Than half a hundred Popes.
I don't know what the people mean,
With their horror and affright;
All Papists that I ever knew
Fought stoutly for the right."

Happily, we have some better historians, and poets too, to tell of Catholic fidelity to the good cause (so long as it was good and just) than Sir Francis Doyle; otherwise our ancestors would have stood but a poor chance indeed of the honour to which they earned an imperishable title.

Sir Francis objects, with vast anger, to the sale (by order of the Treasury) of an Arabian horse presented to our sovereign by the Imaum of Muscat. It is amusing to read the splenetic bombast by which he endeavours to raise this economical act (a paltry and mean economy it was, we must admit) into a crime little short of high treason.

"He was a horse for days of old,
When British hearts were firm and true,
Unfit for times so mean and cold,
And the greedy pedlars knew.

"Great thoughts, great deeds, and feelings high,
The sunshine of our British past,
All they can neither sell nor buy,
To heaven or hell away they cast."

We recommend the whole composition to the peculiar admiration of the *Morning Herald*. The idea of the greedy pedlars casting away to heaven or hell, as if both places were equally vile, the great thoughts, deeds, and feelings of the Britons of old, and of throwing after such missiles everything which they (the said pedlars) could neither sell nor buy, is certainly remarkable for its originality.

Sir Francis, under the title of a poetaster, which he has bestowed upon himself (with what justice let the reader judge), pleads in favour of his volume, that nobody is bound to peruse it; that it is printed, published, and puffed, at his own expense, and that, in fact, nobody has a right to find fault with him, write what trash he may. We quote the "plea," but we demur to the conclusion; being of opinion, that all those writers who give their scribblings to the public are bound at least to shew some little title to applause. An actor who appears on the stage might as well say, "Here am I for my own particular amusement, not for yours. If you like me not, shut your eyes and ears, while I fret my little hour away."

"To some mysterious wisdom make pretence,
Sneer at plain strength of head and stalwart sense;
Discover then that rhyme is not a knife,
To open, at their will, the *oyster—life*;
Grow sour and bitter, and fermenting fast,
Fret into *eager vinegar* at last,
Till the vexed world wraps, in one general curse,
Each luckless vagabond who writes a verse.
Still setting these aside, a whining few,
Why loose your dogs against our harmless crew?
At my own cost I give the world my own—
It does not please you?—*leave it then alone.*
To the dull page no law chains down your eye,
No Act of Parliament compels to buy."

Dull as his pages are admitted by Sir Francis to be, nevertheless he claims for them the merit of displaying plain strength of head and stalwart sense; which said sense appears particularly manifest in his fine comparison of human life to an oyster, which rhyme, especially bad rhyme, cannot open! The unreasonable critics to whom he alludes, when they find that they cannot open the said oyster with a rhyme, then fret themselves into "*eager vinegar*" (Miss Roberts should, in the next edition of her *cookery book*, give us a receipt for *eager vinegar*), until—what think you?—until the vexed world pronounces anathema upon the whole race of poetasters!

Why so? Why should the whole world become vexed because a few sour critics have fretted themselves into "eager vinegar"? We take it for granted that the *to* in the first line of the above verses should have followed "some," otherwise the passage will be deprived of the "stalwart sense," by which, in the author's estimation, his verses are characterised.

Now to shew our author, that although we have remarked freely upon his volume, we are actuated by no personal ill-will against himself, we subjoin an example of his better style of writing, giving an animated and really inspiring description of a capital race at Doncaster. This effusion of Sir Francis's muse, leads us to hope that he may yet produce compositions of a much higher order than the great mass of those comprehended in his present volume. We take the liberty to suggest to him, however, the expediency of not publishing too rapidly, and of attending to Horace's maxim, of keeping even his most select writings some nine years or more in his portfolio, correcting and revising them now and then, at such intervals of leisure as his other avocations may permit.

"Clear peals the bell ; at that known sound,
Like bees, the people cluster round ;
On either side upstanding then,
One thick dark wall of breathing men,
Far down as eye can stretch, is seen
Along yon vivid strip of green,
Where, keenly watched by countless eyes,
'Mid hopes, and fears, and prophecies,
Now fast, now slow, now here, now there,
With hearts of fire, and limbs of air,
Snorting and prancing—sidling by
With arching neck and glancing eye,
In every shape of strength and grace,
The horses gather for the race ;
Soothed for a moment all, they stand
'Together, like a sculptured band ;
Each quivering eye-lid flutters thick,
Each face is flushed—each heart beats quick ;
And all around dim murmurs pass,
Like low winds moaning on the grass.
Again—the thrilling signal sound—
And off at once, with one long bound,
Into the speed of thought they leap,
Like a proud ship rushing to the deep.
A start ! a start ! they're off, by heaven !
Like a single horse, though twenty-seven ;

And 'mid the flash of silks we scan
A Yorkshire jacket in the van;
Hurrah ! for the bold bay mare !
I'll pawn my soul, her place is there,
Unheaded to the last,
For a thousand pounds she wins unpassed—
Hurrah ! for the matchless mare !
A hundred yards have glided by,
And they settle to the race;
More keen becomes each straining eye,
More terrible the pace.
Unbroken yet, o'er the gravel road,
Like maddening waves, the troop has flowed,
But the speed begins to tell ;
And Yorkshire sees, with eye of fear,
The Southron stealing from the rear.
Ay ! mark his action well !
Behind he is, but what repose !
How steadily and clean he goes !
What latent speed his limbs disclose !
What power in every stride he shows !
They see, they feel—from man to man
The shivering thrill of terror ran,
And every soul instinctive knew
It lay between the mighty two.
The world without, the sky above,
Have glided from their straining eyes—
Future and past, and hate and love,
The life that wanes, the friend that dies.
Even grim remorse, who sits behind
Each thought and motion of the mind :
These now are nothing, time and space
Lie in the rushing of the race :
As, with keen shouts of hope and fear,
They watch it in its wild career.
Still far a-head of the glittering throng,
Dashes the eager mare along ;
And round the turn and past the hill,
Slides up the Derby winner still.
The twenty-five that lay between,
Are blotted from the stirring scene,
And the wild cries which rang so loud,
Sink by degrees throughout the crowd,
To one deep humming, like the roar
Of swollen seas on a northern shore.
In distance dwindling to the eye,
Right opposite the stand they lie,
And scarcely seem to stir ;

Though an Arab scheich his wives would give
For a single steed that with them could live

Three hundred yards without the spur.

But, though so indistinct and small,

You hardly see them move at all ;

There are not wanting signs which show

Defeat is busy as they go.

Look how the mass which rushed away

As full of spirit as the day,

So close compacted for awhile,

Is lengthening into a single file.

Now inch by inch it breaks, and wide

And spreading gaps the line divide.

As forward still, and far away,

Undulates on the tired array,

Gay colours, momentarily less bright,

Fade flickering on the gazer's sight,

Till keenest eyes can scarcely trace

The onward ripple of the race.

Care sits on every lip and brow.

' Who leads ? who fails ? how goes it now ?'

One shooting spark of life intense,

One throb of reflexive suspense,

And a far rainbow-coloured light

Trembles again upon the sight.

Look to yon turn, already there

Gleams the pink and black of the fiery mare ;

And through that which was but now a gap,

Creeps on the terrible white cap.

Uprises straight a terrible shout,

Wrung from their fevered spirits out ;

' Then momentarily like gusts you heard,

' He's sixth !—he's fifth !—he's fourth !—he's third !'

As on, like some arrowy meteor flame,

The stride of the Derby winner came.

And during all that anxious time,

(Sneer as it suits you at my rhyme,)

The earnestness became sublime ;

Common and thrilling as is the scene,

At once so thrilling and so mean,

To him who strives his heart to scan,

And feels the brotherhood of man,

That needs *must* be a mighty minute,

When a crowd has but one soul within it.

As some bright ship, with every sail

Obedient to the urging gale,

Darts by vexed hulls, which, side by side,

Dismasted on the raging tide,

Are struggling onward, wild and wide :

Thus, through the reeling field he flew,
 And near, and yet more near he drew;
 Each leap seems longer than the last;
 Now—now—the second horse is past,
 And the keen rider of the mare,
 With haggard looks of feverish care,
 Hangs forward on the speechless air,
 By steady stillness nursing in
 The remnant of her speed to win.
 One other bound—one more—'tis done—
 Right up to her the horse has run,
 And head to head, and stride for stride,
 Newmarket's hope and Yorkshire's pride,
 Like horses harnessed side by side,
 Are struggling to the goal.
 Ride! gallant son of Ebor, ride!
 For the dear honour of the north
 Stretch every bursting sinew forth,
 Put out thy inmost soul!
 And with knee, and thigh, and tightened rein,
 Lift in the mare by might and main;
 The feelings of the people reach
 What is beyond the powers of speech,
 So that there rises up no sound
 From the wide human life around;
 One spirit flashes from each eye,
 One impulse lifts each heart throat-high,
 One short and panting silence broods
 O'er the wildly-working multitudes,
 As on the struggling coursers press,
 So deep the eager silentness,
 That underneath their feet the turf
 Seems shaken, like the edying surf
 When it tastes the rushing gale,
 And the singing fall of the heavy whips,
 Which tear the flesh away in strips,
 As the tempest tears the sail,
 On the throbbing heart and quivering ear,
 Strike vividly distinct and near.
 But hark! what a rending shout was there,
 'He's beat! he's beat!—by heaven the mare!'
 Just on the post, she springs away,
 And by half a length has gained the day.
 Then how to life that silence wakes,
 Ten thousand hats thrown up on high,
 Send darkness to the echoing sky,
 And like the crash of hill-pent lakes,
 Out-bursting from their deepest fountains,
 Among the rent and reeling mountains,

At once from thirty thousand throats,
 Rushes the Yorkshire roar,
 And the name of their northern winner floats
 A league from the course, and more."—pp. 145-54.

To Mr. Milnes we should, with great deference, offer advice similar to that which we have just tendered to Sir Francis Doyle. Of the former we entertain a very high degree of hope. Three or four of the compositions in his volume appear to us to be written with exquisite taste and feeling. We allude particularly to the "Christmas Story;" the "Voices of History;" the "Voice of the People;" and the "Spanish Anecdote." The primary title which he has given to his collection, of *Poetry for the People*, refers but to a few out of the mass; indeed so few that they scarcely furnish an apology for any title at all of that kind. The verses which he dedicates to their especial use, are chiefly intended to shew that labour is the lot of all men, in whatever rank of life they move; that the foxhunter is as industrious in his destruction of game as the ploughman is in fitting the land for the reception of seed, and that even the very idle are busy in killing time; a doctrine not very consolatory to the hard-working potter and carpenter. With the exceptions we have stated, all the remainder of his book is "but leather or prunello." Indeed we have been surprised to find such beautiful pieces of poetry—for such they are in the true sense of the word—as those we have mentioned, followed by a whole tribe of sonnets in the Rosa Matilda style, or something worse; two long tales attempting to shew that the worship of Venus has been continued down almost to our own day; and some other tales and fanciful legends equally unreadable.

We must not omit to ask Mr. Milnes, upon whose authority he writes, both in his prose and verse, "wished" *wisht*, "dispatched" *dispatcht*, "watched" *watcht*, "disfurnished" *disfurnisht*—why, in short, he institutes a *t* in all participles past, for the usual termination *ed*? We ask, also, why he prints the word "height" *hight*, and takes other liberties with the long accepted orthography of our language, not warranted even by any modern innovator, himself alone excepted? These small affectations of singularity betray a crotchety species of character, which we should never have thought of attributing to the author of some of the poems in this volume. We hope that his printers, Messrs. Bradbury and Evans, will not again submit to this typographical heresy in their composition-room. We regret that the Christmas story is rather too

long for quotation. It is the sad tale, alas! too often realized, of a lost child seated upon the steps of some lordly mansion in the most inclement season of the year, and perishing, chilled by the cold blast, while the enjoyments of Christmas are going on within the interior of the comfortable dwelling. The poet summons an angel from the skies to hold converse with the orphan, to console it with his soothing language, and eventually to bear away with him its immaculate spirit.

"Alone! this fragile human flower,
Alone! at this unsightly hour,
A playful, joyful, peaceful form,
A creature of delight,
Become companion of the storm,
And phantom of the night!

* * *

"It looks before, it looks behind,
And staggers with the weighty wind,
Till terror, overpowering grief,
And feeble as an autumn leaf,
It passes down the tide of air,
It knows not, thinks not, how or where.

* * *

"Now the tiny hands no more
Are striking that unfeeling door;
Folded and quietly they rest,
As on a cherub's marble breast;
And from the guileless lips of woe
Are passing words confused and low;
Remembered fragments of a prayer
Learnt and repeated elsewhere;
With the blue summer overhead,
On a sweet mother's knee,
Beside the downy cradled bed,
But always happily."

* * *

The angel guardian of the child appears—invites him to his heavenly abode—and bears away that pure soul to paradise. The inhabitants of the mansion the following morning find the dead infant on the threshold.

"Asleep it seems, but when the head
Is raised, it sleeps, as sleeps the dead;
The fatal point had touched it, while
The lips had just begun a smile,

The forehead, 'mid the matted tresses,
 A perfect painless and expresses,
 And, unconvulst, the hands may wear
 The posture more of thanks than prayer.
 They tend it straight in wondering grief,—
 And, when all skill brings no relief,
 They bear it onward, in its smile,
 Up the cathedral's central aisle :
 There, soon as priests and people heard
 How the thing was, they speak not word,
 But take the usual image, meant
 The blessed babe to represent,
 Forth from its cradle, and instead
 Lay down that silent mortal head.
 Now incense—cloud and anthem—sound—
 Arise the beauteous body round ;
 Softly the carol chaunt is sung,
 Softly the mirthful peal is rung,
 And when the solemn duties end,
 With tapers earnest troops attend
 The gentle corpse, nor cease to sing,
 Till, by an almond tree
 They bury it, that the flowers of spring
 May over it soonest be."—pp. 20-21.

The following stanzas appear to us to be replete with true poetical power. In more than one of the stanzas glance out those irradiations of the *mens divini*, which are the unerring test of genius. The march of the lines is well disciplined, the diction natural and bold, and the flow of the lines sounds musically on the ear.

THE VOICES OF HISTORY.

- " The poet in his vigil hears
 Time flowing through the night,—
 A mighty stream, absorbing tears,
 And bearing down delight :
 There, resting on his bank of thought,
 He listens till his soul
 The voices of the waves has caught,—
 The meaning of their roll.
- " First, wild and wildering as the strife
 Of earthly winds and seas,
 Resounds the long historic life
 Of warring dynasties :—
 Uncertain right and certain wrong
 In onward conflict driven,
 The threats and trappings of the strong
 Beneath a brazen heaven.

- "The cavernous unsounded East
Outpours an evil tide,
Drowning the hymn of patriarch priest,
The chant of shepherd bride :
How can we catch the angel word,
How mark the prophet sound,
Mid thunders like Niagara's, heard
An hundred miles around ?
- "From two small springs that rise and blend,
And leave their Latin home,
The waters East and West extend,—
The ocean-power of Rome :
Voices of victories ever won,
Of pride that will not stay,
Billows that burst and perish on
The shores they wear away.
- "Till, in a race of fierce delight,
Tumultuous battle forth,
The snows amass on many a height,
The cataracts of the North :
What can we hear beside the roar,
What see beneath the foam,
What but the wrecks that strew the shore,
And cries of falling Rome ?
- "Nor, when a purer faith had traced
Safe channels for the tide,
Did streams with Eden's lilies graced
In Eden sweetness glide ;
While the deluded gaze admires
The smooth and shining flow,
Vile interests and insane desires
Gurgle and rage below.
- "If history has no other sounds,
Why should we listen more ?
Spirit ! despise terrestrial bounds,
And seek a happier shore ;
Yet pause ! for on thine inner ear
A mystic music grows,—
And mortal man shall never hear
That diapason's close.
- "Nature awakes ! a rapturous tone,
Still different, still the same,—
Eternal affluence from the throne
Of Him without a name ;

A symphony of worlds begun,
 Ere sin the glory mars,
 The symbols of the new-born sun,
 The trumpets of the stars.

"Then beauty all her subtlest chords
 Dissolves and knits again,
 And law composes jarring words
 In one harmonious chain :
 And loyalty's enchanting notes,
 Outswelling, fade away,
 While knowledge from ten thousand throats
 Proclaims a graver away.

"Well, if by senses unfooled,
 Attentive souls may scan
 These great ideas that have ruled
 The total mind of man ;
 Yet is there music deeper still,
 Of fine and holy woof,
 Comfort and joy to all that will
 Keep ruder noise aloof.

"A music simple as the sky,
 Monotonous as the sea,
 Recurrent as the flowers that die
 And rise again in glee :
 A melody that childhood sings
 Without a thought of art,
 Drawn from a few familiar strings,
 The fibres of the heart.

"Through tent, and cot, and proud saloon,
 This audible delight
 Of nightingales that love the noon,
 Of larks that court the night,—
 We feel it all,—the hopes and fears
 That language faintly tells,
 The spreading smiles,—the passing tears,—
 The meetings and farewells.

"These harmonies that all can share,
 When chronicled by one,
 Enclose us like the living air,
 Unending, unbegun ;—
 Poet ! esteem thy noble part,
 Still listen, still record,
 Sacred historian of the heart,
 And moral nature's Lord !"—pp. 24-29.

These latter lines suggest some thoughts upon the theory of music, which readers of taste and musical dispositions may follow up, when they chance to be in the mood for such reveries. A bell struck, or a cord vibrated in a complete vacuum yields no sound. Air, therefore, is always necessary for the production of sound; it is very certain that if there were no atmosphere, we could not hear each other speak, however near we might be. It follows that the atmosphere is the fountain of sound, as the sun is the great source of light; and that in all our various modes of creating those tones to which we give the general designation of music, we only act upon the air around us, very much after the fashion in which the prism acts upon light—that is, by some species of vibration or another. We separate the particular modulations which we desire to hear, from the great mass of sound embodied in the firmament.

Stretch two or three strings on a plain board, give them room to tremble, place the board in a window through which a current of air is passing, and you have at once an *Æolian* lyre, yielding the most enchanting notes, swelling and dying away with the undulations of the medium of which the atmosphere is composed. The thinner branches, the sprays, and the leaves of trees, rushes, the stems of corn, the ripples of brooks, the rushing waters of rivers, the rising and falling waves of the sea—these are all, if we may say so, prisms analyzing the matter of the atmosphere, and hence come the successive higher and lower tones which we listen to with so much delight, when they steal softly on our senses—but fill us with terror, when they bear upon the ear the deeper thunders of the tempest.

The apertures in the flute are analogous to the pipes of the organ: the aperture and the pipe are united to the notes we wish them to bring out of the flood of music around us, and those notes we extract by the process of prismatic separation. Hence the expression in Milton,

“*Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony*”

is not only poetically beautiful, but literally correct in a physical point of view. We can, therefore, understand as perfectly justifiable the phrase so often derided by superficial writers and talkers—“the music of the spheres.” We cannot doubt that the earth, constantly circulating on its own axis, does awaken from its own atmosphere mighty volumes of sound—

that those sounds are mingled in space with the voices of myriads of other spheres, and that thus the whole orchestra of creation forms a meet and majestic accompaniment to the eternal "Halleluiahs!" hymned to the Omnipotent by the heavenly hosts.

"List to the dreamy tone that dwells
In rippling wave, or sighing tree;
Go, hearken to the old church bells,
The whistling bird, the whizzing bee.
Interpret right, and ye will find
'Tis 'power and glory' they proclaim:
The chimes, the creatures, waters, wind,
All publish 'hallowed be thy name!'

"The pilgrim journeys till he bleeds,
To gain the altar of his sires,
The hermit pores above his beads,
With zeal that never wanes nor tires;
But holiest rite or longest prayer,
That soul can yield or wisdom frame,
What better import can it bear
Than 'FATHER, hallowed be thy name!'

"The savage kneeling to the sun,
To give his thanks or ask a boon;
The raptures of the idiot one
Who laughs to see the clear round moon;
The saint well taught in Christian lore,
The Moslem prostrate at his flame,
All worship, wonder, and adore,
All end in 'Hallowed be thy name!'

"Whate'er may be man's faith or creed,
Those precious words comprise it still:
We trace them in the bloomy mead,
We hear them in the flowing rill.
One chorus hails the Great Supreme;
Each varied breathing tells the same.
The strains may differ; but the *theme*
Is 'FATHER, hallowed be Thy name!'"—(pp. 73-74.)

These beautiful stanzas, animated with the true fervour and graces of piety, have come so aptly in favour of our argument, that we could not deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting them to the reader. They are not, however, from the pen of Mr. Milnes, but from that of the lady whose name appears in the third volume on our list. Her name, we understand, is familiar to the readers of the most widely diffused weekly political

journal published in the metropolis. It is due to Miss Cook, however, to say, that her political connexions very rarely influence the sweet tenor of her poetry. Her productions are by far the most engaging of any that we have seen from the press for many a year. There is a raciness, an originality, a vigour of thought, and a vein of happy imagery throughout the whole collection, which easily persuade us to believe the statement in her preface, that a former large edition of this volume has met with a rapid sale, and that she has reason to feel that her writings are welcome to the public. We are happy to say that we share fully in the favourable judgment already thus pronounced upon them. Playful, serious, religious, joyous, stooping to the wild flower and hovering on the eagle's wing in turn, these poems are well worthy of being preserved. They are calculated to afford entertainment to the child as well as to the sage, and an amiable personal disposition shines through every page, which must endear the writer to every person who looks into her well-stored volume. Here we have no ample margins, with verses widely placed apart streaming through them. Her work is compactly filled, and we must add that there are very few indeed of the compositions it contains which will not abundantly repay the occupation, for trouble we cannot call it, of perusing them.

The following example of Miss Cook's poetry, and it truly deserves the name, must close for the present our intercourse with the muses.

- "What sound is that? 'Tis Summer's farewell,
In the breath of the night wind sighing;
The chill breeze comes, like a sorrowful dirge
That wails o'er the dead and the dying.
The sapless leaves are eddying round,
On the path which they lately shaded;
The oak of the forest is losing its robe,
The flowers have fallen and faded.
All that I look on but saddens my heart,
To think that the lovely so soon must depart.
- "Yet why should I sigh? Other summers will come,
Joys like the past one bringing;
Again will the vine bear its blushing fruit;
Again will the birds be singing;
The forest will put forth its 'honours' again;
The rose be as sweet in its breathing;
The woodbine will climb round the lattice frame,
As wild and rich in its wreathing.
The hives will have honey, the bees will hum,
Other flowers will spring, other summers will come!

"They will, they will; but ah! who can tell
 Whether I may live on till their coming?
 This spirit may sleep too soundly then
 To awake with the warbling or humming.
 This cheek, now pale, may be paler far,
 When the summer's sun next is glowing;
 The cherishing rays may gild with light
 The grass on my grave-turf growing:
 The earth may be glad, but worms and gloom
 May dwell with *me* in the silent tomb!

"And few would weep in the beautiful world,
 For the fameless one who had left it;
 Few would remember the form cut off,
 And mourn the stroke that cleft it;
 Many might keep my name on their lip,
 Pleased while *that* name degrading;
 My follies and sins alone would live,
 A theme for their cold upbraiding.
 Oh! what a change in my spirit's dream
 May there be ere the summer sun next shall beam.

Note to page 184.

These observations were written before the solemnity which was enacted in a high court of judicature on the 16th February, 1841, and on the credulous supposition that it was intended to try Lord Cardigan before his peers. In the "Court of our Lady the Queen in Parliament," peers have the privilege of delivering their verdict upon honour. They have also, it should seem, by statute, the privilege of committing felony, with impunity for the first offence. Whether the public prosecutor abandoned, or only neglected, his duty on the late occasion, is a question of little importance, but we should hardly have expected Her Majesty's Attorney-General to say—if his words are rightly reported—that if death had ensued, "it would only have been a great calamity, and not a great crime." (If we mistake not, one of the Divine commands is, "Thou shalt not kill;" and the infraction of this command, we humbly reckon to be one of the greatest of crimes.) Neither should we have expected—*having regard to the facts proved*—that the Lord Chief Justice of England would have expressed to the prisoner "HIS SATISFACTION in declaring to him that, he, the prisoner, had been pronounced not guilty." Assuredly the public look on the whole affair with anything but satisfaction. And in the high and palmy days of chivalry, we incline to think the peers of England would have considered truth and honour to be but one. But the days of chivalry have passed! If John Thomas had been indicted at the Old Bailey for stealing a duck, and had been acquitted because it appeared the duck was a DEAD duck, (it being clear that a dead duck is NOT a duck) would the judge have expressed to the prisoner his SATISFACTION in declaring to him that he, the prisoner, had been pronounced not guilty?

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MAY 1841.

ART. I.—*Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea, in the Years 1820-23 ; commanded by Lieutenant, now Admiral Ferdinand Von Wrangel, of the Russian Imperial Navy.* Edited by Major Edward Sabine, R.A., F.R.S. London : 1840.

THE question, whether beyond the great regions of ice, and lanes of sea occasionally opened through them, there exists a polar ocean freely navigable at all seasons, or any season of the year,—an ocean that would permit the passage of ships from the Pacific through Bhering's Strait to the Atlantic, to the north of the Asiatic continent, and from the Atlantic again to Bhering's Strait, to the north of the American continent—is one that remains unsolved. In other words, we are still, notwithstanding all the researches and discoveries that have been made in those quarters, unpossessed of means of knowing whether it would be possible to circumnavigate the division of the earth in the arctic circle with the same, or anything like the same, facility with which we can sail round the world through the Southern Pacific, Atlantic, and Indian Oceans. In every point of view, geographical and commercial, it would be most important to ascertain whether the northern and southern polar districts of our globe be composed of land or water—if of land, whether they are inhabited to any extent by human beings—if of water, whether that water is wholly, and at all times, frozen over, or whether it be penetrable to commercial enterprise.

Were these problems explained, the solution would, moreover, most probably put an end to all the mysteries that still attend the northern Auroral lights, disclose the secret of that electric agency with which the direction, the dip, and the variations of the needle, are so manifestly connected, and lead to

new views of the great laws by which the material portions of the universe are governed.

The light which M. Wrangel's narrative lends to these questions, is, indeed, very limited; but it seems undoubtedly to dissipate to some extent the dense obscurity in which they have been hitherto shrouded. In the attempt to fulfil the mission with which he was charged by his imperial master, the Emperor of Russia, he has given us several curious details of the manners and habits of tribes of men with whom we have had hitherto little or no acquaintance; and he has succeeded, by exertions worthy of the highest praise, made under circumstances of great difficulty and severe privation, in completing (though in some parts not quite satisfactorily) the survey of the whole of those portions of the Siberian coast which had not been previously explored. These are great and valuable contributions to the history of polar discovery, and as such they merit much more notice than they have as yet obtained in this country. The results of the exploring expedition sent by the United States to the South Seas, as officially reported by Lieutenant Wilkes, and the alleged discovery by that commander of an Antarctic continent, bestow an additional interest upon the operations of Admiral Wrangel.

Barrow's Strait was first passed in 1819; since then, all our efforts to establish a north-western passage have been confined to the forcing of one vessel through "land-locked and ice-incumbered portions of the polar ocean," from one sea to the other. We are as yet uninformed, whether to the north of that unprofitable species of passage, impediments to free navigation exist. M. Wrangel's narrative strongly encourages the hope that an open navigable sea to the north-east is to be found; and, if so, there are many points of resemblance between the difficulties which he encountered, and the observations which he has made, that lead by analogy to the conclusion that a similar open sea may be found to the north of Parry Islands. The instructions given to Admiral Wrangel were founded upon the supposition that his course northwards would be bounded by regions of ice, and the equipment of his expedition was accordingly limited within that view of the question. He had no means of exploring a sea, should it happen that he might reach one. His attempts were continued through three successive years, and each attempt, repeated from many different points of a line extending for several hundred miles in an eastern and western direction, terminated alike in conducting him to an open and navigable sea; and it is to be

lamented, that his discoveries have not since been followed up by the Russian government. They do, undoubtedly, afford, by analogy, strong confirmation of the opinions of those who have attached importance to the assertions of our own navigator, Davis, who stated, when in 1583 he sailed through the strait which now bears his name, that in latitude 75° he found himself "in a great sea, free from ice, large, very salt, blue, and of an unsearchable depth. To him, he adds, "it seemed most manifest that the passage was free and without impediment." We entirely concur with the editor of the volume now before us, Major Edward Sabine, in recommending that the efforts for solving this problem may be again renewed. A joint-expedition, at the expense of the British and Russian governments, for exploring the arctic lands and seas, might very probably lead to consequences of the most important character.

This volume opens with an introduction extending through nearly one hundred and fifty pages, in which the reader who wishes to enter minutely into the subject will find a general review of the voyages undertaken previously to the year 1820, in the polar ocean, between the sea of Karkskoie and Behring's Straits. We must limit ourselves to Admiral Wrangel's narrative of his own proceedings. He quitted St. Petersburg on the 23rd of May, 1820, and in a few days reached Irkuzka, the capital of Siberia; thence he hastened to the banks of the river Lena, where he embarked with his companions on board a flat-bottomed decked boat, loaded with provisions and all the necessary instruments; and on the evening of the 27th of June he began to descend that majestic river.

It may be here remarked, that there are few countries in the world favoured with such resources for internal navigation as Siberia. It contains several great rivers, which flow from the south to the north, and which are connected by so many streams in every direction that there is hardly a point of any importance throughout that vast territory which may not be reached by water. What incalculable advantages may not the steamboat yet confer upon that portion of the Russian empire!

The Lena is represented by Admiral Wrangel as one of the largest rivers in the world. For a considerable distance the country on either bank is sometimes mountainous and covered with impenetrable forests, offering a succession of views of picturesque and diversified beauty; and occasionally presenting slopes of hills, cultivated fields, pastures, and gardens, animated by cottages of peasants, standing singly or collected

in hamlets. In the channel of the river there are many wooded islands, and below Rigi the navigation is, in seasons of drought especially, apt to be interrupted by shallows. Beyond these shallows, the flat-bottomed vessels in common use meet with no further impediment. The river winds much in its career northwards, and in some places the bed is full seven, and even twelve, fathoms in depth. Black slate rock, with some calc. chloride of slate in red clay, common clay and imperfect slate, limestone interspersed with veins of flint and calcareous spar, fragments of green-stone porphyry, common quartz with mica, beautiful dazzling white gypsum, and marble, appear to constitute the principal geological formation, on either bank of the river. In the bluff limestone rocks, some excavations appear to have been made with a view to the discovery of silver ore. In one of the caves thus made a larch tree has been seen growing from the rocky floor, at the depth of several fathoms, flourishing in spite of constant darkness: This is a remarkable circumstance, with reference to the opinions of those naturalists who contend that the sun's light is absolutely essential to the health of forest trees.

The forests of the Lena are rich in fur animals. The sables usually purchased at Olekma are considered, on account of their blueish cast, the best in Siberia. That place may be considered as the limit of corn cultivation. Our navigators had recourse here to an ingenious stratagem to enable their bark to proceed against a violent wind, which would otherwise have brought them to a stand-still. They bound four larch trees together in a row, and by attaching stones to them, they suspended them about a fathom under the water. The tops of the trees were downwards, and the roots were made fast by cords to the fore part of the vessel. As the wind, though it blew strongly against the stream, had no influence upon the under-current, the latter acting on what may be called the water-sail, bore on the bark against the wind and the surface-waves.

Beyond Olekma appear, for the first time, races living chiefly on the produce of their cattle, hunting, and fishing. Settlements become more rare, and where the settlers are Russians, they are miserably destitute of every comfort of life. But further north, where the aborigines still remain, the Jakuti, as they are called, being more accustomed to the climate, suffer less from ordinary privations. The party landed at Jakuyk on the 25th of July; it is situated on a barren flat, near the river, and though the Siberian summer then pre-

vailed, the only sign of the genial season there was the absence of snow! Not a green tree, or even bush, was to be seen. All was cold and gloom. The town, however, is one of some importance, as it is the centre of the interior trade of Siberia, which consists chiefly of furs of every class, walrus' teeth, and mammoth bones—those curious relics of an earlier world. These articles are occasionally brought from great distances—Bhering's Straits, and even the shores of the frozen polar sea. For these the Russian merchants give in exchange Circassian tobacco, tea, sugar, brandy, rum, Chinese cotton and silk, stuffs, coarse cloths, and hardware. No public exhibition takes place of the goods for sale. Contrary to the custom of European fairs generally, all the transactions are conducted in private, and with a certain degree of mystery. Among the Jakuti there are some good carpenters, cabinet-makers, and carvers in wood, and in the church of Jakuyk are to be seen specimens of their skill in painting, very neatly executed.

From Jakuyk, our travellers were obliged to proceed on horseback. They proceeded on their journey towards the end of August. Winter had already begun to set in, but, although severe, it was nothing to the cold which they subsequently experienced. As the Jakuti present, in their habits of living, characteristics but little civilized, yet not wholly savage, exhibiting a sort of transition from one state to the other, the following notice of their manners will be read with some degree of interest:—

“ Their countenance and language fully confirm the tradition of their descent from the Tartars. They are properly a pastoral people, whose chief riches consist in the number of their horses and horned-cattle, on the produce of which they subsist almost entirely. But the abundance of fur-animals in their vast forests, and the profit which they can make by selling them to the Russians, have turned a large part of their attention to the chase, of which they are often passionately fond, and which they follow with unwearied ardour and admirable skill. Accustomed from infancy to the privations incidental to their severe climate, they disregard hardships of every kind. They appear absolutely insensible to cold, and their endurance of hunger is such, as to be almost incredible.

“ Their food consists of sour cows'-milk, and mares'-milk, and of beef and horse-flesh. They boil their meat, but never roast or bake it, and bread is unknown among them. Fat is their greatest delicacy. They eat it in every possible shape—raw, melted, fresh, or spoilt. In general they regard quantity, more than quality, in their food. They grate the inner bark of the larch, and sometimes of the fir, and mix it

with fish, a little meal and milk, or by preference with fat, and make it into a sort of broth, which they consume in large quantities. They prepare from cows'-milk what is called the Jakutian butter. It is more like a kind of cheese, or of curd, and has a sourish taste. It is not very rich, and is a very good article of food eaten alone.

"Both men and women are passionately fond of smoking tobacco. They prefer the most pungent kinds, especially the Circassian. They swallow the smoke, and it produces a kind of stupefaction, which nearly resembles intoxication; and if provoked when in this state, the consequences are dangerous. Brandy is also used, though the long inland carriage renders it extremely dear. The Russian traders know how to avail themselves of these tastes, in their traffic for furs.

"The Jakutian habitations are of two kinds. In summer they use Urossy, which are light circular tents formed of poles, and covered with birch bark, which they strip from the trees in large pieces. These strips are first softened by boiling, and are then sewed together; the outside being white, and the inside yellow. The Urossy have a very pleasing appearance, and at a distance resemble large white canvas tents. In summer they wander about with these in search of the finest pastures; and whilst their cattle are feeding, they are themselves incessantly employed in preparing the requisite store of winter forage.

"At the approach of winter, they occupy their warm Jurti. These are cottages formed of thin boards in the shape of a truncated pyramid, and covered thickly on the outside with branches, grass, and mud. A couple of small openings which admit a scanty light, are closed in winter by plates of ice, and in summer by fish membrane, or oiled paper. The floor is generally of beaten mud, and is sunk two or three feet below the ground; but richer people have it raised and boarded. There are wide permanent benches round the walls, which serve for seats in the daytime, and for sleeping on at night; and are generally partitioned off for this purpose, according to the occupants. In the middle, but rather nearest the door, is the Ischuwal, a kind of open hearth with a chimney up to the roof, where a constant fire is kept burning. Clothing, arms, and a few household articles, hang round the walls, but in general the greatest disorder and want of cleanliness prevail.

"There are usually sheds outside for the cows, which in winter are placed under cover, and fed with hay, and even brought inside the Jurti in extreme cold weather; whereas the horses are left out to shift for themselves as well as they can during the winter, by scraping away the snow to get at the withered autumn grass. It is only when they are about to make a journey that they are given hay for a few days previously.

"The above-described habitations, though rude, are better adapted to the wants of the people, than those built after the Russian fashion, a few of which are to be seen. In the construction of the Jurti small trees may be used instead of boards, which is a great convenience; and the continual change of air maintained by the constant fire in the

Iechuwal, tends to purify the close atmosphere, and is more wholesome than a stove.

"Every tribe of Jakuti is divided into several Nasèlji, each of which is under a chief or Knäsey, by whom minor disputes, &c. are settled. More serious cases go before the Golowä, or superintendent of the whole tribe, who is elected from amongst the Knäsey. The people often call in a Schaman or conjuror, and have recourse to his incantations to recover a strayed cow, to cure a sick person, or to get good weather for a journey, &c. &c. The Jakuti have almost all been baptized; a part of the New Testament, the Ten Commandments, and several of the rules of the Church have been translated into their language, but as yet the greater number have no idea of the principles and doctrines of Christianity; and their Schamans, and the superstitions of heathenism, retain their hold upon their minds. As a nation, they are unsocial, litigious, and vindictive."—pp. 21-24.

M. Wrangel had to cross, in his course northwards, the river Aldan, which is one of the great tributaries of the Lena. The country between Jakuyk and the Aldan is characterised by wave-like ridges, running from east to west. Between these ridges are occasionally to be met hollows of a caldron shape, forming sometimes marshes, sometimes lakes; the soil is clay mixed with sand, and the heights are usually well wooded with larch. In the distance, towards the north, appeared a range of peaked mountains, covered with snow.

The travellers had now to betake themselves at night to their travelling tents of tanned reindeer leather. The guides chose for this purpose a spot of ground between high trees, which afforded some protection from the weather; they then swept away the snow, dragged to the place so cleared the withered trunk of a tree, and set it in a blaze, that soon sent its light around far and near. A quantity of the dry branches were strewed on the ground, not far from the fire; on these was placed a layer of green branches of the dwarf cedar, and upon this fragrant bed were pitched the tents, forming three sides of a square round the fire. The guides were quite contented with the snowy ground for their beds, and their saddles for pillows. Supper consisted for the present of tea and soup. The pipes were then lighted, and the evening was passed away in listening to hunting stories and travelling adventures, which the guides are excessively fond of relating.

As the travellers proceeded northward, they had to climb many steep rocks. Trees began to disappear rapidly. The weather, however, continued favourable, and while they were engaged in threading their way through one most dangerous pass, where the summits on either side rise to the height of

1,000 feet, they were delighted by the spectacle of the ice-mantled precipices blazing, as if studded with diamonds, in the noon-day sun. Beyond this valley (the principal pass of the Werchogausk range of mountains), neither pines, fir-trees, nor aspens are to be found. Larches, however, birches, and willows, were still occasionally to be found, as far as latitude 68°

To the north of this range the paths are much more practicable than those to the south, the ground being more free from marshes. Powarni, or cooking-houses, are established at intervals by the government. These are small huts, with mere hearths; the smoke passes out through an aperture in the roof, after the fashion of our Irish cabins. Slate is found among the mountains in great abundance, and chiefly of a black colour.

M. Wrangel's course was now along the left bank of the Jana. The country which he traversed offered little variety; the plains were still bare of snow, chiefly from the effect of the constant winds. At a miserable little town, called Saschiwerk, he experienced the hospitality of an excellent old clergyman, Father Michel, whose character and conduct appear to be well worthy of the admiration he has bestowed upon them:—

“ At the time of our visit he was eighty-seven years of age, and had passed about sixty years here as deacon and priest, during which time he has not only baptized fifteen thousand Jakuti, Jungusi, and Jukahiri, but has really made them acquainted with the leading truths of Christianity; and the fruits of his doctrine, his example, and his counsels, are visible in their great moral improvement. Such is the zeal of this truly venerable man for the extension of the Gospel among the inhabitants of these snowy wastes, that neither his great age, nor the severity of the climate, nor the countless other difficulties of the country, prevent his still riding above two thousand wersts a-year, in order to baptize the new-born children of his widely-scattered flock, and to perform the other duties of his sacred calling; as well as to assist his people in every way he can, as minister, as teacher, as friend and adviser, and even as physician. Yet he sometimes finds time and strength to go to the neighbouring hills to shoot Argali and other game; and has bestowed so much pains and skill on his little garden, that he has reared cabbages, turnips, and radishes. He placed before us sour-kroust soup, and fresh-baked rye-bread; and his pleasure in seeing us enjoy these excellent and long untasted national dishes, was at least as great as our own. He gave us another kind of bread of his own invention. It is made of dried fish grated to a fine powder, in which state it will keep a long time, if not allowed to get

damp. Mixed with a small quantity of meal, it makes a well-tasted bread."—p. 37.

M. Wrangel having now deviated to the north-east, arrived without difficulty, on the 25th of October, on the banks of the Kolyma river. The cold was daily increasing, and troops of rein-deer already began to cross his path. He and his companions quitted their horses, and took their places in narrow sledges drawn by dogs. They arrived, on the 2nd of November, at Nishne Kolymsk, a fishing village, destined to be their head-quarters for the ensuing three years.

The rivers Kolyma and Indigirka, which have courses nearly parallel to those of the Jana and the Lena, rise near each other in the Stanowof-Chrebet range of mountains, and pour their waters into the polar sea. The right bank of the Kolyma is steep; the rocks are precipitous, and often overhanging, composed of slate, rarely of granite; the slate is intersected in some places by veins of hardened clay, and sometimes interspersed with crystals of amethyst, and large specimens of rock-crystal. No fossils had been met with. Vegetation was tolerably rich. The left bank presents some pastures; but the greater part of the country on that side is an enormous tundra, that is, a moss level, extending as far as the sea. At Nishne Kolymsk, the icy covering never melts till June, and is often strong enough again towards the end of August to sustain loaded horses. The sun remains visible in that region about fifty-two days; but in consequence of its being so near the horizon, it is accompanied by little heat; the disk may be generally looked at with little inconvenience by the naked eye, and often appears to be of an elliptical form.

An uninstructed southern would suppose that it must be always day in those far northern climates, so long as the sun does not set. This, however, is not so. When the sun approaches the horizon, evening and night commence, and all is repose. When the sun gains in altitude, nature again awakes; the few little birds that dwell in those regions hail the new day, as with us; the small yellow flowers expand their petals, and every living thing rejoices in the warmer sunbeams. There are, properly speaking, only two seasons—summer and winter. The inhabitants, however, speak as we do of spring and autumn: vegetation is but a struggle for existence. In July the air is clear, and the temperature comparatively mild. Swarms of mosquitoes then darken the air, and annoy the inhabitants; but by way of compensation, those terrible insects, by attacking the reindeer at the same time, compel the

latter to quit the forests in thousands, and take refuge in the open plains, where they easily become the prey of the hunters who are waiting to receive them. The mosquitoes also act another friendly part to man, by preventing the horses from straying away in the vast plains where they feed without keepers. The natural instinct of the horse keeps him near the small villages, where he is more protected. Winter begins in September, dense fogs prevail in October, the great cold commences in November, and increases in January to such a degree that breathing becomes difficult. Then the wild reindeer, accustomed though he be to the utmost severities of the polar region, hies him back to the thickest recesses of the forests, and stands there motionless, as if deprived of life. The perpetual night of fifty-two revolutions of the earth is relieved from utter darkness by the strong refraction, and the whitened surface of the snow, as well as by frequent auroras. A pale twilight on the 28th of December announces the approach of the sun; day and night then alternate until summer, when the sun remains as before above the horizon, for its limited period. The frost is especially intense and penetrating in February and March. In winter, perfectly clear days seldom occur: then sea winds chiefly prevail, which are accompanied by continual vapours and fogs. These fogs prevail least in September. It would appear as if the sirocco sometimes reached even those distant climes; at least it often occurs that a warm wind blows thither from the south-east by south, in the very midst of winter, and suddenly raises the temperature to such a degree that the plates of ice, which are the substitutes there for glass in the windows, begin to melt. This wind seldom continues beyond twenty-four hours. Strange to say, this sort of climate is, after all, by no means prejudicial to health. Inflammation of the eyes is prevalent, by reason of the reflection of the snow, which might be counteracted by green spectacles. The singular malady called *mirak*, and supposed by our author to be only an extreme degree of hysteria, visits those regions, however, periodically. It is well-known throughout all northern Siberia: the persons attacked are chiefly of the female sex. The common superstition is, that it proceeds from the ghost of a much-dreaded sorceress, which is supposed to enter into and take possession of the patient. It is no doubt one of those mental epidemics alluded to in another article of this journal.

Scanty and stunted though the vegetation be in those regions, yet the currant, the black and white whortleberry, the cloud-

berry, and the aromatic dwarf crimson bramble, bloom there, and in favourable seasons bear fruit. But for the deficiencies of vegetation nature has made ample return in animal life. The upland forests abound in reindeer, elks, black bears, foxes, sables, and grey squirrels; the deserts, towards the approach of summer, teem with flights of swans, geese, and ducks, which frequent those wilds with a view to moult and build their nests in safety. "Eagles, owls, and gulls pursue their prey along the sea coast; ptarmigan run in troops amongst the bushes; little snipes are busy along the brooks, and in the morasses; the social crows seek the neighbourhood of men's habitations; and when the sun shines, one may even sometimes hear the cheerful notes of the finch and thrush." The only birds which winter there, are the ptarmigan, the common crow, the bald eagle, and the snowy owl. The snow bunting and the Kamtschatkan thrush appear early in April; the lapwing, common snipe, and ring plover, arrive later; and in May, swans, four kinds of geese, and eleven kinds of ducks make their appearance.

The perpetual dreariness of the country naturally suggests the question, what motive could have urged men originally to settle in such an ungenial climate, seeing that there were so many more agreeable regions in the south, of which they might have taken possession? The question does not of course refer to the Russians, who go thither for a while in quest of gain, but to the tribes who have continued to live there from age to age. M. Wrangel heard of an obscure saying, "that there were once more hearths of the Omoki (one of the aboriginal tribes) on the shores of the Kolyma, than there are stars in the clear sky." He adds that tumuli are to be met with, and also the remains of forts formed of trunks of trees, supposed to have belonged to the Omoki, who have now disappeared. Other tribes, once numerous and powerful, are also mentioned, which have become extinct. The question is not easy to be solved. Possibly a period existed when those regions were infinitely less objectionable than they have been within the time of history or tradition. Possibly the same motives which still induce traders to venture thither, operated even in the early ages. The descendants of the first visitors would remain there, attached by many ties to the place of their birth, and, as we have seen,

"Nature, a mother kind alike to all,
Still grants her bliss at labour's earnest call;

With food as well the peasant is supplied,
On Idra's cliff, on Arno's shelvy side ;
And though the rocky-crested summits frown,
These rocks by custom turn to beds of down."

The picture drawn by Goldsmith, of the happiness that is diffused even as far as that hill which "lifts man to the storms," is fully confirmed by M. Wrangel's description of the affectionate attentions of the women to their husbands and sons, upon their return from the dangers of the chase.

" At night returning, every labour sped,
He sits him down the monarch of a shed,
Smiles by his cheerful fire, and round surveys
His children's looks that brighten at the blaze ;
While his loved partner, boastful of her board,
Displays her cleanly platter on the board ;
And haply, too, some pilgrim thither led,
With many a tale repays the nightly bed."

The principal aboriginal races of the Kolyma circle are the Jakuti and Jukahiri.

" The dwellings of the two races are much alike. The larch trees are too small to be of use in the construction of their habitations, for which they are obliged to employ drift wood. This is carefully collected at the floods in spring, and it sometimes takes several years to accumulate the necessary timber for a house. The walls are formed in the Russian manner, the interstices being filled up with moss, and plastered with lime ; a thick mound of earth is thrown up against them, reaching as high as the windows, and forming a protection against the cold. The huts are usually from twelve to eighteen feet square, and nine feet high. The roofs are flat, and covered with a considerable thickness of earth. The interior arrangement is always the same ; in one corner of the room is the Jakuti Ischuwal, a kind of open fire-place made of willow-rods, plastered on both sides with a thick coat of clay. The smoke escapes by the roof. They have lately begun to make Russian stoves of hard-beaten plaster, with a chimney up to the roof. Two or three sleeping places are partitioned off, according to the wants of the family ; and the remainder of the space serves for cooking, dwelling, working, and receiving guests. Wide benches are arranged around, on which rein-deer skins are laid, for guests to sit and to sleep on. Household utensils, guns, bows and arrows, &c., hang round the walls. Two little windows of a foot square, or less, might give sufficient light if they had glass panes ; but in summer they are made of fish membrane, and in winter of plates of ice six inches in thickness. On one side of the house is a small porch, and adjoining to it is the provision-room, made of thin

boards. There is sometimes a second fire-place in the porch. All the houses have the windows turned to the south. Both near the houses and on the roof, are scaffolds for drying fish; and there is a small out-house for sheltering the dogs in extreme cold weather; but they are more generally tethered outside, and bury themselves in the snow. Enclosed courts are hardly ever seen. The houses are not arranged in streets, but by accident, or at the caprice of the builder. The people do not care for baths, and those which the Government has constructed in every village, are neglected, and are generally in decay.

"Generally speaking, there is but little cleanliness. Linen is only met with among a few rich persons, who have under-garments of linen or cotton-cloth. Those in general use are made of soft rein-deer skins sewed together, and are worn with the hair inside. The outside is coloured red with the bark of the alder, and the edges and sleeves are trimmed with narrow strips of beaver or river-otter skin, which they buy at rather high prices from the Ischuktschi. The trowsers are of rein-deer skin. Over the fur-shirt an upper garment, called *karnleja*, is worn. It is made of thick tanned rein-deer leather without hair, and is coloured yellow by smoke. It is closed before and behind, and a hood fastened to the back of the neck is drawn over the head on leaving the room. People of fortune have a garment of the same form for wearing in the house, made of a cotton-cloth called *kitajka*. The feet are covered with brown leather or black goat-skin, sewed to tops of rein-deer skin with the hair on. The leather is ornamented with various devices in silk, and sometimes even embroidered with gold thread. Two long bands are crossed round the legs, and bind the boots and trowsers together. In the open air they wear a double fur cap, narrowing at the top, but deep and broad enough to cover the forehead and the cheeks. They wear besides little separate coverings for the forehead, ears, nose, and chin—these are often articles of great cost, the forehead band, especially, which being worn more for ornament than use, is adorned with all kinds of coloured and gold embroidery. When the cap is laid aside on going into a room, the forehead band is often kept on for show.

"On journeys, the *kuchlanka* is worn over all the above-mentioned garments. It is a wider *karnleja* made of double skin, and with a thick large hood; hand-bags are sewn to the sleeves: a small opening is left on the inside, through which the hand can be drawn when required for use, and can be immediately slipped back again into protection from the cold. Instead of the house-boots, half-stockings of the skin of the young rein-deer are worn; and the *torbassy*, or boots, are drawn over these. In this costume one can defy the cold for a long time.

"The belt carries a large knife; the *gansa*, a very small tobacco-pipe, made of brass or tin, with a short wooden tube; a pouch containing the materials for striking a light, and the tobacco, which is mixed with finely powdered larch-wood to make it go farther.

"The Russians here smoke in the manner common to all the people of Northern Asia. They draw in the tobacco-smoke, swallow it, and allow it to escape again by the nose and ears. They speak much of the pleasurable sensation of the sort of intoxication thus produced, and maintain that this manner of smoking affords much warmth in intensely cold weather.

"The house-clothing of the women differs from that of the men, chiefly by being made of much lighter skins. Rich women use cotton or sometimes even silk-stuffs, and ornament the part about the throat with trimmings of sable or martin. They generally bind cotton or silk-handkerchiefs round their heads, and sometimes wear besides knitted night-caps, under which the married women conceal their hair, after the Russian fashion. The young girls allow theirs to hang down in a long braid, and wear a forehead band when they are more dressed than usual. Their gala-dress resembles a good deal that which was worn some twenty years since, by women of the trading-classes in Russia. The larger the flowers, and the more various the colours of the silk, and the heavier and gayer the ear-rings, the more handsome and tasteful the full-dress is considered. The traders who come to the yearly fairs know how to make their advantage of this; they bring the finery which has gone out of fashion even at Jakuyk, to the banks of the Kolyma, and sell it at high prices as the newest made."—pp. 55-58.

For further notices of the customs and manners of these tribes, (which the reader will find exceedingly interesting) we must refer to the work itself, as we must be off with our travellers. The instructions of the Admiralty were, that M. Wrangel should proceed in the first instance from his headquarters on the Kolyma towards Cape Kalagskoi, in search of a "Northern Land," (the discovery of which was the main object of the expedition) while his second in command, M. von Matiuschkin, should go further on towards Behring's Strait. Several circumstances, however, having interfered to retard the necessary preparations for the accomplishment of these instructions, M. Wrangel decided on employing the intervening time in surveying the coast eastward. He and his companions having taken their places in their sledges, drawn by dogs, quitted their head-quarters on the 19th of February, 1821, and drove rapidly over the smooth ice along the sea coast. On the 22nd their latitude was $69^{\circ} 31'$; their longitude $161^{\circ} 44'$; the variation of the needle was $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ E. On the 24th they reached latitude $69^{\circ} 38'$, and $164^{\circ} 26'$ longitude, when the variation reached 17. If these figures be right, the result as to the variations of the needle is very remarkable. The coast here assumed an entirely flat appearance, only now and then interrupted by slight undulations.

The sea, as far as the eye could penetrate, presented but one unvaried surface of frozen snow, over which they travelled with considerable rapidity for several days. In the course of their journey they met with considerable piles of drift wood, which besides being very acceptable for firing, manifestly shewed that the open sea could not have been very distant. The cold constantly became more intense, and the wind was very violent. The drivers were obliged to put clothing on the dogs, and a kind of boots on their feet, to protect the animals from the extreme inclemency of the weather. The chronometer, though worn by M. Wrangel, stopped in consequence of the congelation of the oil in the works. The variation of the needle eastward still steadily increased. The auroral lights appeared to a greater or less extent almost every evening, and usually nearer to the earth than the ordinary height of the clouds. M. Wrangel states that those lights had no apparent effect on the compass. The travellers reached Cape Schelasskoi on the 5th of March, and having ascertained that from that Cape the coast treaded rapidly in a south-easterly direction, they prepared for their return to head-quarters on the 7th. By the best observations they could make, they calculated the Cape to be $70^{\circ} 03'$. The mountains which form the promontory appeared to be about 8,000 feet high, longitude 171° ; variation of the needle 18° east. No indication was discovered of the "Northern Land" of which they had been in search. They arrived at their head-quarters on the 19th of March.

The travellers started again on the 26th of the same month, but instead of returning far in an easterly direction, they proceeded at once to the northward from the Baranou rocks, which are but a short distance from the most eastern mouth of the Kolyma. At first they had to encounter several hummocks (large rude masses) of ice, the passages between which were attended with difficulties. But after they emerged from these obstacles, they beheld stretched before them an extensive plain of ice. They took down, after a capital chase, an enormous white bear, which had shown itself from behind a small ice hill. The weather was "beautiful," the evening twilight remarkably bright, but the whole party suffered severely in their eyes from the reflection from the snow. They found a partial remedy for this inconvenience in veils of black crape, which they wore fastened over their faces; but the pain which they had often to endure, notwithstanding all they could do, was most poignant.

The optical illusions, which appear to be frequent, and curiously capricious in those regions, often conjured up before our adventurers mountains and hills, and headlands. But these appearances vanished as the travellers approached the places where they expected to find the great object of their search. Some considerable islands, or rather rocks, were met with. On the 31st of March they reached a surface of ice, upon which rapid progress became difficult, in consequence of the snow being soft, and covered with thick crusts of salt. The wind, which was from east-north-east, brought with it thick fogs, so moist that their fur clothing was soon wet through. These circumstances indicated the vicinity of open water, and their situation was every moment more hazardous as the dense mists which covered the whole horizon prevented them from seeing where they were going. To go on and to halt were equally dangerous. It is worthy of being noted, that the snow and the ice were here so saturated with salt, that they were quite undrinkable. Latitude $70^{\circ} 53'$.

On the 2nd of April they found three seals sleeping carelessly on the ice; the dogs rushed upon them, but the seals quickly disappeared through a hole in the ice. The ice here was "very rotten and full of salt." Latitude $71^{\circ} 31'$; weather unusually mild—so much so that they preferred travelling during the night, when the air was cooler. On the 3rd they got on pretty rapidly, until they found themselves in "a deep salt moor," where it was impossible to advance. M. Wrangel says: "I examined the ice beneath the brine, and found it only five inches thick, and so rotten that it was easily cut through with a common knife." His narrative here becomes so interesting, that we must give it in his own words.

"We hastened to quit a place so fraught with danger; and after going four wersts in a S. by E. direction, we reached a smooth surface covered with a compact crust of snow. When we had gone a couple of wersts over this, I had the ice examined, and found it one foot two inches thick. The depth of the sea was twelve fathoms, and the bottom greenish mud. We halted one or two wersts further on, near some inconsiderable hummocks, where the thickness of the crust of ice and the depth of water were examined, and found the same as before. The water gushed up through the holes which had been made in the ice, and overflowed to a considerable distance in all directions, and soon imparted its bitter salt taste to the snow. When the watery particles evaporate in the sun, they leave behind a thick brine, part of which forms crystals, and part contributes to destroy the ice.

"Meanwhile the north wind increased in strength, and must have raised a considerable sea in the open water, as we heard the sound of

the agitated element beneath, and felt the undulatory motion of the thin coat of ice. Our position was at least an anxious one; the more so, as we could take no step to avoid the impending danger. I believe few of our party slept, except the dogs, who alone were unconscious of the great probability of the ice being broken up by the force of the waves. Our latitude was $71^{\circ} 37'$.

"As soon as the wind fell and the weather cleared, I had two of the best sledges emptied, and placed in them provisions for twenty-four hours, with the boat and oars, some poles and boards, and proceeded northwards to examine the state of the ice: directing M. Von Matuschkin, in case of danger, to retire with the whole party as far as might be needful, without awaiting my return.

"After driving through the thick brine with much difficulty for seven wersts, we came to a number of large fissures, which we passed with some trouble by the aid of the boards which we had brought with us. The ice was heaped up in several places in little mounds or hillocks, which, at the slightest touch, sunk into a kind of slough. This rotten ice was hardly a foot thick; the sea was twelve fathoms deep; the ground green mud; the countless fissures in every direction through which the sea-water came up mixed with a quantity of earth and mud; the little hillocks above described, and the water streaming amongst them all, gave to the field of ice the appearance of a great morass, over which we continued to advance two wersts further to the north, crossing the narrower fissures, and going round the larger ones. At last they became so numerous and so wide, that it was hard to say whether the sea beneath us was really still covered by a connected coat of ice, or only by a number of detached floating fragments, having everywhere two or more feet of water between them. A single gust of wind would have been sufficient to drive these fragments against each other, and being already thoroughly saturated with water, they would have sunk in a few minutes, leaving nothing but sea on the spot where we were standing. It was manifestly useless to attempt going further. We hastened to rejoin our companions, and to seek with them a place of greater security. Our most northern latitude was $71^{\circ} 43'$. We were at a distance of two hundred and fifteen wersts in a straight line from the lesser Baranon rock."—pp. 143-145.

Every fresh attempt they now made in a northerly direction, only led them to thinner coats of ice upon the sea; they clearly heard waves rolling in the distance, and felt the masses on which they stood strongly agitated. They therefore changed their course, and proceeded in a direction due west, the extreme latitude which they had at this time reached being $71^{\circ} 28'$. They then resumed their former course towards the Kolyma, and employed themselves for some days in surveying the coast in that direction. On the 28th of April, they were again at Nalme Kolymsk, their old head-

quarters, where they remained until the 10th of March, 1822, when they set out upon their journey on the frozen sea.

On the 15th, M. Wrangel and his companions reached once more the Baranon rock, whence they determined to proceed in a north-easterly direction, until they should arrive in latitude of $71\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ in the meridian of Cape Schelagskoi. They had now to traverse plains of ice—interrupted, however, frequently by drifted waves of snow, which much fatigued the dogs. The wind blew violently from the north-west, and the snow-drifts became thicker as they advanced. Optical illusions, somewhat akin to the mirage of the southern deserts, again seduced them into several directions to little purpose. On one occasion they all felt quite convinced that they beheld, at no great distance, a hilly country of moderate elevation. They plainly distinguished (as they imagined) valleys between the hills, and even several single rocks. Everything confirmed them in the hope of having at last reached the long-sought-for land, the object of all their toils. They hastened forward with mutual congratulations; but as the evening light altered, alas! they saw their newly-discovered land move suddenly to windward, and extend itself along the horizon, until they appeared to be in a lake wholly surrounded by mountains! This deception was repeated the following day. For several days after they had to contend with difficulties similar to those already experienced; and on the 9th of April, M. Von Matiuschkin, who had been sent on in advance of the expedition, returned and reported that he “had seen the icy sea break from its fetters: enormous fields of ice, raised by the waves into an almost vertical position, driven against each other with dreadful crash, pressed downwards by the foaming billows, and re-appearing again on the surface, covered with the torn-up green mud, which everywhere forms the bottom of the sea.” M. Wrangel states the latitude where *he* then was at $71^{\circ} 52'$; longitude, by reckoning $3^{\circ} 23'$ east of the Baranon rocks, and the variation of the needle, $18^{\circ} 45'$. He does not inform us of the latitude which M. Matiuschkin had reached; it did not probably much exceed 72° .

The expedition then took a west-north-west direction. As far as the eye could reach, they saw new and impassible hummocks, and heard sounds resembling the rolling of distant thunder. Numerous columns of dark blue vapour were ascending at various points. They had here the opportunity of observing, that when the ice cracks, even in places where it was otherwise thick and solid, vaporisation immediately en-

sued, more or less dense to the view, according to the temperature of the atmosphere. The vapours usually ascended vertically in columnar shapes. On the 12th they were in latitude $72^{\circ} 2'$. There was a strong wind from the north, and the depth of the sea was fourteen fathoms and a half. The bottom was no longer green mud, but gravel. Despairing, therefore, of finding the object of their search in that direction, they resolved to return to the meridian of Schelagskoi, due north of which the problematical land was supposed to be situated. On the morning of the 21st of April, M. Von Matuschkin, who had gone forward in a light sledge, again beheld "extensive open water, with fields of thin ice drifting to the east-south-east." No appearance whatever of land having presented itself in that quarter, the expedition returned once more to their head-quarters on the Kolyma.

The "last great journey" of the expedition, in their attempt to accomplish the object of their mission, was commenced on the 26th of February, 1828. They took their departure along the coast to the eastward, and on the 8th of March arrived at Cape Schelagskoi, where they met some members of a native tribe called Tschuktschi, the chieftain of whom informed them, that "between Cape Schelagskoi and Cape North (to the south-east of the former), there was a part of the coast where, from some cliffs near the mouth of a river, one might, in a clear summer's day, descry snow-covered mountains at a great distance to the north, but that it was impossible in winter to see so far." On the 21st they reached latitude $70^{\circ} 20'$; longitude $174^{\circ} 18'$. The variation of the needle was $21\frac{1}{2}$ east. By the light of a beautiful aurora, they continued their march until the night was far advanced. The next morning they again beheld the blue vapour, which in those regions uniformly indicated open water. On the 23rd they had clear weather, when M. Wrangel again found further progress northward impracticable.

"We climbed one of the loftiest ice-hills, whence we obtained an extensive view towards the north, and whence we beheld the wide immeasurable ocean spread before our gaze. It was a fearful and magnificent, but to us a melancholy spectacle! Fragments of ice of enormous size floated on the surface of the agitated ocean, and were thrown by the waves with awful violence against the edge of the ice-field on the farther side of the channel before us. The collisions were so tremendous, that large masses were every instant broken away, and it was evident that the portion of ice which still divided the channel from the open ocean, would soon be completely destroyed. Had we attempted to have ferried ourselves across upon one of the floating

pieces of ice, we should not have found firm footing upon our arrival. Even on our own side fresh lanes of water were continually forming and extending in every direction in the field of ice behind us. We could go no further.

"With a painful feeling of the impossibility of overcoming the obstacles which nature opposed to us, our last hope vanished of discovering the land, which we yet believed to exist. We saw ourselves compelled to renounce the object for which we had striven through three years of hardships, toil, and danger. We had done what duty and honour demanded. Further attempts would have been absolutely hopeless, and I decided to return.

"According to my reckoning, the point from which we were forced to return, is situated in $70^{\circ} 51'$, and $175^{\circ} 27'$. Our distance from the main-land in a direct line, was a hundred and five wersts, (about sixty geographical miles)."

We subjoin some observations made by M. Wrangel on the aurora borealis, which will assist in ascertaining the true origin and nature of that phenomenon:—

"1. When the streamers rise high and approach the full-moon, a luminous circle of from 20° to 30° is frequently formed round it. The circle continues for a time, and then disappears.

"2. When the streamers extend to the zenith, or nearly so, they sometimes resolve themselves into small, faintly luminous, and cloud-like patches, of a milk-white colour, and which not unfrequently continue to be visible on the following day, in the shape of white wave-like clouds.

"3. We often saw on the northern horizon, below the auroral light, dark-blue clouds, which bear a great resemblance in colour and form to the vapours which usually rise from a sudden break in the ice of the sea.

"4. Even during the most brilliant auroras, we could never perceive any considerable noise, but in such cases we did hear a slight hissing sound, as when the wind blows on a flame.

"5. The Auroras seen from Nishne Kolymsk, usually commence in the north-eastern quarter of the heavens; and the middle of the space which they occupy in the northern horizon, is generally 10° or 20° east of true north. The magnetic variation at this place is about 10° E.

"6. Auroras are more frequent and more brilliant on the sea-coast than at a distance from it. The latitude of the place does not otherwise influence them. Thus, for example, it would seem from the accounts of the Ischuktschi, that in Kolintschin island, (in $67^{\circ} 26'$ lati-

* The attention of our readers is directed to the exertions of Messrs. Dease and Simpson, who, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the winter 1839-40, explored the intervals passed over by Franklin, Back, Beechy, and Richardson, and established the fact of America being an island.

tude), auroras are much more frequent and more brilliant than at Nishne Kolymak, in latitude $68^{\circ} 32'$. On the coast we often saw the streamers shoot up to the zenith; whereas this was rarely the case at Nishne Kolymak; nor was the light nearly so brilliant at the latter place.

"7. The inhabitants of the coast affirm, that after a brilliant aurora, they always have a strong gale from the quarter in which it appeared. We did not observe this to be the case at Nishne Kolymak. The difference, however, may proceed from local circumstances, which often either prevent the sea winds from reaching so far inland, or alter their direction;—for example, it often happens that there is a strong northerly wind at Poschodsk, seventy wersts north of Kolymak, whilst at the latter place the wind is southerly.

"8. The finest auroras always appear at the beginning of strong gales in November and January. When the cold is more intense, they are more rare.

"9. A remarkable phenomenon which I often witnessed, deserves to be recorded—*i. e.* when shooting stars fell near the lower portion of an auroral arch, fresh-kindled streamers instantly appeared, and shot up from the spot where the star fell.

"From some of the above remarks it may be inferred, that the freezing of the sea may be connected with the appearance of auroras. Perhaps a great quantity of electricity may be produced by the suddenly rising vapours, or by the friction of large masses of ice against each other.

"The aurora does not always occupy the higher regions of the atmosphere; it is usually nearer the surface of the earth, and this is shown by the visible influence of the lower current of the atmosphere on the beams of the aurora. We have frequently seen the effect of the wind on the streamers as obvious as it is on clouds; and it is almost always the wind which is blowing at the surface of the earth."—pp. 390-400.

It may be important to remark that, according to this statement, the auroras seen from Nishne Kolymak usually commenced in the north-east quarter of the heavens; and that the middle of the space which they occupied in the northern region was 10° or 20° east of line north. The magnetic variation at Nishne Kolymak was about 10° east, and the greatest variation which M. Wrangel had observed in his journey eastward was $21\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ east. It would appear, therefore, that the increase of the variation was intimately connected with the extension of the aurora in that direction. It should also be noted that when "the cold was most intense, the auroras were more rare,"—a fact which gives strong confirmation to the doctrine that electricity has much to do with the production of the aurora; the electric fluid being more copiously absorbed in the colder than in the warmer regions

of the earth. The greater the cold, the greater the absorption; the greater the absorption of electricity, the less apparent the aurora.

We shall now state, as briefly as we can, the results of the exploring expedition dispatched by the United States, under the command of Lieutenant Wilkes, to the South Seas, in search of a new continent. His official report is dated from the United States ship *Vincennes*, 10th March, 1840; besides this ship, he had under his command the *Peacock*, the *Porpoise*, and the *Flying Fish*. These vessels had sailed from Sydney, New South Wales, in company, on the 24th December, 1839, with instructions "to proceed south as far as was practicable, and cruise within the Antarctic Ocean." In consequence of fogs, the ships soon parted company. On the 10th of January, 1840, Lieutenant Wilkes, being in 61° latitude south, fell in with the first icelands, and continued to steer to the southwards as directly as numerous icebergs would permit him. On the 12th he ran into a bay of field ice, in longitude $164^{\circ} 53'$ east, and latitude $64^{\circ} 11'$ south, which presented a perfect barrier against his further progress in that direction. He proceeded on the 12th to the westward, working along until the 19th, when he saw land to the south and east, with many indications of being in its vicinity, such as penguins, seals, and the discolouration of the water. But an impenetrable barrier of ice prevented his nearer approach to it. On the 22nd he fell in with large clusters and bodies of ice, and innumerable ice islands, and until the 25th was in a large bay formed by ice, examining the different points in hopes of effecting an entrance to the south, but without success. He here reached latitude $67^{\circ} 4'$, longitude $147^{\circ} 30'$ east, being the furthest south he had penetrated. "Appearances of distant land were seen in the eastward and westward." The dipping needles gave $87^{\circ} 30'$ for the dip. The azimuth compass was so sluggish on the ice, that on being agitated and bearings again taken, it gave nearly three points difference, the variation being $12^{\circ} 35'$ east. A few days afterwards, about a hundred miles further to the west, he had "no variation," and thence it rapidly increased in *westerly* variation, from which Lieutenant Wilkes concludes that when in the ice bay he could not have been very far from the south magnetic pole. On the 28th, being in latitude $66^{\circ} 33'$, longitude $140^{\circ} 30'$ east, he again discovered land; on the 30th he reached a small bay, pointed by high ice cliffs and black volcanic rocks; about sixty miles of coast were in sight, extending towards the southward, of a high mountainous

character. During the last three or four days the weather was exceedingly tempestuous. He persevered, however, in his course westward. On the 9th of February, being the first clear night that he had experienced for some time, he witnessed the aurora australis; on the 12th again saw distant mountains, but unable to penetrate the barrier of ice which the coast presented; 13th at noon, longitude $107^{\circ} 45'$ east, latitude $65^{\circ} 11'$, sea tolerably clear, land plainly in sight. He continued pushing through the ice until he was stopped by the fixed barrier about fifteen miles from the shore, and with little or no prospect of effecting a landing. Near him were several icebergs, coloured and stained with earth, on one of which he debarked, and obtained numerous specimens of sand, stone, and quartz. A sea leopard was seen on the ice, but the boats sent did not succeed in taking it. Interests connected with his "whaling" avocations prevented him from proceeding further in his exertions to explore the land which he had seen, and on the 21st he directed his course northward. He mentions three brilliant appearances of the aurora australis, which he had witnessed after the one already referred to. Lieutenant Wilkes concludes his report with the following observations.

"1st. From our discoveries of the land through 40° of longitude, and the observations made during this interesting cruise, with the similarity of formation and position of the ice during our close examination of it, I consider that there can scarcely be a doubt of the existence of the Antarctic continent extending the whole distance of 70° from east to west.

"2nd. That different points of the land are at times free from the ice barrier.

"3rd. That they are frequented by seal, many of which were seen, and offer to our enterprising countrymen engaged in those pursuits a field of large extent for their future operations.

"4th. That the large number of whales of different species seen, and the quantity of food for them, would designate this coast as a place of great resort for them. The fin-backed whale seemed to predominate.

"We proceeded on our cruise to the northward and eastward with strong gales, until we reached the latitude of certain islands, laid down on the charts as the Royal Company Islands, about 6° to the westward of their supposed locality; I then stood on their parallel, and passed over their supposed site, but we saw nothing of them, nor any indication of land in the vicinity: I feel confident, as far as respects their existence in or near the longitude or parallel assigned them, to assert that they do not exist.

"The last ice island was seen in latitude 51° south. A few specimens of natural history were obtained and preserved during the cruise."

This report appears to us very satisfactory with reference

to the main object of the expedition, the discovery of an antarctic continent. It is to be regretted, however, that when Lieutenant Wilkes was within fifteen miles of the land, he and some of his companions did not debark, and take a pedestrian excursion in the direction of the continent. But we suspect, although he does not openly state the fact, he had to deal with a crew very reluctantly engaged in the business of exploration, when they thought they might be much more pleasantly and profitably occupied in whaling. The French expedition, under Captain D'Urville, fell in with land at the same time (January 1840) as Lieutenant Wilkes, though they were 600 miles apart from each other—a strong confirmation of Lieutenant Wilkes' conclusions. These discoveries exhibit a continuous coast of 1700 miles.

The magnetic observations made by Lieutenant Wilkes seem to have been so loosely conducted, and his instruments for that purpose were so imperfect, that we fear no safe conclusion can be drawn from his report either of the dip or the variations. Indeed, M. Wrangel's narrative is also far from being satisfactory as to the dip and variation of the needle at the North Pole. We are happy to learn that this most interesting and important subject has been placed by government in a course of full inquiry. We have no doubt that the results will tend much not only to the progress of geographical knowledge, but to the march of all the sciences connected with what we must at present call the mysteries of the electric element*

* We have been favoured with a letter from Lieutenant Stokes of H. M. S. *Beagle*, addressed to our friend, Mr. M. Walker, of the hydrographer's office, dated from Timor, as recently as the 1st of August, 1840, from which we extract a passage which will interest our readers:—"Since leaving Swan River, last April, we have examined Houtman's Abrolhos, coast opposite, and 130 miles of the north-west coast of Australia, when we were driven here for water. We have discovered nothing beyond a few mangrove creeks, and a more sterile coast is not to be found; we return to it immediately. D'Urville had sailed only a fortnight before we arrived; he has been successful in his search for land to the south; is it not strange that he should have found it between the latitude of 65° and 68°? that near Cape Horn appears to be a part of Enderby's land. Both the French ships had *English crews*, shipped at Hobart Town, paying them double wages; I find they have examined the south-eastern shore of New Guinea, but not the southern, therefore there is yet something *new* left us. I have gleaned a good deal of information about that country from the doctor of the Dutch settlement at Triton Bay, who fortunately I met here, on his way to Europe. This China business will of course bring many of our ships into these seas; the following notices of some shoals, therefore, you will be glad to get for the charts: northern entrance of Alloo Strait, lat. 8° 10' S.; a reef breaking for *four miles* N. 33° E. from Flat Islands; the latter is a single island joined by a narrow neck. Pulo Baby, lat. 8° 08' S. is joined to Wetten Island by an extensive reef, dry at low water.

ART. II.—*Elevation of the Cathedral Church of St. Chad, Birmingham.* By A. W. Pugin. London: 1840.

THE revival of our ancient parochial church architecture is a subject which occupies much attention at the present time; after three centuries of demolition and neglect, the solemn structures raised by our Catholic ancestors are being gradually restored to somewhat of their original appearance,* and buildings which but a few years since were considered as unsightly and barbarous erections of ignorant times, are now become the theme for general eulogy, and models for imitation. To the English Catholic there is no class of religious edifices of greater interest than the ancient parish churches of this country. They are admirably suited to the present wants and necessities of the Church, nor is it possible to adopt, consistently, any other models for the greater portion of our ecclesiastical buildings.

However, glorious, magnificent, and edifying as were the great cathedral and abbatical churches, wonderful monuments of piety and zeal, we cannot turn to them in our present condition as objects of imitation. To rival them is wholly out of the question; to produce a meagre and reduced copy would be little better than caricaturing past glories. They were, in fact, the crowning result of Catholic piety and zeal, when it covered the face of the land, when all hearts and hands were united in the great work of rearing piles to God. These vast and sumptuous churches were, however, only the result of a long series of humble endeavours; they were the flowers of that faith which had been sown and cultivated by other means.

It is, in fact, by parish churches, that the faith of a nation is to be sustained and nourished; in them souls are engrafted to the Church by the waters of baptism; they are the tribunals of penance, and the seats of mercy and forgiveness. In them is the holy Eucharistic sacrifice continually offered up, and the sacred body of our Lord received by the faithful; there the holy books are read, and the people in-

* Among these restorations, none is more deserving of praise than that of the Temple church, London. The whole of the unsightly fittings of the last century have been removed, the marble caps and shafts beautifully restored, the whole of the vaulted ceiling diapered and painted, and many of the windows are being filled with stained glass, which, in design and execution, may vie with some of the richest windows of antiquity.

structed ; they become the seat and centre of every pious thought and deed ; the pavement is studded with sepulchral memorials, and hundreds of departed faithful repose beneath the turf of the consecrated enclosures in which they stand. Each Catholic parish church is the history of the adjacent county ; the family chantry, with its baronial monuments and heraldic bearings, the churchman's brass, the crusader's tomb, the peasant's cross, the storied windows, are all evidences of a long series of men and events ; and valuable indeed are the national records furnished by many of even the humblest churches of this land ; and even now, desecrated and despoiled as they are, still is there a traditionary reverence for these monuments of ancient piety left among the people.

Are not village spires, the church bells, the old porches, the venerable yew trees, the old grey towers, subjects on which writers and poets love to dwell ? and Catholic feeling has never been so obscured in this land but that many have been found to view these holy spots with pious reverence ; and what is truly consoling, the traditional form of the old buildings, although dreadfully debased and disfigured, has never been totally abandoned.* If the English Catholic body avail themselves of this feeling of attachment to the old parish churches which exists among a great body of the people, wonderful good may be produced ; but if they neglect the means they are bound to employ to turn this feeling to the restoration of the old faith, then it will be found extremely inimical to the revival of religion.

A vast body of uninformed but excellently intentioned people, especially in agricultural districts, oppose the progress

* There are many interesting examples of this fact to be found in England. In that stronghold of Christian architecture, Oxford, we find colleges and buildings erected during the reigns of James and Charles, with the arrangement and features of the ancient buildings. At St. John's college are some beautiful groined ceilings of a very late date. The hall of Lambeth Palace, erected since the restoration by Archbishop Juxon, has buttresses, tracery windows, battlements, a *lovre*, a *dais* with a bay window, open framed roof, and all the characteristics of a refectory of the 15th century.

At Westminster Abbey the end of the north transept was almost rebuilt in the 17th century.

The font and cover at Durham Cathedral, set up in the time of Charles 1st, are carried up to a great height with niches, buttresses, and pinnacles.

The details of all these works are debased, and Italian monstrosities appear occasionally ; but still these, and numberless other examples which might be adduced, fully prove that England long clung with a sort of lingering love to her ancient architecture.

of Catholicism from Catholic motives. They look upon the old church as the true one, they are not sufficiently instructed to draw a distinction between that same old church under Catholic or Protestant ministration, and they equally despise and avoid the dissenting conventicle, built by some independent preacher, or the *dissenting looking* conventicle, erected in fact for the celebration of the very rites for which the old church was built, but with which it does not appear to have the slightest connexion, as an admirable writer in the *British Critic* beautifully expresses himself; "Grecian temple, Catholic cathedral, Corinthian portico, Norman doorway, pilaster and pinnacle, cannot differ so much or so essentially as the notions of a church, a preaching house, and a house of prayer. If then," he continues, "one could ensure the greatest technical accuracy in details, still if the Genevan principle of a house of God instead of the Catholic be adopted, the result must be an architectural monster." Such is the language of one, who, although unfortunately separated from us in communion, is evidently united in taste with the ancient faithful of this land; and it is lamentable that few among us appear to feel the truth of these observations. Modern Catholics have frequently abandoned *Catholic architecture* for the *Genevan*, and even make light of this melancholy decay, and speak of the architecture of the house of God and the formation of his sanctuary, on which our Catholic ancestors bestowed the greater part of their lives and goods, as a thing indifferent, dependent on mere whim and idea. Now it is scarcely less important to adhere to the traditions of the Church as regards the arrangements of material buildings, than as to any other matters connected with the celebration of the divine mysteries; for it is impossible that these latter can be performed in accordance with the rituals and intentions of the Church, if the former are disregarded; and yet it is a melancholy fact, that even a great portion of the clergy seem utterly unconscious of the close connexion between the two.

The most ardent supporters of the modern temple or conventical style, who have cast away without the least compunction, not only the splendours but the *proprieties and essentials* of church architecture, affect great horror of what they term innovation in matters of much less importance. They regard the reduction of a shovel-ended stole to its ancient and reasonable shape, or the unstarching of a crimped surplice and restoring its graceful and ample folds, in the light of an almost mortal sin; while they sever every link between themselves

and Catholic practice and antiquity in the style and arrangement of their churches. Surely this must arise from want of due reflection or information on these matters.

Can it be imagined that the Church in all ages, would have defined with such scrupulous exactness every thing connected with the celebration of the divine office, had not such precautions been considered necessary to ensure a becoming and solemn performance of the sacred rites? The Church, moreover, appointed proper officers, such as archdeacons, and rural deans, to act under the bishop, and see that the intentions and regulations of the Church were properly carried out, and to report on the state of the various churches in the diocese.

There are yet existing visitations of the twelfth century, where the slightest defect or irregularity in the fabric or ornaments is carefully noted down, with directions for amendment; yet all these excellent regulations to preserve uniformity and discipline, established by the wisdom of the ancient Churchmen, are accounted as foolishness by many Catholics of these days. To assert the importance of adhering to ancient tradition in these matters, is sufficient to draw forth ridicule, and even censure. It is lamentable to hear the sentiments which are expressed on ecclesiastical architecture by many who should be most ardent in reviving it in all its ancient purity, but who do not even bestow as much consideration on it as on the construction of their stables. The principal part of our modern churches are the result of mere whim and caprice. Those who build them are regulated neither by ecclesiastical nor architectural authority; hence a new Catholic church is almost certain to be a perfect outrage on ecclesiastical propriety and architectural taste. It is impossible to say, before it is erected, whether the building will look most like an auction room or a methodist meeting; whether it will have any symbol of Christianity about it, or be quite plain; whether it will be a caricature of pointed or of Grecian architecture; whether it will have any characteristics of a Catholic church at all, if we except its extremely offensive appearance, which, grievous as it may be, is become a very distinguishing mark of a Catholic building.

Formerly, the word *church* implied a *particular sort of edifice invariably erected on the same principle*; it might be highly ornamented, or it might be simple; it might be large or small, lofty or low, costly or cheap, but it was arranged on

a certain regulated system. Churches built hundreds of miles apart, and with the difference of centuries in the period of their erection, would still exhibit a perfect similarity of purpose, and by their form and arrangement attest that the same faith had instigated their erections, and the same rites were performed within their walls. But now, alas, the case is widely different; anything may be built and called a church; any style, any plan, any detail. No sooner is a new building of this kind determined upon, than there is a muster of committee-men to adjust preliminaries, and decide on plans. These are men generally ignorant of every thing connected with these matters; which the result of their labours but too plainly proves. Some Protestant builder,—a matter-of-fact one-idea Roman-cement man, whose highest achievement in architectural art has been the erection of a market-house, or modernizing the front of an hotel—is not uncommonly considered as a fit and proper person to design and carry out an edifice intended for those very rites which produced the erection of every truly fine church in the land. Of course this individual, who is perfectly destitute of any idea of what the church should be like, eagerly catches at the suggestions of the committee-men, who are far from backward in having a say on these occasions. One has seen a new chapel lately opened, which he thinks extremely *neat and pretty*, but would propose that the altar should stand in a sort of alcove; a second, however, objects to this latter proposition, as he proves that those who would sit in the *last seat of the gallery could not look down on the top of the altar*; this is declared to be a fatal objection, and the altar is decided to stand against a flat wall, where it can be *well seen on three sides*. A hints that something in the Gothic style would look well; but B declares it to be all *expensive gingerbread*. C, who has been to Rome, laughs outright at such a barbarism as pointed architecture, and asks A sarcastically if he ever saw a Grecian portico; talks with equally extravagant praise of St. Peter's and the Parthenon, the two most opposite buildings in the world, and concludes with an eulogium on classical taste and refinement, and the barbarisms of the old Catholics. A ventures to reply, that there was something very grand about the old churches, notwithstanding, and offering some remarks about antiquity, is cut short by a loud laugh and general cry, "Oh, we're all for the modern now;" in which the one-idea Roman-cement man heartily joins, and compels him to be silent. After some further conversation about a marble altar

from abroad, candlesticks of the newest Parisian fashion, and some other foreign novelties, the meeting separates, and a building is commenced, which in due time is finished, and opened with a band of theatricals, who, as the bills announce, have *kindly consented* to sing the praises of God—it might perhaps be added, as is sometimes seen on benefit bills (*for that day only*), which would be an additional inducement for a full audience. This is a true picture of the manner in which many Catholic churches have been, and, what is worse, are still, being built; yet, perhaps, close by such an abortion stands the old parish church of the town. Although simple in its architecture, Catholic is indelibly stamped on its venerable exterior. Heretical violence has stripped it of its most beautiful ornaments; Protestant churchwardens have fattened on its old leaded roof and spire; it is curtailed of its fair proportions, and disfigured by some unsightly modern additions, which have been tacked on to its ancient walls; yet, in spite of these memorable disadvantages, it still tells its tale,—it is Catholic from foundation to tower top. Melancholy is it to think that this venerable pile should have been alienated from the ancient faith; but thrice melancholy is it that those who should ever regard it with veneration, and strive to imitate its beauties, should pass it by unheeded and despised; and as if in mockery of its venerable grandeur, raise a conventicle-looking structure under its very walls, where the assemblage of architectural monstrosities becomes a standing proof of the degeneracy of modern times.

It is very probable that many well-disposed persons have been led to approve, or at least tolerate, these miserable erections, from a mistaken idea that nothing could be accomplished in the pointed style under an immense cost. Now so far from this being the case, *this architecture has decidedly the advantage on the score of economy*; it can be accommodated to *any materials, any dimensions, and any locality*. The erroneous opinions formed on this subject are consequent on the unfortunate results attending the labours of those who, when about to build in the pointed style, take some vast church for their model; and then, without a twentieth part of the space, or a hundredth part of the money, try to do something like it. This is certain to be a failure. Had they, on the contrary, gone and examined some edifice of antiquity, corresponding in *scale and intention to the one they wished to erect*, they would have produced a satisfactory building at a reasonable cost. Some persons seem to imagine that every pointed

church must be a cathedral or nothing: this has even been cited as a reason why the proposed new Catholic church at York should *not* be Gothic, on account of its vicinity to the cathedral. Nothing can be more absurd: no one would think for an instant of attempting to rival the extent or richness of that glorious pile; but were there not above thirty parochial churches anciently in York? and did their builders think it expedient to depart from Catholic architecture in the design, on account of the stupendous cathedral? Certainly not. There were many buildings among them, and small ones too, *equally perfect and beautiful for the purpose for which they were intended as the minster itself*. Architecture to be good must be consistent. A parish church, to contain a few hundred persons, must be very differently arranged from a metropolitan cathedral; and if this principle be understood, and acted upon, the Catholics of York may erect an edifice suitable to their present necessities, which would not be unworthy of William de Melton or Walter Skirlaw.

Churches must be regulated in their scale and decorations (as was the case formerly) by the means and numbers of the people; it being always remembered that the house of God should be as good, as spacious, as ornamented, as circumstances will allow. Many a humble village church, of rubble walls and thatched roof, has doubtless formed as acceptable an offering to Almighty God (being the utmost the poor people could accomplish) as the most sumptuous fabric erected by their richer brethren. Everything is relative; a building may be admirable and edifying in one place, which would be disgraceful in another. As long as the Catholic principle exists, of dedicating the best to God, be that great or little, the intention is the same, and the result always entails a blessing. But this does not afford the slightest ground for a pretext, urged by some wealthy persons in these days of decayed faith, that it does not matter how or where God is worshipped, and that four walls are equally well adapted for the purpose with the most solemn piles. God expects, and it is beyond contradiction His due, that we should devote to His honour and service a large portion of the temporal benefits we enjoy. While, therefore, it would be both absurd and unjust to expect more than what the station and means of persons enable them to contribute towards the erection of churches, it is a horrible scandal, and a fearful condemnation, that many persons of wealth and influence do oppose the Catholic principle, of making the house of God the centre of earthly splendour; and

instead of contributing to this great and holy work, try to excuse their conduct by urging the miserable arguments of Protestants on these matters. While for the gratification of their own personal vanity, or the indulgence of their luxury, no expense can be too profuse, it is lamentable to look around on the various buildings used for Catholic worship in this land, and to see how few among them are at all fitted, either by their arrangement or decoration, for the sacred purposes for which they are intended.

We will not speak of chapels built fifty years ago, since it may with justice be urged that those were times of persecution; but we will turn to those churches which have been raised within a few years, and without the existence of any other restrictions than those which either the miserable parsimony or ignorance of the builders have imposed on them. In London itself, what are termed the *fashionable* chapels are uglier and more inconvenient than many Protestant chapels of ease; so ill-constructed as to arrangement, as to expose the sacred mysteries to unnecessary interruptions and publicity; so confined in their dimensions, that not a hundredth part of the people can squeeze in to hear mass; so meagre in decoration, that many Protestant churches are infinitely more elegant; and yet to these places, Sunday after Sunday, will Catholics of wealth, influence, and station, be driven in their carriages; and will appear, or actually are, perfectly satisfied with the building wherein they assemble to worship God, when the very entrance halls of their dwellings are more handsomely furnished, and the sideboards of their dining rooms are ten times more costly than the altar. In many country missions the case is even more deplorable; for we may find chapels destitute not only of the ornaments, but the essentials for the holy sacrifice, and even, horrible to name, the blessed Eucharist, the fountain of grace, received in a vessel of meaner material than what is generally used for the domestic table. The altar, composed only of a few boards, neglected, decayed, and dirty; candlesticks of the commonest description, holding an almost expiring wick; trash and trumpery, in the shape of paper pots of artificial flowers, are stuck about to make up a show, and the whole presents the chilling aspect of combined neglect, bad taste, and poverty.

But there is another sort of chapel, especially in large towns, which presents an equally offensive and distressing appearance, although from different causes; in these the evil does not proceed from either poverty or neglect, but from the

ill-judged expenditure of money by pious but uninformed persons. In these places, societies of ladies are frequently formed for adorning the altar: the principal and ostensible object of such a sisterhood is admirable, but the manner in which the affair is carried out is generally lamentable. These well-meaning ladies transfer all the nicknackery of the work-room, the toilette table, and the bazaar, to the altar of God. The result is pitiable;—cut papers of various colours, pretty ribbons, china pots, darling little gimcracks, artificial flowers, all sorts of trumpery, are suffered to be intruded not only into the vicinity of the seat of most holy mysteries, but actually in the presence of the blessed sacrament itself, insulting to the majesty of religion and distracting to every well-regulated and informed mind. The pranks these well-intentioned but ill-judged devotees are allowed to practise are truly extraordinary. Their intentions are excellent; they wish to work for the good and advancement of religion, although they unknowingly hinder it, by rendering its externals childish and ridiculous in appearance. But why should not their efforts be turned into a good channel? let them embroider frontals of altars, which are susceptible of every variety of ornament and design; they should be varied for every festival, and have appropriate subjects and emblems worked on them for each. The orpheys and hoods of copes, and the crosses of chasubles, would be an ample field for the exertions of the most indefatigable needle-women; and beautiful church ornaments might they produce, if they would quit the Berlin pattern and pole-screen style, and imitate the ancient and appropriate embroidery. We are greatly indebted to the ladies of the middle ages for much beautiful church needlework; but pure taste was then generally diffused, and *all worked in accordance with the regulations and traditions of the Church*, which were strictly enforced; and we may hope that such will again be the case, when Catholic art is better and more extensively understood.

But to return: there is another class of chapels, belonging to private mansions and families, which are generally in a most disgraceful state. Often has the butler a well-furnished pantry, the housekeeper her spacious storeroom, the cook his complete *batterie de cuisine*, all, in fact, well provided, except the chapel and the chaplain: no pittance can be too small for the latter, nothing too mean or paltry for the former. There are some exceptions; but collectively they are quite unworthy of their sacred purpose: it would be invidious to name examples of either class, but we may mention

some defects nearly common to them all, and leave the application of the remarks to those who may feel deserving of them.

The origin of these private chapels may be traced to both necessity and devotion. First: necessity, which during the times of persecution precluded the possibility of the public celebration of the Divine mysteries, and obliged the priests of the Church to seek privacy and concealment: hence the houses of those families who retained the ancient faith answered the purposes of parochial churches, and thus true religion was preserved by these means throughout the land. Secondly: the devotion of pious persons, who were anxious to have the consolations of religion under their very roof. Private chapels and chaplains are undoubtedly very ancient, and it is a practice which if properly carried out cannot be too much commended. It must be admitted, however, that it is a great privilege to have the same holy rites performed under one's own roof for which the most extensive piles in Christendom have been raised. The presence of the Lord of Hosts is no ordinary honour, and yet, strange to say, these reflections, if ever they are made, seem to produce but little effect on the minds of those who ought to be most sensibly touched by them. To *keep up a chapel* in these days is considered a *merit instead of a privilege*; a man is not accounted liberal who keeps a cook to administer to his appetite, a butler to provide him drink, and, in fine, a vast number of persons to attend and supply all he requires; this all passes by, nor is it of course considered any way meritorious; but to support a chaplain to administer the sacraments—without which all food, all raiment, all wealth, all state, is utterly dead and unprofitable—is thought in these days something very great and very praiseworthy. Out on such contradiction! the world does not in all its varieties exhibit such specimens of inconsistency as are to be found between the faith and practice of modern Catholics. If a visitor of fashion announces his intention of honouring their mansions with a visit, what preparations, what uncovering of holland, what setting up of wax lights; while the most holy sacrament of our Lord's body, deserted and forlorn, is left in a mean receptacle, without lamp or honour, in some half-furnished, half-dilapidated, and decayed chamber, which the owner of the house consents to give up to God, out of his vast and sumptuous residence; and while the commonest articles of food are served up on massive silver, by footmen in costly liveries, a miserable bit of plated ware is the earthly tabernacle for the sacred body of our Lord, and a cast-off gown is considered sufficiently good for a vestment wherein

to offer up the adorable sacrifice. When a new private chapel is decided on, how often is some outhouse or adjacent stable converted into a sanctuary for the Lord of Hosts. Many private chapels have bed rooms *over* them, which is strictly forbidden; others are situated directly over the meanest offices of the house; and few indeed are there which have been arranged with the slightest reference to the sanctity of their purpose.

We cannot dismiss this part of our subject without referring to a chapel recently erected in the north, which is an instance much to be regretted of the foreign and novel ideas which exist among some of our most distinguished English catholics. Money was lavished on this building with a zeal and devotion which would have done honour to days of livelier faith; the endowment also was ample; everything was done in a fine spirit, but with most mistaken ideas of Catholic architecture. A plaster imitation of Italian design has been erected on the soil of that county which can boast a Rivaulx, a Fountains, a Beverley, a York,—a county whose face is studded with Catholic remains of every style, from the severe lancet to the elaborate perpendicular. Alas! Catholic England, how art thou fallen, when thine own children forget the land of their fathers, and leave thy most beauteous works unnoticed and despised, to catch at foreign ideas, unsuited to their country, and jarring with its national traditions.

The long exclusion of the English Catholics from the ancient ecclesiastical edifices, and the necessity which existed till lately of a foreign education, have undoubtedly produced this lamentable departure from the traditions and feelings of their ancestors. It is therefore of the highest importance to set forth the beauty and fitness of the ancient churches, and the necessity of adhering strictly to them as the models for our imitation. The majestic cathedral and celebrated ruin may occasionally arrest the attention of the modern Catholic traveller, but how few think on the interesting claims on their attention which *almost every rural church possesses!* how often do they pass unheeded the old grey tower and moss-covered chancel, when within their walls might be found many a memorial of old Catholic faith, which would not have survived the attacks of fanaticism and novelty in a more conspicuous spot. It is beyond even a doubt that the rural population of England were ardently attached to the faith of their fathers, and that but trifling changes were made in the internal decoration of the churches, till the ascendancy of the Calvinists and fanatics under Cromwell; and even in the present

day many of these ancient and holy edifices may be found tolerably perfect in their original internal arrangement.*

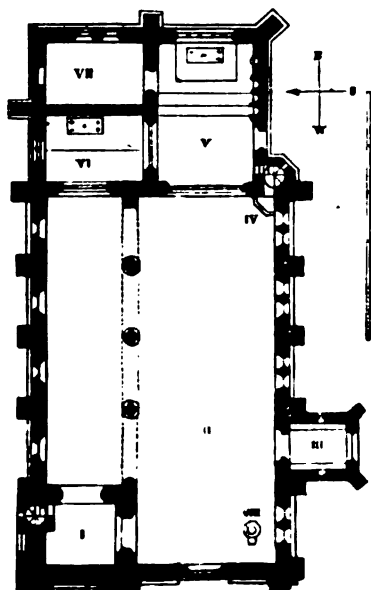
We will now consider what is to be regarded as forming a complete Catholic parish church for the due celebration of the divine office and administration of the sacraments, both as regards architectural arrangement and furniture. The building should consist of a nave, with a tower or belfry. A southern porch, in which a stoup for hallowed water should be provided; at the western end of the nave, and usually in the south aisle, a stone font with a wooden cover fastened with a lock, and near it an ambry in the wall for the oleum catechumenorum and holy chrism. The chancel at the eastern end should be separated from the nave by an open screen supporting the rood and rood loft, ascended by a staircase in the wall.

Wooden seats, with low backs, and placed wide enough apart to admit of kneeling easily, may be fixed in the nave and aisles, allowing alleys of sufficient width for the passage of processions. A stone or wooden pulpit sufficiently elevated may be erected in a convenient position in the nave.

The chancel floor should be raised at least one step above the nave, and the upper step on which the altar stands three steps above the floor of the chancel. The altar should consist of one slab of stone (marked with five crosses, and a cavity for relics) raised on solid masonry or stone pillars.

* Those churches which are situated in parishes too poor to admit of heavy rates, are invariably found in the best preservation. In wealthy towns, the parish churches have been considered as stock jobs, by which each ignorant shopkeeper, as he attains the office of warden, might enrich his pockets at the expense of the ancient fabric. In these buildings, the havoc which each trade has made in its turn may easily be traced. The carpenter has removed the carved and painted timbers of the roof, with the massive covering of lead, and set up a flat pitched slated covering in their stead, erected a few galleries, and *inclined planes* for seats; the painter has marbled and grained all the oak work left; while the glazier has carefully removed the stained windows, and replaced them by neat and uniform lights; the plasterer has stuccoed the chancel ceiling, and coloured down the stone work; the smith has lined the walls with stove piping, and set up a host of cast-iron furnaces; and each of these worthies is certain to record their achievements in some too legible inscription on the walls. St. Margaret's church, at Lynn, is a forcible illustration of this system. This magnificent fabric has been completely gutted of its ancient features. New roofs, new ceilings, new pavements, new pews, even plaster Italian ornaments stuck up to mask the old work. Immense sums have been expended to destroy every internal ornament and arrangement, simply on account of the *town being rich enough to bear the expense of these enormities*; for but a few miles from this very place are some most beautiful churches, secured by their poverty and neglect, where the carved angels yet enrich the oak-beamed roof, where the low-back sculptured benches yet remain; the fonts with their pinacled covers; the chancels divided off by the old traceried screens, on which the painted enrichments may still be described, and so many of the ancient features left, that were it not for the unsightly reading-desks, and the decayed tables in place of the old and solemn altars, one would almost seem transported into some sacred edifice of the old time.

On the epistle side of the altar a sacrarium should be fixed, with a basin and waste pipe, with a stone shelf for the cruets. On the same side, and corresponding to the width of the three steps ascending to the altar, three niches should be built, partly in the thickness of the wall, and partly projecting, with canopies, and convenient seats for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon. Opposite to these an arched tomb, to serve as the sepulchre for holy week. Adjoining the chancel, a sacristy or revestry for keeping the vestments and ornaments ; or, in any small churches an almary may be provided for this purpose on the gospel side of the altar, within the chancel. An image of the saint in whose honour the church is dedicated, should be set up in the chancel. Where there are lateral aisles, they should be terminated towards the east by altars, either erected against the wall, and protected by open screen work, or in chapels, eastward of the aisles, divided off from the church by screens. That these arrangements may be the better understood, we have subjoined four plans of Catholic churches now erecting in exact conformity with the ancient traditions.—(See Plates I, II, III, and below).



- No. I. Tower
- II. Nave
- III. Porch
- IV. Pulpit
- V. Chancel
- VI. Chapel of the B. Virgin
- VII. Sacristy
- VIII. Font

ST. MARY'S, STOCKTON ON TEES.

Having thus generally noticed the requisites for a church, we will now proceed to consider these in detail.

OF THE POSITION OF THE CHURCH.

A church should be so placed that the faithful face the east while at prayer. Such has been the practice of the Church from the earliest period, and very few are the examples of any deviation from this rule. The chancel should consequently be turned towards the east; and all the altars in the church should be so placed, that the celebrant, while officiating, looks towards the same quarter.*

Independent of all Christians turning towards the same point, being a beautiful figure of the unity of the Church, those learned writers, Durandus, Gavantus, and Cardinal Bona, have adduced the following reasons for this rule:—

1. That the apostles turned towards the east while at prayer.

2. That the Holy Spirit descended on them from the east on Pentecost.

3. That we should all turn towards the Holy Land, where our Lord was born.

4. That as our Lord was the great light of the world, we should turn towards the brightest quarter of the world, as a figure of his glory.

5. That as our Lord was crucified looking towards the west, the roods, placed in the same position, face the faithful.

6. That the star appeared in the east to the three wise men at the birth of our Lord.

7. To distinguish the faithful from infidel or heretics, who, being without faith or unity, turn in any direction.

8. That according to the traditional belief of the Church, our Lord will come from the east to judge the living and the dead.

But independent of these mystical and pious reasons, the ancient and canonical position is the most judicious that could have been chosen. How beautifully do the rays of the rising sun, streaming through the brilliant eastern windows of the choir or chancel, darting their warm and cheerful light to the very extremity of the nave, correspond to the hymn appointed to be sung at prime.

“ Jam lucis orto sidere,
Deum precemur supplices,
Ut in diurnis actibus
Nos servet a nocentibus.”

* An inspection of a plan of an old cruciform church would readily shew how strictly this principle was adhered to in the arrangement of the various altars, whether in the transepts, extremities of aisles, or lateral chapels of apse.

Then as the day advances, from the whole southern side a flood of light is poured into the building, gradually passing off towards evening, till all the glories of a setting sun immediately opposite the western window light up the nave with glowing tints, the rich effect being much increased by the partial obscurity of the choir end at the time.

Now this beautiful passage of light from sunrise to sunset, with all its striking and sublime effects, is utterly lost in a church placed in any other than the ancient position. In short, there are both mystical and natural reasons for adhering to antiquity in this practice, a departure from which can only be justified under the most urgent necessity.*

OF THE CHURCHYARD.

The inclosure within which a church was erected was set apart by solemn consecration for the burial of the faithful.†

And however objectionable places for interment may be in the midst of crowded cities, still it must be allowed that nothing can be more calculated to awaken solemn and devout feelings, than passing through the resting-place of the faithful departed. How often is the pious Christian moved to pray for his deceased brother, when he sees graven on his tomb,—“Of your charity pray for my soul”? What a train of profitable reflections, what holy meditations, may not be suggested by a sepulchral cross! In days of faith, prayer formed the link of communion between the living and the departed. Truly might it be said in time of old, when such pious respect was paid to the memorials and sepulture of the dead, “Oh, grave, where is thy victory! Oh, death, where is thy sting!”

Men formerly visited and knelt by tombs and graves; now they would shun them, and try and banish them from their sight as things odious and dreadful, and in accordance with the spirit of the times, which strives to make churches like

* We occasionally find examples of ancient churches, which, from the localities in which they have been erected, deviate from the usual position of west to east. These are, however, to be regarded as exceptions to the rule, and they can only serve as authorities for equally difficult scites.

† The first prayer in the beautiful office of the consecration of a cemetery is as follows:—

“Omnipotens Deus, qui es custos animarum et tutela salutis, et fides credentium, respice propitius ad nostram servitutis officium, ut ad introitum nostrum purgetur bene+dicatur, sancti+fietur, et conse+cretur hoc cœmeterium, ut humana corpora hic post vitam cursum quiescentia, in magno judicii die simul cum felicibus animabus mereantur adipisci vite perennis gaudia. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.”

assembly rooms, gay and comfortable, with carriage drives and covered porticos to set down the company :—the very remembrance of death is to be excluded, lest the visitors to these places might be shocked at the sight of tombs. Hence burying the dead is become a marketable matter, a joint-stock concern, an outlay of unemployed capital; and a large pleasure-ground, sufficiently distant from the town, is staked out by some speculators; in which, according to the prospectuses issued, every religion may have a separate parterre, with any class of temple, from the synagogue to the meeting-house.

However these sort of modern arrangements may suit the unitarian and the infidel, we hope and trust the Catholic church will still be surrounded by its consecrated inclosure, with its winding path, and its tombs, where the pious Christian may recite a *De Profundis* and a *requiem*, as he wends his way to the house of prayer, and still may the branches of the solemn yew tree* overshadow its arched porch. It was customary to erect a stone cross, raised on steps, on the south-western side of the church, to mark the hallowed ground; and the shafts of these crosses, some of which were even Saxon, still remain in various churchyards, although the upper part has almost in every instance been destroyed by Protestant fanaticism. Wooden crosses, with the name of the deceased, and an invocation for prayer painted or cut on them, were erected over the graves of the faithful, in place of the hideous upright slabs, with bad poetry, pompous inscriptions, and ludicrous cherubs, now so much in vogue. These sepulchral crosses are still set up on the Continent in villages, and such retired places as have yet remained in happy ignorance of urns, pedestals, broken pillars, and all the adopted Pagan emblems of mortality,† for which modern designers have abandoned the ancient and touching memorials of departed Christians.‡

* The branches of yew trees served anciently for palms in the procession of Palm Sunday.

† So blindly do artists of the present day adopt the ornaments and ideas of ancient paganism, that a stuff has recently been manufactured at Lyons intended for copes, to be used in funeral offices, in which the *poppy*, emblem of eternal sleep, has been introduced in lieu of those appropriate figures by which the joyful mystery of the resurrection (a Christian's brightest hope) was formerly represented.

‡ In an old English office-book belonging to the Scarisbrick family of Lancashire, the illuminated borders at the office for the dead are particularly curious. The whole of the ceremonies connected with a burial service are most accurately depicted. The convoy, the hearse, and lights in the church, the celebration of the holy Eucharist, the recitation of the office, and the churchyard with the grave, are all introduced. In this latter we have a perfect delineation of the

Besides these, some graves were covered with coped slabs, gradually diminishing at the lower end, with floriated crosses sculptured on them, and the inscription cut on each side of the stems; and there are some instances of a later date, of regular altar tombs, with panelling and shields round them, having been erected in churchyards, of which there are examples at Glastonbury, Lavenham (Suffolk), and Bury St. Edmund's. Several of the Catholic churches now erecting will have cemeteries round them, disposed in the ancient manner, and from which all modern funeral monstrosities will be rigidly excluded.

OF THE EXTERNAL FORM AND DECORATION OF THE CHURCH.

The most striking and characteristic external feature of a church is its tower or spire. This is so attached to the popular notion of such a building, that any religious edifice wanting this essential mark would never generally receive any other appellation than that of chapel. Towers, attached to parochial churches, are most ancient in this country; they appear to have been erected from a very early period, and several Saxon examples yet remain. It is a feature of ecclesiastical architecture which the establishment never abandoned even in its most degenerate period.

A church tower is a beacon to direct the faithful to the house of God; it is a badge of ecclesiastical authority, and it is the place from whence the heralds of the solemnities of the church, the bells, send forth the summons. Let no one imagine that a tower is a superfluous expense,* it forms an essential part of the building, and should always be provided in the plan of a parochial church.

A tower, to be complete, should be terminated by a spire: every tower during the finest periods of pointed architecture either was, or was intended, to be so finished; a spire is in fact an ornamental covering to a tower; a flat roof is contrary to every principle of the style, and it was not till the decline of the art that they were adopted. The vertical principle,

stone cross, the wooden crosses at the head of the graves, and all the interesting characteristics of an Anglo-Catholic parochial cemetery of the 15th century.

* If funds are not sufficient, the tower may be the last part of the building completed; but due preparation should be made with regard to walls and foundations from the *beginning*, so that it may always be carried up when means will allow of its completion. This is the principle on which all the ancient churches were built. *The plan on which they were commenced was originally good, and then they were gradually completed as the funds permitted.*

emblematic of the resurrection, is a leading characteristic of Christian architecture, and this is nowhere so conspicuous or striking as in the majestic spires of the middle ages. The position of towers in parochial churches are various; they are generally placed at the west end of the nave, rising directly from the ground. This we will illustrate by three examples of Catholic churches now erecting;—the first is St. Giles's, Cheadle; the second the large parochial church of St. George's-in-the-fields; the third St. Oswald's, near Liverpool.—(See Plates IV, V, and VI.)

In cruciform parish churches, the tower is sometimes placed at the intersection of the nave and transepts, but of this we have no revived example at present.

We occasionally find the tower placed at the extremity of an aisle, and this expedient is usually resorted to in churches built in towns and confined situations, where there would not be sufficient space for a tower to project at the western end. Of this we give two examples;—the church of St. Wilfrid, now erecting at Hulme, near Manchester, and the church of St. Mary's, building at Stockton-on-Tees.—(See Plates VII and VIII.) To those whose ideas of architectural beauty are formed on the two and two system of modern building, this argument will appear very singular; but building for the sake of uniformity never entered into the ideas of the ancient designers; they regulated their plans and designs by localities and circumstances; they made them *essentially convenient and suitable to the required purpose, and decorated them afterwards.*

To this we owe all the picturesque effects of the old buildings: there is nothing artificial about them,—no deception,—nothing built up to make a show,—no sham doors and windows to keep up equal numbers,—their beauty is so striking because it is *natural*. The old builders did not think it necessary to build up a high wall to hide a roof, nor disguise a chimney into a flower pot; they made these essential parts of a building ornamental and beautiful; *this is the true spirit of pointed design, and until the present regular system of building both sides of a church exactly alike be broken up, no real good can be expected.* One of the greatest beauties of the ancient churches is this variety. It is impossible to see both sides of a building at once; how much more gratifying is it, therefore, to have two varied and beautiful elevations to examine, than to see the same thing repeated. A southern porch does not necessarily demand a northern one; a vestry

on one side does not require an opposite one to keep up uniformity; a chantry chapel may be erected at the extremity of one aisle, without any necessity of raising up a building to look like it at the end of the other. A tower, if the locality require it, may be built on one side or corner of a church, without any obligation of building up another opposite.*

How many magnificent examples do we find among the ancient churches of towers placed in these positions, the entrances through them serving for southern porches. In very small churches, of exceedingly simple design, we occasionally find belfreys, in the form of perforated gables, or turretted projections, carved up at the end walls, and surmounted by

stone crosses. These sort of belfreys are frequently found in ancient chapels, of which there is a beautiful instance yet remaining at Glastonbury. Among the revived Catholic buildings, some of the smallest have belfreys of this description, of which we give for examples,—St. Mary's, on the sands, Southport, Lancashire; St. Ann's, Keighley, Yorkshire,—(for which see Plate IX); and St. Mary's, Warwick Bridge, Cumberland.

It was usual to place a small belfrey of this description on the eastern gable of most parish churches; in which the Sanctus bell was rung to warn the



ST. MARY'S CHURCH, WARWICK BRIDGE.

faithful who might be in the vicinity of the church, that the holy mysteries were being celebrated. A very rich belfrey for this purpose is to be placed on the east gable of St. Giles's church, now erecting at Cheadle.

* We are glad to perceive that the architect of the new Protestant church at Leeds has ventured to place his tower on the side of the building. This is certainly an advance towards better things.

OF THE PORCH.

The next part of the sacred edifice we have to consider is the porch. It was generally built to the southward, and in the second bay of the nave from the north end; there are several examples, however, of northern porches, and some few western ones, especially in situations much exposed to the wind on the sea coast.* Porches in England frequently consist of two stories, the upper room having been appropriated formerly to the purposes of a library, a school, or muniment room: occasionally these apartments appear to have been occupied by the sacristan, and they are sometimes provided with tracery apertures, through which the church would be watched at night.

Porches were, and ought now to be used for the following purposes:—

1. The insufflations of baptism were performed in the porch, where the child was exorcised previous to being admitted into the sacred building.

2. Women were churched in the porch after child-bearing.

3. The first part of the marriage service was performed in the porch.

4. Penitents assisted at mass in the porch during Lent.

Holy water stoups were generally hollowed out of the porch walls, and frequently built in niches on either side of the external arch, as at Bury St. Edmund's; all stoups for hallowed water should be placed *outside* the building. The custom of Christians sprinkling themselves with this water, is only a modification of the ancient custom of actually washing the hands and mouth, as an emblem of purification before prayer, which was generally practised in the early ages of the Church. It was for this purpose that large fountains and basins were placed near the entrance of great churches, many of which yet remain, as at St. Peter's at Rome, and several of the French cathedrals, Lyons, Chartres, &c. This custom among Christians is mentioned by St. John Chrysostom,† Eusebius, and

* At Cromer church, Norfolk, there are three magnificent porches, which have been suffered to go to shameful decay. At Cley church, Norfolk, there is a beautiful western porch; also at Snettisham church in the same county. At King's Sutton church, Oxon, there is an elegant western porch of the early part of the 15th century, with effigies of the builders kneeling on each side of a niche, which anciently contained an image of the patron saint of the church.

† St. John Chrysostom in his "Homily on St. John,"—"Manus lavamus in ecclesiam ineuntes." The same in the "Homily on St. Mathew"—"In ecclesia hunc morem obtinere cernimus apud multos, ut vestibis puris in templum ineant et ut manus lavent."

other writers of antiquity. Hallowed water was only taken on *entering* a church formerly, and never on leaving it. There is a regular ceremonial for presenting hallowed water to persons of distinction *on their entering* a church, but nothing of the kind was ever thought of on their departure. De Moleon, in his *Voyage Liturgique*, mentions several cathedral churches in France where the custom of taking holy water was strictly confined to entering. The original intention of this custom, which was to purify the soul *previous to commencing prayer*, having in a great measure been lost sight of, it is become usual to take the water on entering or leaving a church, indifferently. But Le Brun, who stands high as a writer on ecclesiastical or liturgical antiquities, thus speaks on this subject: "Those who are in the habit of taking hallowed water on leaving a church, are more moved to do so by the mere sight of the *bénitier* than by any consideration of the real intentions of the Church; in this matter of which (he continues) the *curés de paroisse* neglect to instruct them."

Porches were frequently used as places of sepulture, even by persons of distinction. The great Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, directed his body to be buried in the porch of the parish church of Whichurch.

From these remarks it will be seen that porches were not considered by our Catholic forefathers as mere places for scraping feet and rubbing shoes, but as a portion of the sacred edifice peculiarly devoted to the performance of solemn rites, and to be entered with due respect and reverence.

It may be proper to remark in this place, that the practice of selling books of devotion, rosaries, &c. in the porches of the churches, but too frequent on the continent, is a great abuse; such traffic is *strictly forbidden by the decrees of many synods and councils*, and those who tolerate the abuse are liable to severe ecclesiastical censures. That great champion of Catholic antiquity, Father Thiers,* who flourished during the

* The principal works of this great Theologian and learned Rubrician are as follows:—

1. "Dissertation sur les Autels."—2. "Dissertation sur les Jubés;"—an admirable work, setting forth the antiquity and intention of roods and choir screens, and denouncing those innovators who ventured to remove them during the last century, and whom he most appropriately designates as *Ambonoclasts*.—3. "Dissertation sur le Clôture des Chœurs."—4. "Sur les Superstitions," in 4 vols.; a most learned and laborious work, in which all the abuses which have existed at various times in the celebration of rites and ceremonies are separated from the decrees of the church on those matters, and forms a most edifying and interesting exposition of true Catholic practices.—5. "Dissertation sur les Perukes," in

last century, openly denounced the chapter of Chartres cathedral for suffering two women to retail objects of devotion under the porches of that glorious church, which were intended for holy purposes; and at the time he published a most learned treatise on the use and intention of this portion of the church, and brought forward such overwhelming proofs of the irregularity of the practice, from the highest authorities, that the chapter, to their great mortification, were compelled to own their fault.

It cannot be urged in palliation of this great abuse, that the things sold are intended for holy purposes. The Church has decreed that *nothing whatever shall be sold, either under the porches or within the edifice*. The dovesellers, whom our Lord cast out of the temple, traded only *in offerings*; and the profanation of the holy place is equally great by the traffic in candles, from which abuse so much scandal continually arises. We cannot, however, hope for any improvement in these respects from our foreign brethren, while they have so little feeling for the sanctity of the temple of God as to erect shoe stalls between the buttresses, and heap filth against the entrances, of the most glorious monuments of Christian antiquity. But we trust that the English Catholic churches will at least be preserved from these horrible profanations.

which the writer treats on all the coverings of the head used in the church, mitres, caps, callottes, amices; and also the antiquity of shaving the heads of persons devoted to the clerical state; on praying with the head uncovered, and the irregularity of ecclesiastics wearing wigs or false hair.—6. "Sur la Clôture des Religieuses.—7. "Sur les Porches des Eglises."—8. "Sur la Larme de Vendôme," a false relic formerly exposed at the church of Vendôme; a beautiful treatise on the Catholic doctrine touching the veneration of relics, and the abuses of the same.—9. "Sur l'Exposition du très Saint Sacrement;" in this work the discipline of the Church relative to the reservation and veneration of the blessed Eucharist, from the earliest ages down to the last century, is fully described, with the form and materials of the various vessels used for this sacred purpose; a work admirably calculated to set forth the sanctity and majesty of this most holy sacrament, and the antiquity of the Catholic doctrine touching the blessed Eucharist.—10. "Sur un Inscription dans une Eglise de Rheims en honneur de St. François;" a censure on an extravagant inscription set up by a Franciscan in a church at Rheims in honour of St. Francis (afterwards defaced by order of the archbishop), with an exposition of Catholic doctrine relative to the veneration and invocation of saints.

Those who are thoroughly acquainted with the works of this holy and learned writer, must be well instructed in ecclesiastical antiquity; for so great was his erudition and research, that he appears to have examined every source of information on this all-important subject. His works are now exceedingly scarce, for although approved of by the holy see, he was too sincere a writer, and fearless exposor of abuses for the corrupt age in which he lived. Acting on that grand principle expressed in these words,—"*falsitas non debet tolerari sub velamine pietatis*,"—he became one of the greatest witnesses of Catholic truth against the innovation of revived Paganism and protestant error.

OF THE FONT.

On proceeding through the southern porch, and entering the church, the first object that arrests our attention is the font. Nor is its position so near the entrance without a sufficient reason. We have previously remarked that the exorcisms of baptism were performed in the porch; the priest then leads the catechumen, not yet regenerated by the waters of baptism, into the church, but far removed from the seat of the holy mysteries, the chancel; nor is he allowed *to approach the sanctuary till the all important sacrament of baptism has been administered to him.**

The font may be made either of stone or lead, sufficiently large to admit of immersion, with a wooden cover secured by a lock, to protect the baptismal water from any profanation. These covers were occasionally carried up with canopies and pinnacles to a great height, either suspended from the roof by a counterweight, or a portion of the tabernacle work made to open on the side.†

The new fountains at St. Mary's, Derby, St. Chad's, Birmingham, and Stafford, have covers of this description, surmounted by the appropriate emblem of a dove descending with rays. The font of St. Giles's, Cheadle, will stand within an enclosed baptistry at the western end of the south aisle, and will be furnished with a richly floreated canopy of the decorated period. When the importance of the holy sacrament of baptism, and necessity of administering it with becoming solemnity is considered, it would seem almost impossible that any Catholic church should be unprovided with a regular font. It is a lamentable fact, however, that this most essential piece of church furniture is seldom to be found in modern Catholic churches,—a jug and basin, such as might be used by puritans and fanatics, being often the only substitute, and these in places where silver tea services are being subscribed for the clergyman. But the poorest church should be provided with a regular stone font, and as it is possible to erect one under £10, the expense cannot be an obstacle to their general re-

* How often in these days of decayed discipline is the whole baptismal service performed within the sanctuary, destroying all the mystical allusions of the ancient arrangement, and admitting a soul under the curse of original sin at once into the holy of holies. This, among other departures from ancient usages, has arisen in a great measure from the impracticability of following ancient rites in the modern conventicles built for Catholic worship.

† At Sudbury church, Suffolk, Selby church, Lincolnshire, Fosdyke church, Lincolnshire, and St. Peter's, Norwich, are fine examples of canopied covered fonts. The latter is peculiarly beautiful in its design.

storation. Each of the churches engraved in this article is provided with fonts, canonically placed, corresponding in style and ornament to that of the building, and for the most part these churches have been completed for considerably less sums than the plastered and cemented assembly-rooms raised for Catholic worship in later times, which are deficient in every requisite for the sacred purpose for which they have been erected.

OF THE NAVE AND AISLES.

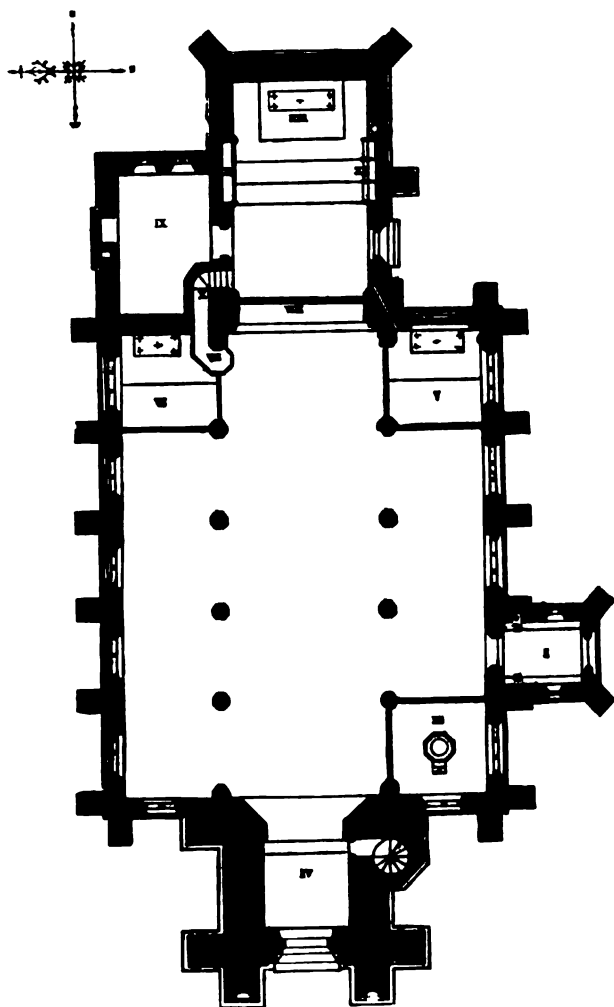
These form the portion of the edifice in which the faithful assist during the celebration of the holy mysteries. Nave is undoubtedly derived from the word *navis*, or ship, a figure often used with reference to the church. Aisle is derived from the French, and signifies wing or side, and can be only applied with propriety to the lateral portions of the building. Middle aisle is a contradiction of terms; side aisle becomes tautology. In the ancient arrangement of the faithful, the men were placed in the upper part of the nave, and the women behind at the lower end; but, by the custom of later times, the women were placed on the gospel side, and the men on the epistle. The appropriation of particular seats and distinction of places was strictly forbidden among the two classes.* Seats were used in the *parochial* churches in England from a very early period, and many of these remain tolerably perfect at the present time. They were very low, and wide apart, for the greater convenience of kneeling, open at both ends, and sometimes most beautifully ornamented with carving.† The pulpit should be placed in some convenient part of the nave, either against a pillar, or by the chancel arch. The ancient churches were generally provided with a pulpit of wood or stone, many fine examples of which are yet to be

* By a decree of the synod of the diocese of Exeter in 1284, no one should claim any seat in a church; but whoever first entered a church for the purpose of devotion, might chuse at his pleasure a place for praying.

† At Little Walsingham church, Norfolk, the whole of the ancient seats remain quite perfect; the backs are enriched with perforated tracery of varied design, and the ends are carried up into foliated finials.

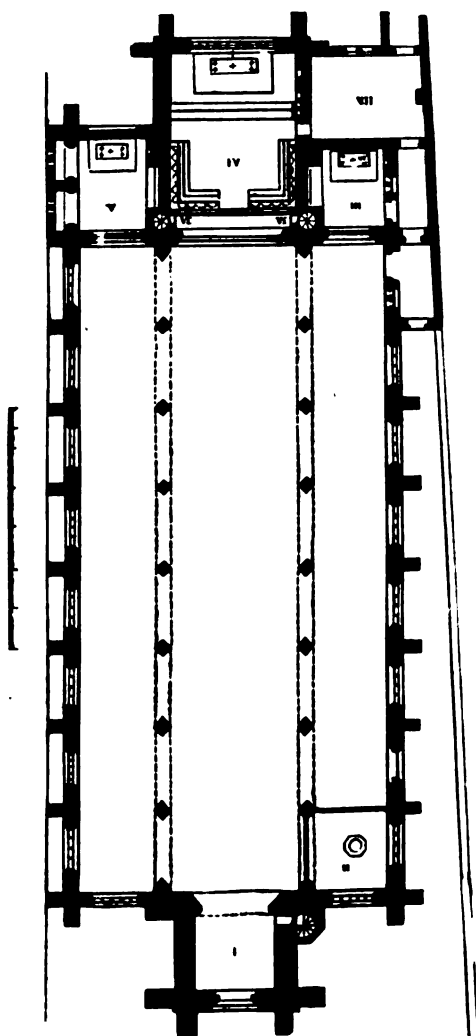
On the seats of Warksworth church, Oxon, the creed is carved in a string course round the backs, and on the ends a representation of the Annunciation of our blessed Lady, and other mysteries, with the pious donor of the seats represented kneeling at prayer, with a scroll and a scripture.

The lords of the manor had occasionally a sort of pew, like a chantry chapel, of which there is a fine example at Lavenham church, Suffolk, and the patron of the church was usually permitted to sit within the chancel; but both these customs may be considered as departures from pure discipline.



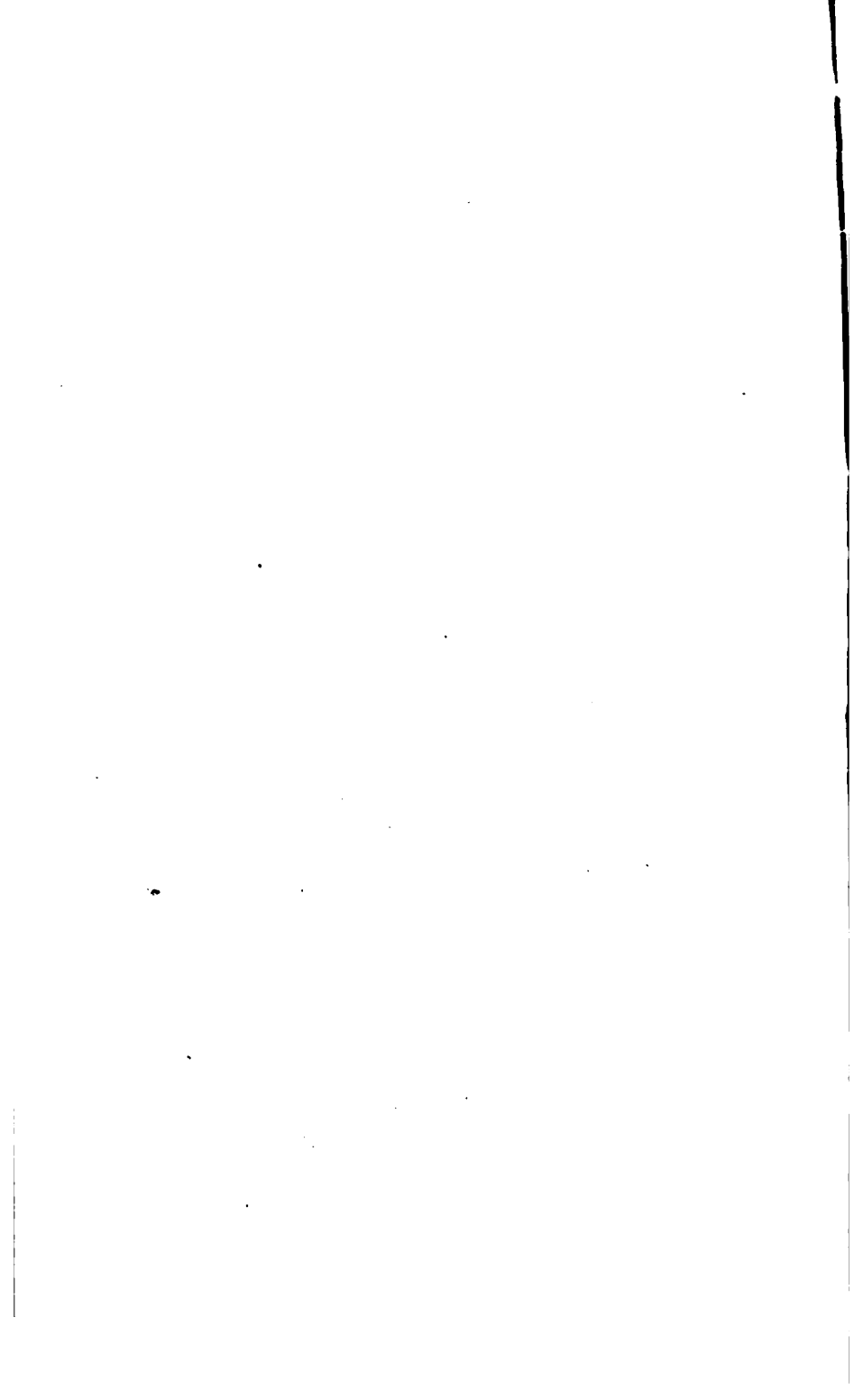
ST. GILES, CHEADLE.

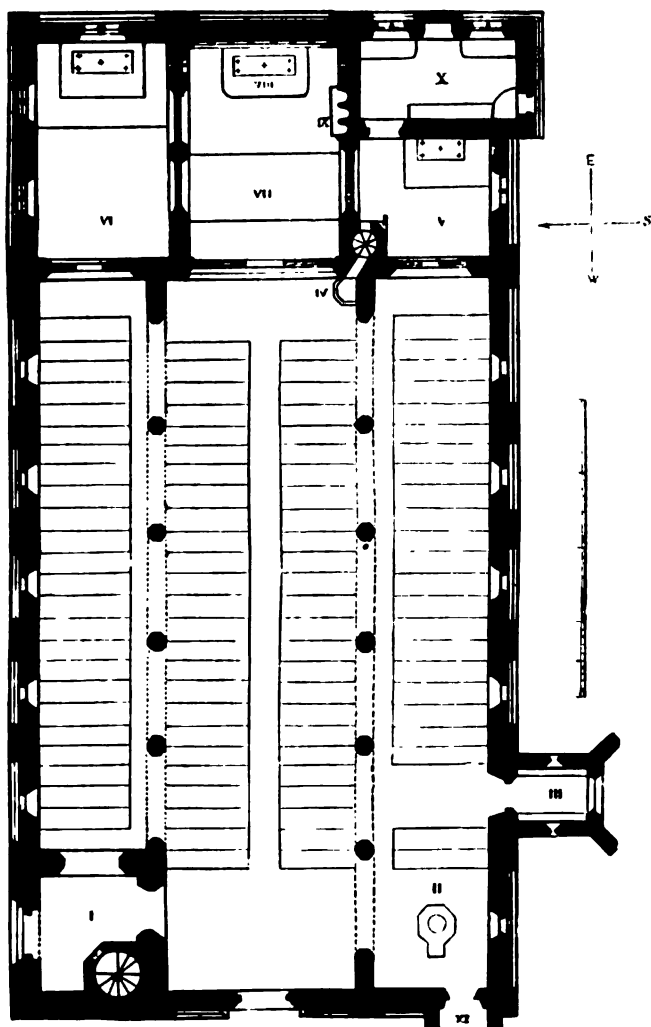
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|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| I. Porch | viii. Screen and Rood |
| ii. Holy water stoups | ix. Sacristy |
| iii. Font and Baptistery | x. Staircase to Rood |
| iv. Tower | xi. Sepulchre |
| v. St. Mary's Chapel | xii. Sedilia |
| vi. St. John's Chapel | xiii. High altar |
| viii. Pulpit | |



ST. GEORGE'S, LONDON.

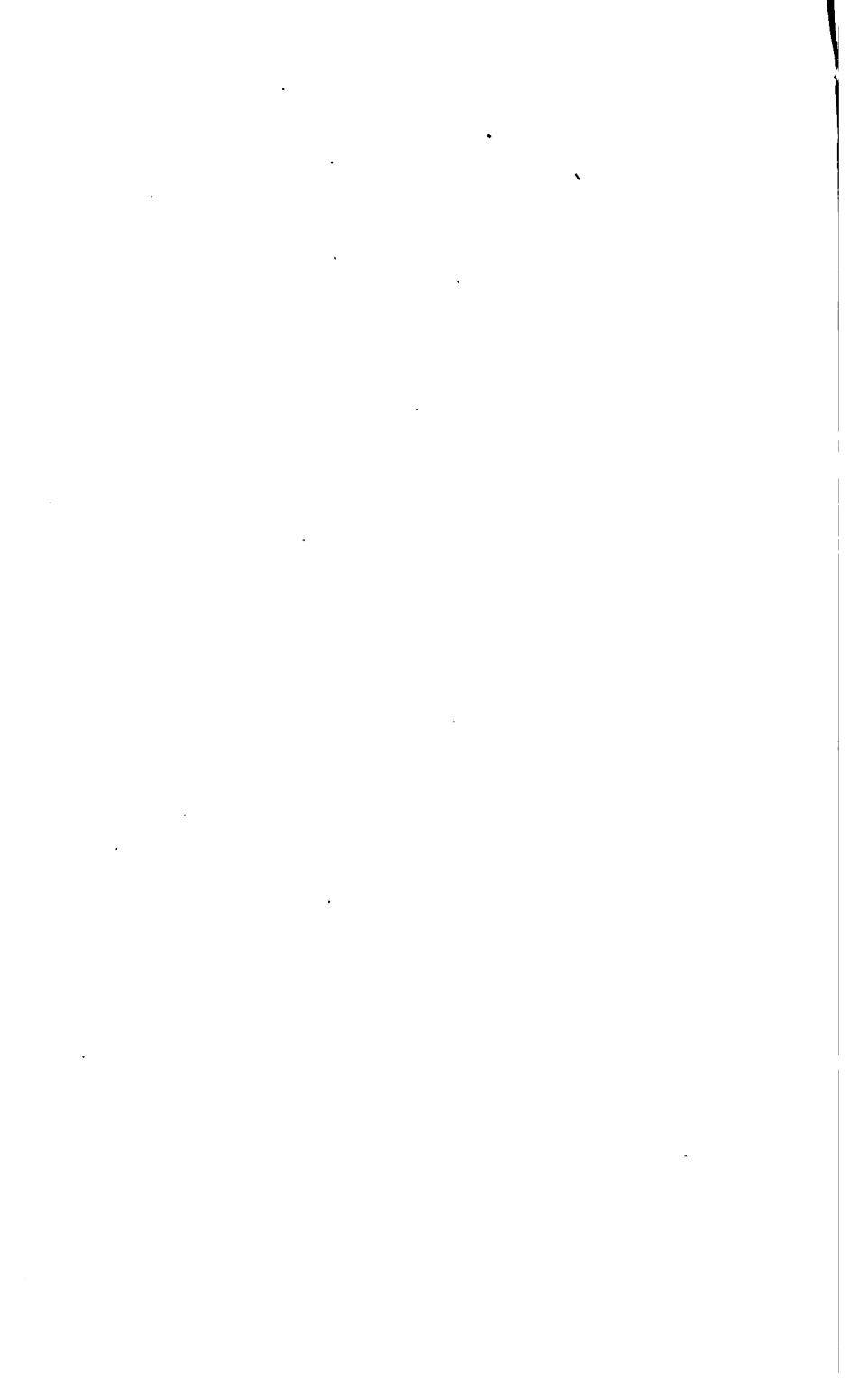
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|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| i. Tower | v. Chapel of the holy Trinity |
| ii. Baptistery and Font | vi. Staircases to Rood |
| iii. St. Mary's Chapel | vii. Sacristy |
| iv. Chancel | |





ST. WILFRID'S, MANCHESTER.

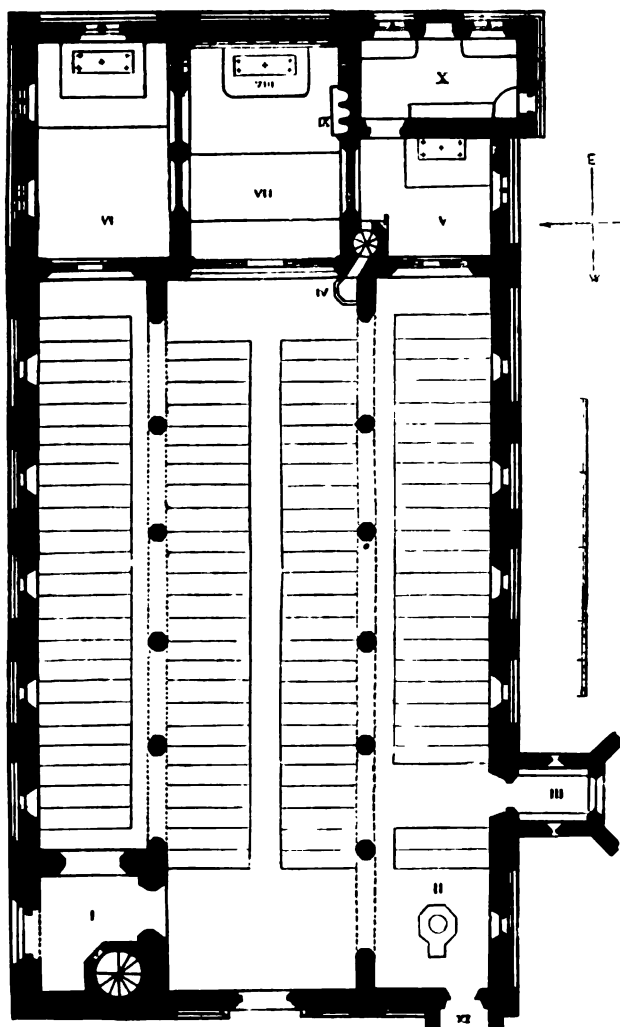
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|------------------------|-----------------------|
| i. Tower | vi. St. Mary's Chapel |
| ii. Font | vii. Chancel |
| iii. Porch | viii. High altar |
| iv. Pulpit | ix. Sedilia |
| v. St. Thomas's Chapel | x. Sacristy |





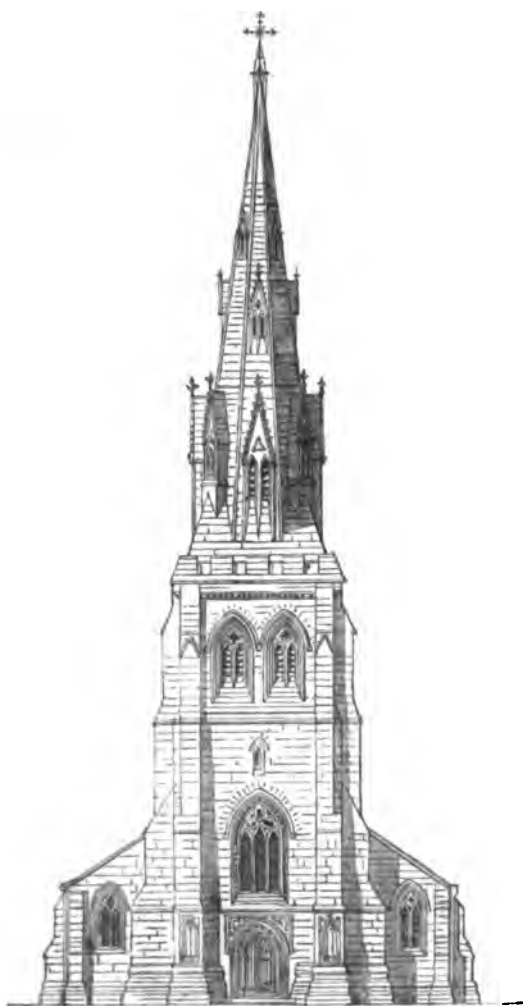
ST. GILES, CHREADLE.





ST. WILFRID'S, MANCHESTER.

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| i. Tower | vi. St. Mary's Chapel |
| ii. Font | vii. Chancel |
| iii. Porch | viii. High altar |
| iv. Pulpit | ix. Sedilia |
| v. St. Thomas's Chapel | x. Sacristy |

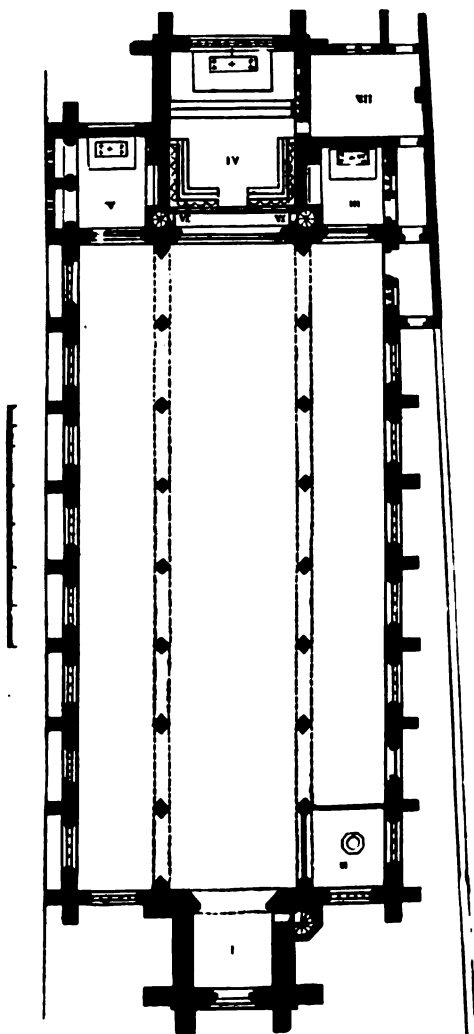


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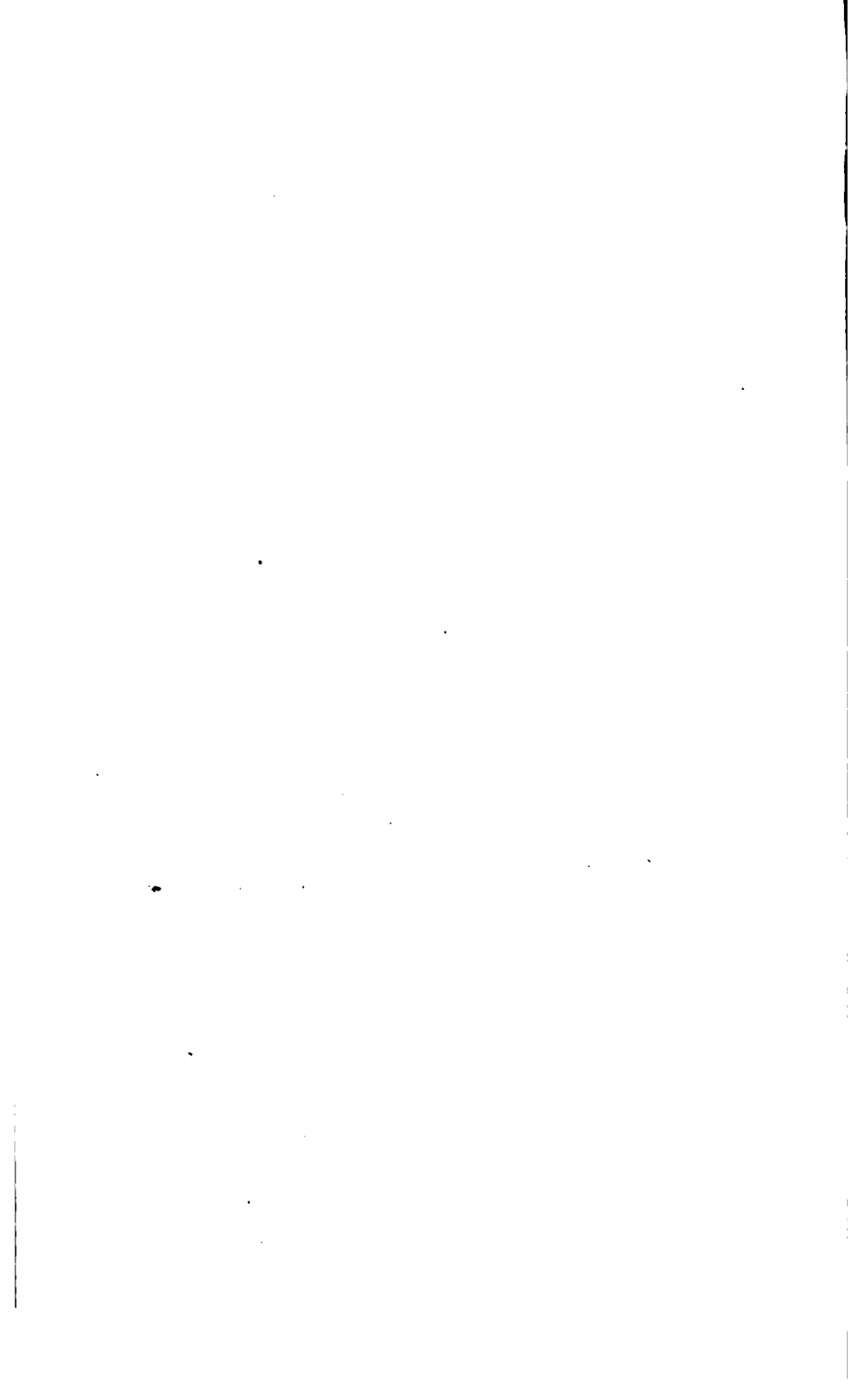


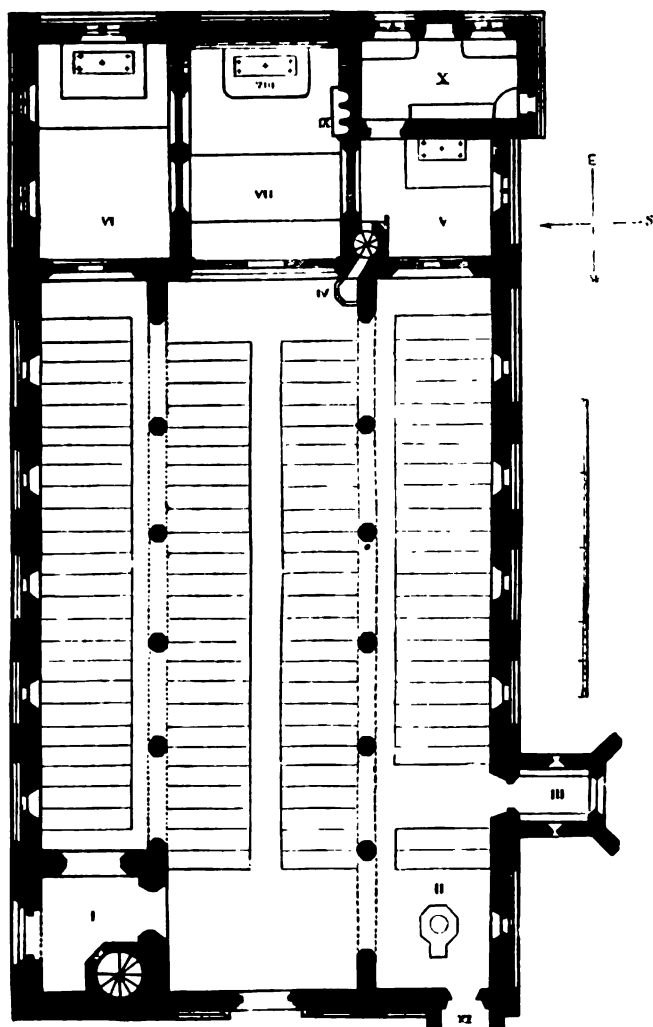
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ST. GEORGE'S, LONDON.

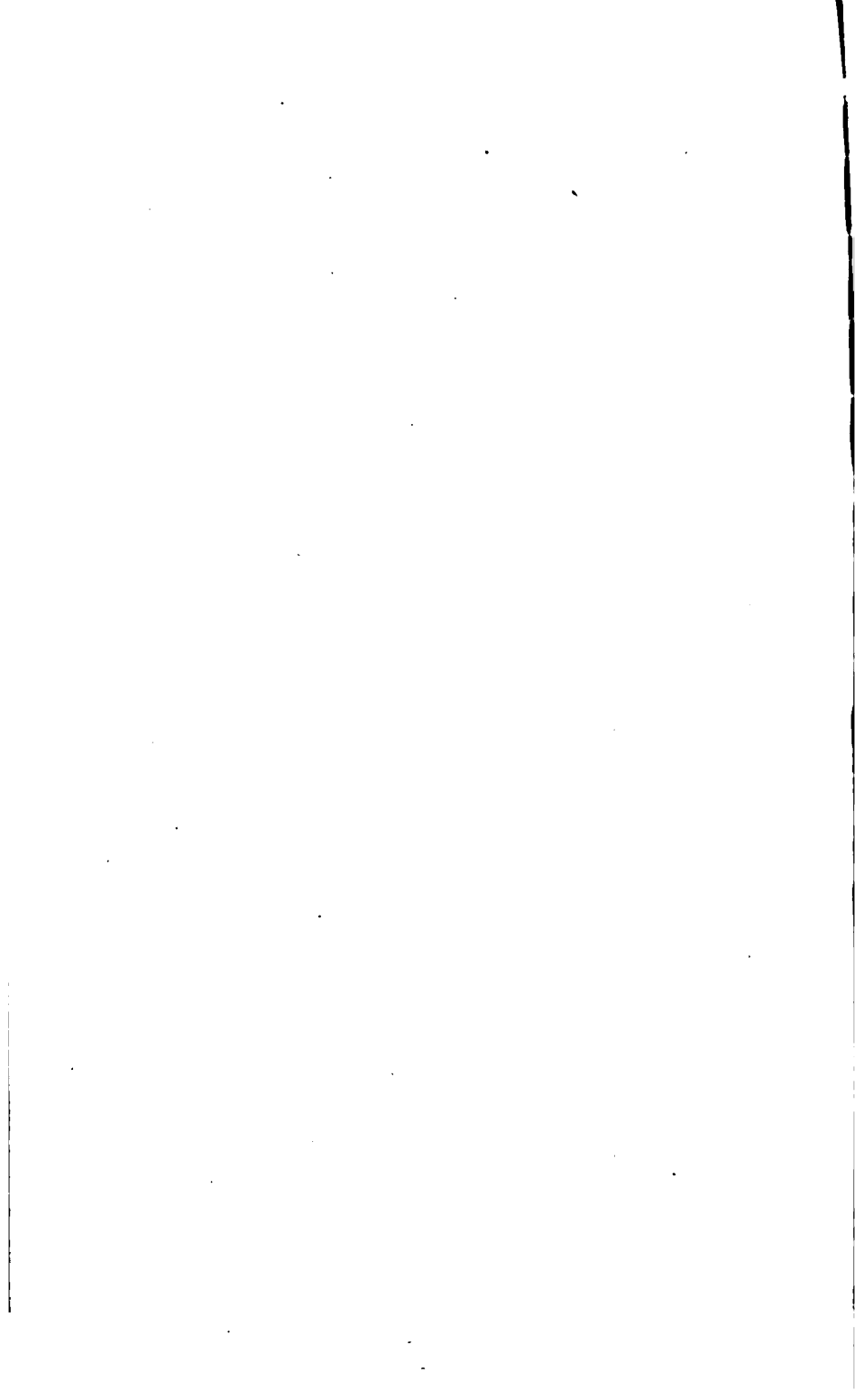
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|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| I. Tower | v. Chapel of the holy Trinity |
| II. Baptistry and Font | vi. Staircases to Rood |
| III. St. Mary's Chapel | vii. Sacristy |
| IV. Chancel | |

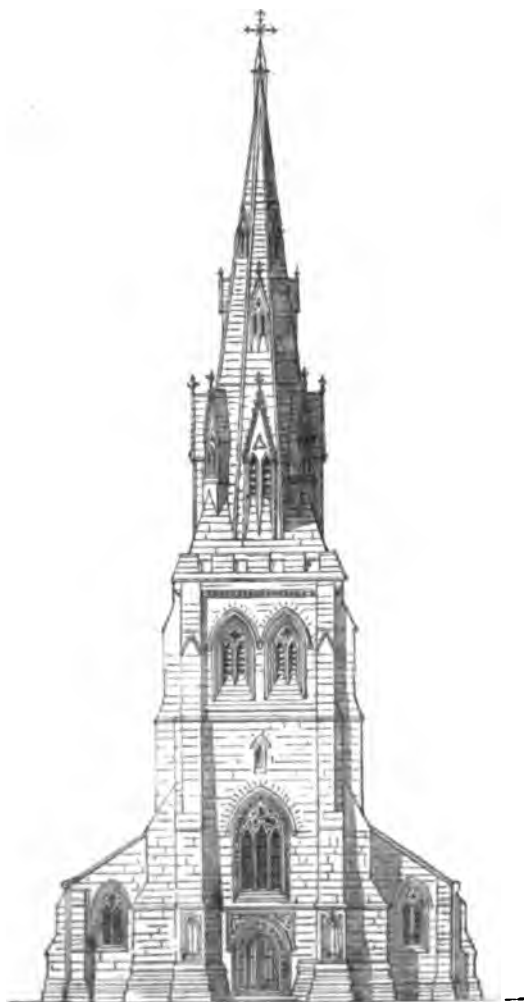




ST. WILFRID'S, MANCHESTER.

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|------------------------|-----------------------|
| i. Tower | vi. St. Mary's Chapel |
| ii. Font | vii. Chancel |
| iii. Porch | viii. High altar |
| iv. Pulpit | ix. Sedilia |
| v. St. Thomas's Chapel | x. Sacristy |





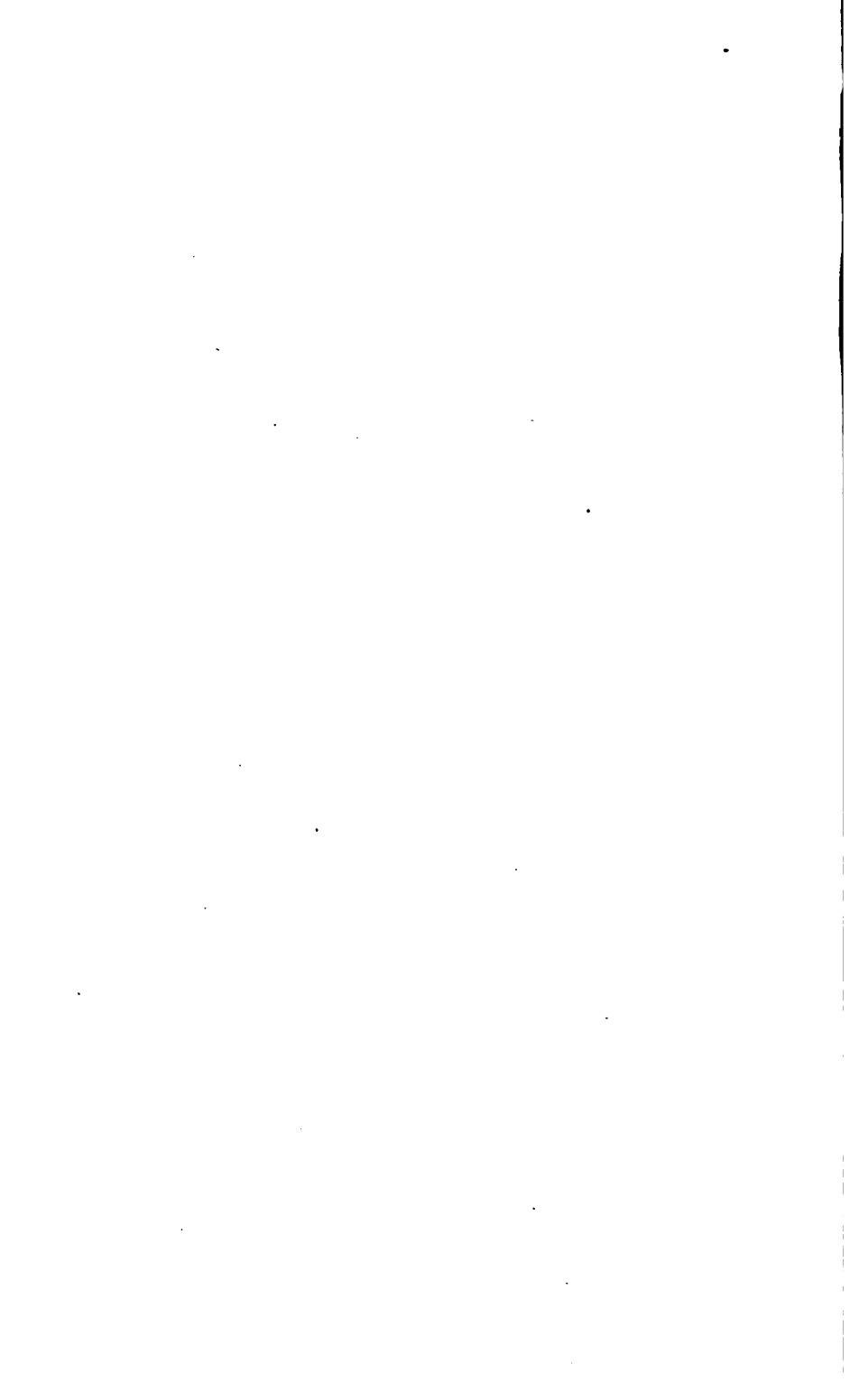
ST. GILES', CHLEADLE.



ST. GEORGE'S, LONDON.



ST. OSWALD'S, LIVERPOOL

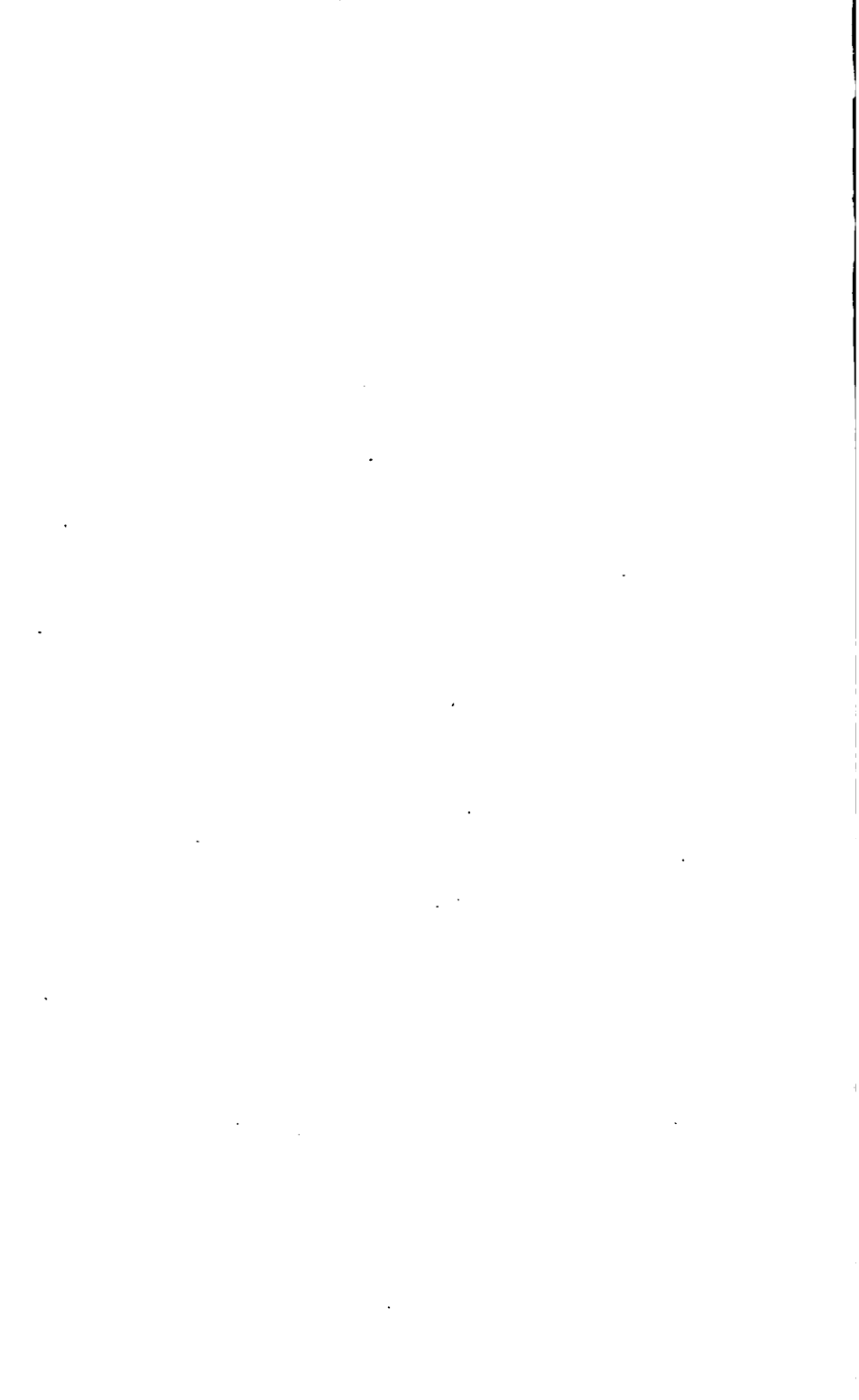


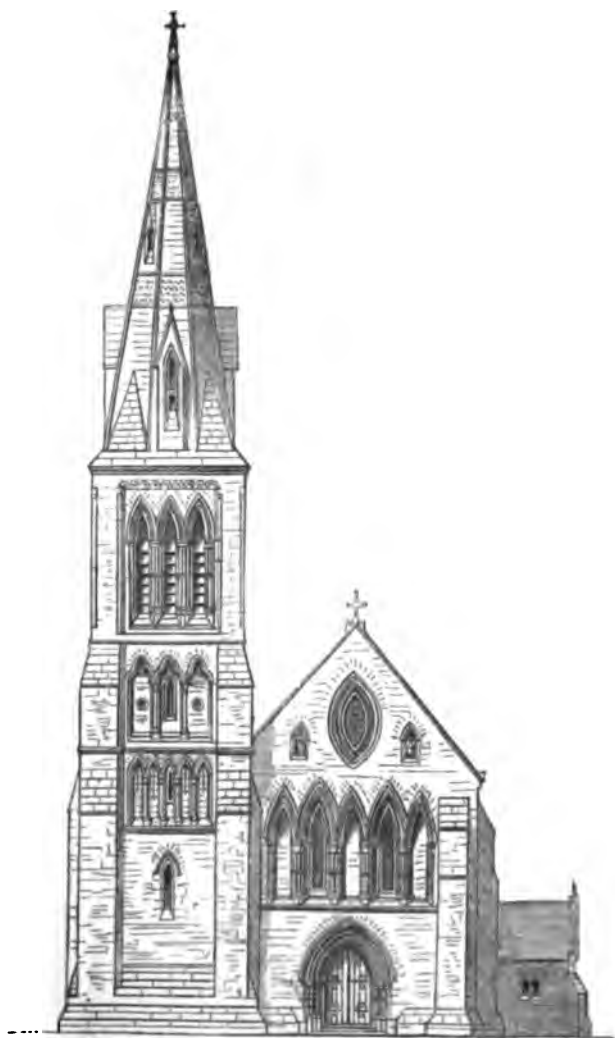


ST. WILFRID'S, MANCHESTER.



ST. MARY'S, DUDLEY.





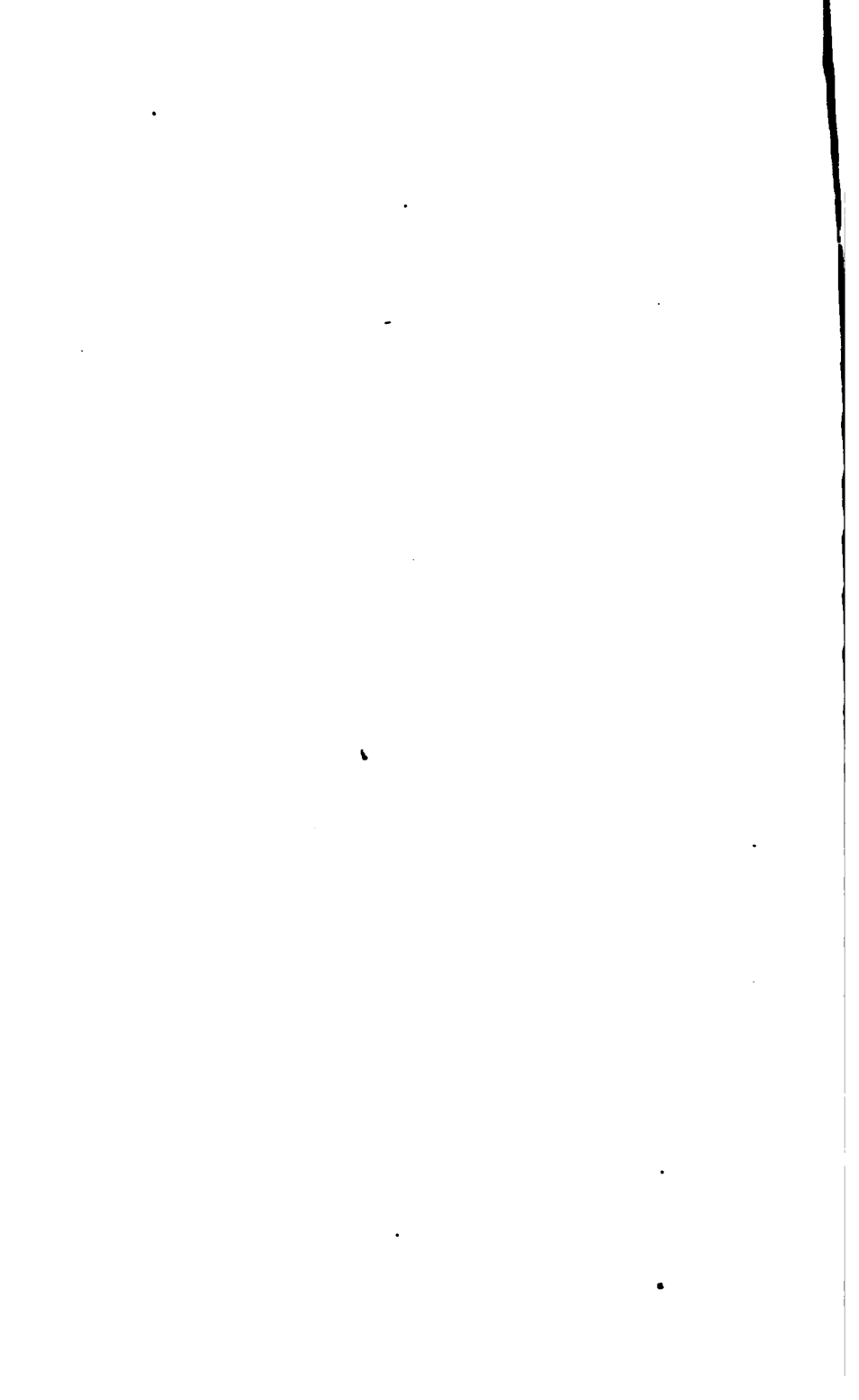
STOCKTON-ON-TEES.



ST. ANNE'S, KEIGHLEY.



ST. MARY'S, SOUTHPORT.



found. It is to be remarked that the pulpits were far different from the cumbrous rostrums used for the purpose in the present day, and we need hardly observe that the monstrosity of a reading-desk is a pure Protestant introduction. In the view of the nave of Southport church, as well as Cheadle, it will be seen that the pulpits are fashioned precisely on the old models, corbeled out, and ascended by the rood stairs, and not so large as to form a prominent feature.

At the eastern end of the nave, over the great chancel arch, the Doom or Last Judgment was usually depicted. The reason for placing this awful and certain event so conspicuously before the people is too obvious to need any comment. Most of these edifying paintings were defaced, under Edward the Sixth, as superstitious, but one has been newly discovered at Coventry, which, although very late and coarse in execution, is exceedingly curious.

At the eastern end of the aisles should be small altars; that on the southern side was usually dedicated in honour of our blessed Lady.* These altars should be protected by open screens enclosing chapels, called *percloses*. There are many remains of such screens and enclosures in old parish churches, but the altars have been invariably destroyed.

OF THE CHANCEL SCREEN, ROOD, AND ROOD LOFT.†

From the earliest ages there has been a separation between priest and people, between the sacrifice and the worshippers, in every church. They have been various in materials, in construction, and in arrangement, but have always existed in some form or other.‡ In parish churches, these screens were generally built of wood, and consisted of open tracery panels,

* It may be proper in this place to notice a very common error, of speaking of churches and altars as being dedicated to such a saint. The Church has never sanctioned the dedication of a church to any saint; they are all dedicated to God, (but according to a most ancient and laudable custom), in honour of certain saints, by whose names they are distinguished.

† It is worthy of remark that the first rood erected in England since their destruction by act of Parliament, was set up in the private chapel of Ambrose Lisle Phillippe, Esq. of Grace Dieu Manor, a zealous restorer of Anglo-Catholic antiquity. In this chapel most solemn service is performed on Sundays and festivals, the Gradual chaunted from the Lettern, and the whole office sung by men and choristers in the devotional and sublime plain chaunt, the only music sanctioned by the Church.

‡ In a continuation of this article, it is proposed to enter fully into the history of rood lofts, when describing the arrangements of cathedral and conventual churches, where they were used for more solemn purposes than in the parochial ones.

from about three feet from the floor, with an entrance capable of being closed by doors with open panels; their height varies from eight to fifteen feet, according to the scale of the church, and their breadth extends the whole width of the chancel arch, or in a choir church the breadth of the nave.* The carving on many of these screens is most varied and elaborate, and independent of the important mystical reasons for their erection, they form one of the most beautiful features of the ancient churches, and impart much additional effect to the chancel when seen through them. Like other parts of the interior, these screens were enriched with painting and gilding, and on the lower panels it was customary to figure saints and martyrs on diapered grounds.†

THE ROOD LOFT

Was a gallery partly resting on the screen, and running across the whole of its width, frequently supported on arched canopied work rising from the screen. The ascent to these lofts in large churches was usually by two staircases; but in small parish churches one was considered sufficient. It was carried up either in the pier of the chancel arch, or in a small turret outside the wall, and communicated with the rood loft by a narrow gallery, of which there are several examples at Stamford. We will not refer in this place to the use of these rood lofts or *jubés* in large buildings, but confine our remarks to their purpose in parochial churches.

Their first and most important use was to serve as an elevated place from whence the holy Gospel might be sung to the people, according to a most ancient and universal practice of the Church, of singing the holy Gospel from a raised place.‡

* Many of the large parish churches had regular choirs with stalls, as at St. Peter's, Norwich; St. Mary's, Coventry; Long Melford church, Suffolk. In these churches there were no arched divisions between the nave and choir, the separations consisted only in the screen and rood loft over it.

† It is not unusual for modern artists to decry the ancient system of decorating churches with much painting; but those who raise these objections seem to forget that what is technically termed keeping, is quite as requisite in a building as in a picture. The moment colour is introduced in the windows, the rest of the ornaments must correspond,—the ceiling, the floor, all must bear their part in the general effect. A stained window in a white church is a mere spot, which, by its richness, serves only to exhibit in a more striking manner the poverty of the rest of the building.

In the old churches, the azure and gilt ceiling, the encrusted tiles of various colours, the frescoes on the walls, the heraldic charges, the costly hangings of the altars, the variegated glass, all harmonized together, and formed a splendid whole, which can only be produced by the combined effect of all these details;—omit any of them, and the unity of the design is destroyed.

‡ The ambones of the ancient Basilicas served for this purpose.

2. The whole of the Passion of our Lord was sung from the rood loft;* the Gradual and other parts of the mass were chaunted, and small organs fixed on the rood loft.

3. Lessons were read from the rood loft in many churches, and holy days announced to the people.

4. On great feasts, lights were set up in the rood loft, and at Christmas and Whitsuntide it was decorated with boughs and evergreens. Immediately in the centre of the loft stood the rood or cross, with an image of our Lord crucified, and on either side the blessed Virgin and St. John. The cross was usually floreated†, and terminated at the extremities with quatrefoils, and emblems of the four evangelists; on the reverse of which the four doctors of the Church were not unfrequently carved.

To illustrate these screens and roods, we have figured various churches, either completed or in course of erection.

The first is the interior of St. Mary's, Southport,† (See pl. X)

* "There was a fair rood loft, with the rood, Mary and John of every side, and with a fair pair of organs standing thereby; which loft extended all the breadth of the church. And on Good Friday, a priest there standing by the rood sang the Passion."—*Records of Long Melford Church.*

† It is worthy of remark, that the ancient crosses were all richly decorated, in order to set forth that the very instrument on which our divine Redeemer suffered an ignominious death had become the emblem of his glorious victory over sin and its punishment, and should therefore be ornamented as the figure of this great triumph and our redemption. The old mystical school of Christian painters invariably figure our Lord with *extended* arms on the cross,—not through ignorance of drawing, but to represent the Son of God embracing the sins of the whole world. Not unfrequently, too, do we find the figures of the blessed Virgin and St. John much smaller in proportion than that of our Lord. This was done solely for the purpose of expressing the majesty of God. If we only examine attentively the productions of the ages of faith, we shall find that they convey a profound mystical meaning; and many conventional modes of representing the sacred things, that have been described by modern upstarts as proofs of barbarous ignorance, are in fact the most convincing proofs of the piety and wisdom of those who produced them. Their productions are addressed to the *understanding*, not merely to the *eye*, and there is more edification to be gained from a Saxon cross, with its enamelled emblems, than in all the anatomical crucifixions of modern times, in which the whole efforts of the artists appear to have been directed towards producing a distorted representation of a dying malefactor, instead of the overpowering sacrifice of the Son of God. *It is much safer to treat those holy mysteries in a conventional and emblematic manner, than to aim at unattainable realities.* The celebrated Crucifixion of Rubens is painful, not to say disgusting; certainly not edifying. The Christian artists have enveloped every incident of our Lord's life and suffering with a spiritual and mystical form, calculated to impress the mind with deep veneration for the sacred truths they represent. Sooner or later Christian art will be appreciated as it deserves, and the semipagan representations of the last three centuries, (in which *sacred things have only been made a vehicle to exhibit the lascivious art of modern painters*, who scrupled not, when professing to embody the blessed Virgin herself, to select their models from the profligate and abandoned) will sink into the abhorrence they deserve.

‡ This building, which possesses every requisite for a parochial church,—nave,

of which an exterior prospect is given on plate IX. This church being exceedingly small, the chancel screen is merely surmounted by the rood without any loft; the screen as well as the cross are diapered and painted from ancient examples. The second is the nave of St. Alban's church at Macclesfield, just completed. (See pl. XI.) Here is a regular rood loft, ascended from a staircase in the southern chapel, twelve feet from the chancel floor, surmounted by a cross, with the usual accompaniments. The images of this rood are of ancient German work of the 15th century, and were removed from their original position during the invasion of the French.

The eastern window seen through the screen is filled with rich stained glass, given by John the present Earl of Shrewsbury, a great benefactor to this church. In the tracery are angels, habited in albs, bearing scrolls with various scriptures, and shields with emblems of our Lord's passion; the Talbot lion is also introduced in the quatrefoils.

In the centre light is an image of St. Alban, protomartyr of England, standing under a canopy; the other lights are filled with quarried glass interspersed with emblems.

The sedilia and dossell of altar are of stone; this latter consists of a row of canopied niches, richly carved and filled with images of apostles.

On either side of the screen hang two damask curtains of crimson, and a frontal is suspended before the altar. At the end of the southern aisle is a chapel dedicated in honour of our blessed Lady, and divided off by an open screen in a stone arch. The church is capable of accommodating from eight hundred to one thousand persons, and its total cost, with the tower complete, will be about 6000*l*.

The third example is a transverse section of the great church now erecting in St. George's Fields, London (see pl. XII); shewing the great rood screen and loft,* with the screens and chapels terminating the aisles. The width of the nave is 28 feet, the aisles 18 feet; and the length, exclusive of chancel and tower, 160 feet; the chancel will be 43 feet in depth, with stalls on either side, and the side chapel 20. The great chancel window will be filled with the genealogy of our Lord, on the root of Jesse, in rich stained glass, the gift of

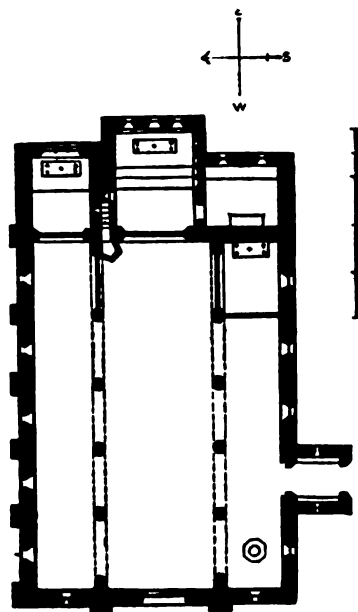
chancel, rood and screen, stone altar, sedilia, sacarium, southern porch, stoups for hallowed water, font and cover, bell, turret, organ and loft, open seats, stone pulpit, stained glass, and is capable of holding 300 persons,—has been erected for 1500*l*., including every expense.

* This rood loft is ascended by two staircases, which will be seen by reference to the plan. These staircases terminate outside in pinnacled turrets.

the Earl of Shrewsbury; and every detail of the building will be carried out in the style of the time of Edward III. A great part of the church will be left open, without seats, and three thousand persons may be easily accommodated on the floor. No galleries of any description will be introduced, but all the internal arrangements will be strictly a revival of those which were anciently to be found in the large parochial churches of England.

The fourth example is a section of a small, simple, but complete, church lately erected at Dudley,* (see pl. VII)

* This church, which is calculated to hold six hundred parishioners in the nave and aisles, stands on a declivity on the south-east side of the castle. The sacred edifice is surrounded by a cemetery, in which a stone cross is erected, and at the western extremity of the land a small simple parsonage house is now erecting, to which will be added a school.



ST. MARY'S, DUDLEY.

The references of the plan will shew that this church possesses every canonical requisite for its sacred purpose. The eastern windows are filled with stained glass of a mosaic pattern, interspersed with emblems and subjects: in the chancel are ancient images of our blessed Lady and St. Thomas of Canterbury; while the vestry is furnished with a complete set of sacred vessels and ornaments, of which the following is an inventory:—a processional cross, with Mary and John; a

which will be dedicated in honour of our blessed Lady and that glorious martyr St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The fifth example is a view of the interior of St. Giles's, Cheadle, now erecting. (see pl. XIII.) Over the great chancel arch will be seen the Doom painted on the wall; at the eastern end of the aisles are screens, enclosing chapels with altars; the pulpit is placed on the gospel side of the chancel arch; the rood loft is supported by arched ribs over the screen, and is ascended by the staircase which leads to the pulpit.

This church, which is being raised at the sole charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury, will be a perfect revival of an English parish church of the time of Edward I; decidedly the best period of pointed architecture. The floor will be entirely laid with encrusted tiles; every window will be filled with painted glass; and the smallest ornaments will be finished with scrupulous regard to correctness of style. We refer the reader to the plan, and west elevation of this church, at plates I & IV; also to the engraving of the chancel, at plate XVI.

OF THE CHANCEL.

We now come to the place of sacrifice, the most sacred part of the edifice; and well may we exclaim, when passing beneath the image of our Redeemer, and through the separating screen of mystic import, into this holy place, "*O quam terribile est locus iste.*" The ancient chancels were truly solemn and impressive, and those who have souls to appreciate the intentions of the old Catholic builders, must be edified with their wisdom and propriety, in keeping the seat of the holy mysteries at a reverential distance from the people, and in setting forth the dignity and privilege of the priestly office, by separating the ministers who are offering up the holy sacrifice from the worshippers. "*Cancellus qui circumstant altaria presbyteri tantum et clerici ingrediantur: neque ullo modo ibi seculares maxime dum divina mysteria celebrantur admitti debent,*" says Merati in his Commentaries on Gavantus;

holy water vat and asperge for processions; a silver gilt chalice, with an enamelled foot of the thirteenth century; a ditto ciborium, with an ancient foot; a pair of cruets; a copper gilt thurible; a pair of triple candlesticks, for the high altar; a pair of small ditto, for chapel of blessed Virgin; a small tower, for the reservation of the blessed sacrament; a basin and pricket, for a light for the high altar; a set of vestments, of each colour; an apparelled alb and a plain alb; a frontal, for the high altar; a ditto of velvet and gold embroidery, for the altar of Lady chapel; a set of altar cloths; corporal cases; an ornamented cross, for the altar. The whole cost of this building, including all the abovementioned ornaments, vestments, stained glass, architect's charges, and every expense, was 316*l.*; which fully proves for how moderate a sum a real Catholic church may be erected, if the funds are judiciously employed.

and if the mysteries of religion are to be held in reverence by the people, the old traditions and observances must be restored and enforced. Of all lamentable innovations, the wretched recesses substituted for chancels in modern churches are the most horrible; the altars are not only crowded up by seats, but *actually overlooked*, and the sanctity of the sacrifice itself partially disregarded. If these barriers round the holy place were considered necessary in days of faith, how doubly are they wanted at the present time! Churches are now built on exactly the same principle as theatres, to hold the greatest number of persons in the smallest possible space; and the only difference in the arrangement is the substitution of an altar and altar-piece for the proscenium and drop scene. What is the consequence? Catholic feeling is soon lost among the people: there is not even a corner for holy meditation or retired reflection; they are filled and emptied like dissenting meeting houses. The worshipper is either in a mob, or in the odious and protestant distinction of a private pew. The humblest old Catholic church, mutilated as it may have been, is ten times more impressive than these staring assembly rooms, which some persons, in these days, consider the most appropriate erections for Catholic worship.

The first view of a chancel is that of St. Wilfred's church, now erecting at Hulme, near Manchester.* (See pl. XIV.) Here the altar is of a very early form, the front being open, and the top slab supported by stone pillars, three in number, gilt and painted. Under the altar is deposited a shrine† with relics, round which a velvet curtain is occasionally drawn.‡

* This church, as may be seen on reference to the plan, (pl. III) consists of a nave and two aisles, with a tower at north-western corner. Eight hundred persons may be seated in the body of the church, besides a considerable open space left at the lower end. The eastern chapels are divided off, by open screens, from the aisles, and also from the side arches of chancel. The font is placed near the southern porch. At the south-eastern end is the sacristy, communicating from the chapel of the blessed Virgin, and fitted up with almeries and all requisite fittings. Attached to the church, by a small cloister, is a large and commodious parsonage house for the residence of the clergy. The church, house, enclosure of ground, and all internal fittings, as well as every essential ornament for divine service, also architect's commission, will not exceed the cost of £5000.

† Shrines were very frequently placed under the ancient altars; a custom which probably originated from celebrating on the tombs of martyrs. Under the high altar of Bayeux Cathedral, previous to the great revolution, were five shrines of silver gilt; and the frontal of the altar, which was also of silver parcel gilt, was made to open on certain great festivals, like two doors, to shew the reliquaries.

‡ The curtains hung in front of shrines, under the ancient altars, are undoubtedly the origin of antependiums or frontals, for we find examples of such curtains in the earliest records of altars, which were made to run on a rod fixed immediately under the slab.

Behind the altar is a succession of lancet stone arches, the panels of which are richly diapered and ornamented with Christian emblems; the painted window over them, as well as the catherine-wheel window at top, will be filled with mosaic stained glass, with subjects occasionally introduced in small medallion and quatrefoils. The sedilia and sacrarium are of stone, and taken out of the thickness of the wall. The eastern wall of chancel is four feet in thickness; and the deep splays of the windows will be enriched with painted scrolls, in the early style.

A second example is the chancel of St. Mary's, Uttoxeter (see pl. XV) a small church recently completed. Here the altar is of the ancient triptic form,* with doors to be closed during the latter part of Lent; in the centre is a picture of our blessed Lady, copied from one of the true Christian school; on either side are two damask curtains, hung on rods, between which and the altar stand two large candlesticks to hold tapers, lit from the Sanctus to the Communion. The front of the altar is of stone, gilt and painted, with the Crucifixion in the centre, and the emblems of evangelists in the angles. The rood is here supported by an arch beam, with angels bearing tapers. Before the altar hang three lamps, one of which is kept constantly burning, and the other two lit during the celebration of mass. The sedilia are three stone recesses, divided by shafts, and diapered at back; opposite to these is an arched recess, for the sepulchre in holy week. The three lancet windows over the altar are filled with stained glass, of an early character, and at the western end is a rose window, very richly glazed.

* These triptics were usually placed over altars in the Continental churches; as at Cologne Cathedral, and several of the German churches, particularly those of St. Lawrence and St. Sebald's; at Nuremberg they still remain in the most perfect state. The old form remained in use long after the cessation of pointed architecture in these countries, and even down to the time of Rubens. There is a most splendid enamelled triptic of the twelfth century in the Museum of St. Mary's College, Oscott, and the form was commonly employed for all religious pictures, and not unfrequently in wood and ivory carvings. In carved triptics for altars, the sculptured figures are placed immediately over the altar, and the doors are decorated with painting only; in these latter, the pious donors were frequently painted kneeling at prayer, with their patron saints standing behind them. Although these triptics were not very generally placed over altars in England, still we have instances of their having been used at Melford Church, Suffolk. "At the back of the high altar was set up the story of Christ's Passion, fair gilt and beautifully set forth to cover and keep clean all which were very fair painted boards, made to shut to, which were opened upon high and solemn feast days. In Durham Cathedral there was also, standing against the wall, a most curious fine table, with two leaves to open and shut, comprehending the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, richly cut and fine lively colours, which table was always locked up but on principal days."—*Rites of Durham*.

The third example is the church of St. Giles, Cheadle. (see pl. XVI.) The whole of the ceiling will be richly painted with azure panels and gilt stars; the string course supporting the ribs is charged with shields and inscriptions. In the stone niches on each side of the window are images of our blessed Lady and St. Giles. Over the altar is a stone screen of tabernacle work, with images of apostles, and our blessed Lord in the centre; on the altar are a pair of candlesticks and an altar cross, with rich hangings and frontals of various colours. The sacarium is here formed by a fourth compartment added to the sedilia, which are surmounted by gables and pinnacles, richly foliated. On the north side is an arched tomb for the sepulchre; and the floor will be paved with encrusted tiles, charged with armorial bearings.

OF THE SEDILIA.

On the epistle side of the altar, either on the ascent of the steps leading up to the altar, or on the level pavement, three arched recesses are invariably built, for the officiating priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, to sit in during the chaunting of the Gloria and Credo.* These sometimes consist of three simple arches, supported either by corbels or shafts; and occasionally we find them richly decorated with canopies and groining. In parochial churches they are generally built of stone, but in the large cathedrals and abbeys they were sometimes of wood. The four arches on the epistle side of the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey, commonly called King Sebert's Tomb, are in fact the sedilia of that church. It is not at all unusual to find a fourth stall, for the assistant priest, in great churches.

Among the most beautiful examples of sedilia, remaining in England, we may mention those at Exeter Cathedral, Southwell Minster, Ripon Cathedral, Tewkesbury Abbey, Adderbury and Dorchester Church, Oxfordshire; Bishopston, Wilts; St. Mary's, Oxford; and Stockport Church, near Manchester. These arched recesses have been frequently termed confessionals, by persons unacquainted with ecclesiastical antiquities, but we need hardly observe, without the slightest foundation. The misrepresentations made on this subject, by persons who shew cathedral and other churches, is most extraordinary. Any perforation in a wall, whether it be to admit light or air, or to command a view of the high altar from some chapel, is invariably called a confessional; even the chauntry chapel of the Beauchamp Family, at Warwick, is so designated.

* The priest anciently sat during the Epistle in solemn masses.

It is established even beyond a doubt, that there were no confessionals in our ancient churches answering in form to those we see generally used on the Continent : confessions were heard in the church by priests, seated in chairs, whilst the penitent knelt beside them; this may be seen figured in many ancient illuminations. Even on the Continent no confessional can be found older than the last century, and this is alone sufficient to prove the extreme absurdity of the stories circulated by vergers and others, respecting confessionals in the ancient churches.

OF THE SACRARIUM.

Between the sedilia and the eastern wall of the chancel, a small niche was built, in the bottom of which a basin was hollowed out of the stone, with a pipe leading into the ground; over this was a small projecting stone shelf for the altar cruets. The most ancient sacrariums had two basins, as may be seen by those at Salisbury and Lincoln Cathedrals; one for the ablutions of the hands at the *Lavabo*, and the other for the ablutions of the chalice, which were not received by the priest, as at present, but poured down the sacrarium.

The old rubric respecting the *Lavabo* is as follows: " *Eat ad Piscinam dicens Lavabo: reversus dicit In spiritu humilitatis, &c.*" This is found in many ancient Missals. When the rubric for receiving the ablutions of the chalice became generally observed, the second basin was disused, and the late sacrariums have one basin only.

OF THE ARCH ON THE GOSPEL SIDE OF THE CHANCEL.

On the gospel side of the chancel, and nearly opposite the sedilia, we generally find an arch forming a recess and canopy to an altar tomb: this was used as a sepulchre for the reservation of the blessed sacrament, from Maundy Thursday till Easter Sunday morning, which was anciently practised in the Sarum rite.* There is frequent allusion to this in the wills of pious persons, who desired to have their tombs so built that

* This ceremony is quite distinct from the reservation of the blessed sacrament from Maundy Thursday for the mass of Good Friday, on which day the Church does not allow of any consecration. The blessed sacrament, so reserved, is watched all night, and hence the name of sepulchre has been most improperly given to the chapel in which it is solemnly kept: but there is not the slightest correspondence as to time in the present watching, which takes place on Maundy Thursday night, when our Lord did not suffer till Friday. The watching, according to the Sarum rite, commenced on Good Friday, and continued till Easter-day, early in the morning, when the blessed sacrament was brought forth from the sepulchre with solemn procession. This ceremony was also practised in France and some of the Northern Countries, but there is no trace of it in the Roman rite.

they might serve for the sepulchre; that when men came to pay their devotions to our Lord's body, at that holy time, they might be moved to pray for the repose of their souls. At Long Melford Church, Suffolk, the tomb of one of the Clop-ton Family served for this purpose. Some of the finest examples of stone sepulchres are at Eckington Church, Lincolnshire, and Hawton Church, Nottinghamshire; these are richly decorated in the style of Edward III., with representations of the Roman soldiers asleep, and other appropriate imagery.

OF THE REVESTRY OR SACRISTY.

It is a remarkable fact, that while sacristies in most cathedral churches were placed on the south side, in parish churches they were generally built on the contrary one. We are quite at a loss to assign any reason for this; as a southern aspect would be most suitable to prevent damp or injury to the vestments. Although most of the ancient fittings of church vestries have been destroyed, we may occasionally find a few old almeries remaining,* but not one vestige of the rich furniture and sacred vessels with which they were filled.†

OF THE ALTAR.

During the first seven centuries of the church, altars were made indifferently of wood, stone, and metal.‡

Doubtless, during the early persecutions of the Christians,

* At Adderbury Church, Oxon: Long Melford, Suffolk; Wells Cathedral; York Minster; in a side Chapel at Carlisle Cathedral.

† In *Lyndwood's Provinciale* we find the following inventory of ornaments required in every parish church:—"Legendam, Antiphonarium, Graduale, Psalterium, Troperium Ordinale, Missale, Manuale, Calicem, Vestimentum Principale cum casula, Dalmatica, Tunica, et cum capa in Choro, cum omnibus suis appendiciis; Frontale ad Magnum altare cum tribus Tuellis, tria supepellicia, unum Rochetum, Crucem Processionalem, Crucem pro Mortuis, Thuribulum, Lucernam, Tintinabulum ad deferendum coram corpore Christi in visitatione infirmorum, Pyxidem pro corpore Christi, honestum Velum Quadragesimale, Campanis cum chordis, Feretrum pro defunctis, Vas pro Aqua Benedicta, Osculatorium Candelabrum pro cereo paschali, Fontem cum serura, Imágenes in ecclesia, Imaginem principalem in cancello."

‡ To these may be added a lettern, or brass eagle, to stand in the chancel or choir, for the antiphonarium and graduals. A most beautiful brass lettern of this description was lying, only two years since, in a corner of the tower of St. Martin's Church, Salisbury, utterly neglected, and most probably considered a piece of old Popish lumber.

† The Emperor Constantine made seven altars of silver in the church called after his name, and that of St. John Lateran, which weighed 260lbs. Sixtus III. gave an altar of pure silver, which weighed 300lbs., to the church of St. Mary Major. St. Athanasius speaks of an altar of wood which the Arians burnt. St. Sylvester I is said to have forbidden all wooden altars, except that in St. John Lateran's (yet existing), because St. Peter had used it.

altars were generally of wood, as being more portable, and better adapted to the necessities of the times.

Since the seventh century, the use of stone altars in the church has not only been universal, but obligatory, insomuch that no priest would be allowed to celebrate without, at least, a portable altar stone.

The use of portable altar stones is very ancient ; Jonas, monk of St. Wandrille, is the first writer by whom they are mentioned, in the Life of St. Wulfran, where it is recorded that this holy man carried a consecrated stone with him to celebrate on in his travels, and afterwards gave it to the Abbey of St. Wandrille. "Altare consecratum in quatuor angulorum locis et in medio ; reliquias continens sanctorum in modum clypei etc." Portable altars are also mentioned by the venerable Bede when speaking of the two Ewalds : "Cotidie Sacrificium Deo victimæ salutaris offerebant, habentes secum vascula ad *tabulam altaris* vice dedicatam."

The use of portable altars was however confined to journeys and cases of *great necessity* ; they were *neither meant nor suffered to replace or supersede the stone altars which are required by the Church, and which should be erected in every permanent religious edifice.*

The most ancient altars were open underneath, and supported by pillars : every altar should be sufficiently detached from the wall to admit of passing behind it. The ceremonies of the consecration of an altar, in the Roman pontifical, require the bishop to pass round the altar various times. "*Pontifex circuit septies tabulam altaris uspergens eam et stipitem de aqua ultimo per eum benedicta, etc.*" That the most ancient altars were all detached from the wall is evident by the language of the early ecclesiastical writers.

Excepting during the celebration of the holy sacrifice, neither cross nor candlesticks were formerly left on the altar, but were removed immediately after mass. The book of the holy gospels was alone kept on the altar.*

* It does not appear that any cross was placed on the altar before the tenth century. The crosses were fixed over the altars, and on the ciboriums or canopies, by which they were surmounted: neither was the image of our Lord crucified attached to these crosses. The crucifix was, however, set up on the rood as early as the eighth century ; and it was probably on account of the blessed sacrament lying on the altar that the ancient Churchmen would not suffer an image in the presence of the reality ; even the present rubric speaks only of a cross on the altar, *crux in medio*. No lights were placed on the altar before the tenth century, and even down to the French revolution, many of the most ancient and illustrious churches of that country did not admit of any lights on the *high altars*, but placed

Before the twelfth century flowers were not suffered on altars, although the custom of hanging garlands and branches, on great feasts, to decorate the church, is of the highest antiquity; even the whole pavement was not unfrequently sprinkled with flowers and aromatic herbs.

It does not appear that even the relics of saints were allowed on the ancient altars, especially in presence of the blessed sacrament. Shrines, with relics, were placed under the altars, and on a beam over the altar.*

The blessed sacrament was never reserved at the high altar of a church excepting in a golden dove, or pyx, suspended over the altar.† Mass was never celebrated formerly in presence of the blessed sacrament, even when enclosed in a tower or tabernacle.

round them. Wax tapers were lit in large candlesticks on each side of the altar, hung on prickets in basins before it, and in coronas, or large circles of lights, in the choir, on the *jabbé* or rood loft, before images, and near shrines, but not on the altars.

* This was the case at Canterbury cathedral.

† The custom of reserving the blessed sacrament in gold and silver doves is very ancient. Perpetuus VI, archbishop of Tours, left a silver dove to a priest, Amalarius, for this purpose, "*Peristerium et columbam argenteam ad repositorium.*" In the customs of the monastery of Cluny, a dove of gold is mentioned suspended over the altar in which the blessed Eucharist was reserved. This custom was retained till the revolution at the church of St. Julien d'Angers, St. Maur des Fosses, near Paris, at St. Paul, Sens, at St. Lierche, near Chartres.

"The blessed sacrament was suspended in a pyx, over the high altar at Durham abbey. Within the quire, over the high altar, hung a rich and most sumptuous canopy for the blessed sacrament to hang within it, which had two irons fastened in the French trieme very finely gilt; which held the canopy over the midst of the said high altar that the pyx hung in, that it could neither move nor stir; whereon stood a pelican all of silver, upon the height of the said canopy, very finely gilt, giving her blood to her young ones, in token that Christ gave his blood for the sins of the world; and it was goodly to behold for the blessed sacrament to hang in. And the pyx wherein the blessed sacrament hung was of most pure gold, curiously wrought of goldsmith's work; and the white cloth that hung over the pyx was of very fine lawn, all embroidered and wrought about with gold and red silk, and four great round knobs of gold curiously wrought, with great tassels of gold and red silk hung at them; and the crook that hung within the cloth that the pyx hung upon was of gold, and the cord which drew it up and down was made of fine strong silk."—*Rites of Durham.*

"French churches in which the blessed sacrament was suspended in a pyx, before the revolution: St. Maurile d'Angers, Cathedrale de Tours, St. Martin de Tours, St. Siran en Brenne, St. Etienne de Dijon, St. Sieur de Dijon, St. Etienne de Sens, Cathedrale de St. Julien, Mons, Nôtre Dame de Chartres, Nôtre Dame de Paris, St. Ouen de Rouen."—*De Moleon, Voyage Liturgique.*

Matthew Paris speaks of the blessed sacrament being suspended over the high altar of the cathedral church of Lincoln.—Ad. an. 1140. *In Stephano.*

It was doubtless in allusion to these doves that St. John Chrysostom says, the sacred body of our Lord in the churches is not enveloped in linen, as in the cradle, but in the form of the *Holy Spirit*.

The present tabernacles are by no means ancient, nor did they exist in the old English churches.

The blessed sacrament was either reserved as above-mentioned, in a dove, or a small metal tabernacle in the form of a tower. These towers* are frequently mentioned by old ecclesiastical writers.

St. Renis, archbishop of Rheims, ordered by his will that his successor should make a tabernacle in the form of a tower, weighing ten marks of gold.

Fortunat, bishop of Poitiers, eulogised St. Felix, archbishop of Bruges, for causing a precious tower of gold to be made for the sacred body of our Lord.

Frodoard, priest of Rheims, relates that Landon, archbishop of that see, placed a tower of gold on an altar of the cathedral, for the reservation of the blessed Eucharist.

The fronts of altars were ornamented by antependiums of rich stuffs, of various colours, richly embroidered on panels of silver, parcel gilt and enamelled, and even occasionally set with precious stones. In the inventory of the ornaments of Lincoln minster, given in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, we find above thirty frontals of velvet and silk, some exceedingly costly. "Imprimis, a costly cloth of gold for the high altar, for principal feasts, having in the midst images of the Holy Trinity, of our Lady, four evangelists, four angels about the Trinity, with patriarchs, prophets, apostles, virgins, with many other images; having a frontlet of cloth of gold, with Scriptures, and a linen cloth infixed to the same, *ex dono Ducis Lancastriæ*."

There were frontals of precious metals at Rheims cathedral;

* The new churches of St. Ann's, Keighley; St. Mary's, Uttorxeter; St. Wilfred's, Manchester; St. Alban's, Macclesfield; St. Chad's, Birmingham; St. Mary's, Dudley, are all furnished with these towers, instead of modern tabernacles. There is but little doubt that in many of our small parish churches the blessed Eucharist was reserved in a strong almy, on the gospel side of the chancel. In Germany and Belgium several magnificent tabernacles of stone, carried up to a prodigious height, and exquisitely wrought, remain on the gospel side of the choir. Those at St. Lawrence's church, Nuremberg, and the cathedral at Ulm, executed by Adam Kraft, are the most beautiful. A tabernacle of this description is still used for its original sacred purpose in the cathedral of Louvain; but how long this remnant of ancient practice may remain is most uncertain, for the destroying spirit of novelty has already run riot in this once glorious church. The beautiful triptic, over the high altar, has been pulled down and sold, and a wretched marble mass of columns and cornices erected in its stead; the sedilia demolished; the unrivalled brass lectorium sold out of the choir; the altars of the choir screen taken away, and the choir thrown open to the nave; and the glorious tabernacle itself menaced with destruction, on account, forsooth, of its being placed on one side of the church.

the abbey of St. Ouen, Rouen; St. Germain des Prés, Paris; St. Mark's, Venice; Bayeux cathedral, and many other churches.

Round the most ancient altars curtains were hung, and closely drawn from the consecration till the communion; this usage was common to both the eastern and western Churches. St. John Chrysostom bears ample testimony to the former, when he says, "that the sacred host is on the altar, and the victim immolated, and these words are pronounced (*Sanctus Sanctis*). When the *curtain and veils* are drawn, it seems as if the heavens themselves were opened and the angels descended." (*Hom. iii. in Epist. ad Ephes.*) As for the western Church, we read in the lives of many popes,* that they caused curtains of precious stuffs to be hung round the altars of various churches in Rome.

It does not appear that curtains were ever hung *entirely round* the altars in *England*, but *invariably at the sides*, and sometimes at the back. These were called dossels, and are mentioned in the inventory of St. Osmund's church, at Old Sarum. A curtain or veil was also hung over the imagery, at back of the altars, during Lent. The side curtains remained in use in England till the destruction of the altars, under Edward VI; and in France, in many of the large churches, till the great revolution.

We have already mentioned that previous to the tenth century candles were not placed upon the altar, and from that period down to the sixteenth century the number was generally restricted to two.† The usual number of six is a comparatively modern usage, even at Rome, and the rubric of the Roman missal only requires two lights during the celebration of the holy Eucharist: "Super altare collocetur crux in medio et candelabra saltem duo cum candelis accensis hinc et inde in utroque ejus latere."

Every altar should be built of stone: the top slab of one piece with five crosses cut on it—one at each angle and in the

* Sergius I, Gregory III, Adrian I, Leo III, Pascal I, Gregory IV, Sergius II, Leo IV, and Nicholas I. "In circuitu altaris tetravela octo; per altaris circuitum vela de rhodino quatuor quæ sacrum altare circumdant. Contulit in basilica apostolorum cortinam lineam unam, velotyra, serica tria, in circuitu altaria."

† Although only two candlesticks were placed on the altar, these were occasionally made to hold several candles, which were doubtless lit on great festivals. In the inventory of the ornaments of Lincoln: "Item, two candlesticks of silver parcel gilt, standing on great feet, with six towers gilded, having one great knob in the midst, and in the height six towers about the bowls, with one pike of silver on either of them."

centre; the whole of this stone should be consecrated by the bishop, instead of a portable altar being inserted in it, which should only be tolerated in a case of the greatest necessity. The front of the altar, if solid, should be furnished with, at least, an antependium with appropriate ornaments, and a purple frontal for Lent; but, if means would permit, a complete set of frontals of the five colours should be provided. Three linen cloths are required for covering the altar stone: the first is the cere cloth, waxed all over, and made to fit over the stone exactly; this is never removed. The second of fine linen, plain, the length and width of the stone, to lie over the cere cloth. The third should be sufficiently long to hang down at each end of the altar to the pavement; this should be marked with five crosses, and may be ornamented at the ends with needle-work.

A pair of curtains should be hung on each side of the altar, nearly of the same projection from the wall; these should be varied in colour to that of the festival; but, as means will not generally permit of so doing, crimson for ordinary use, with purple for Lent, will be sufficient.

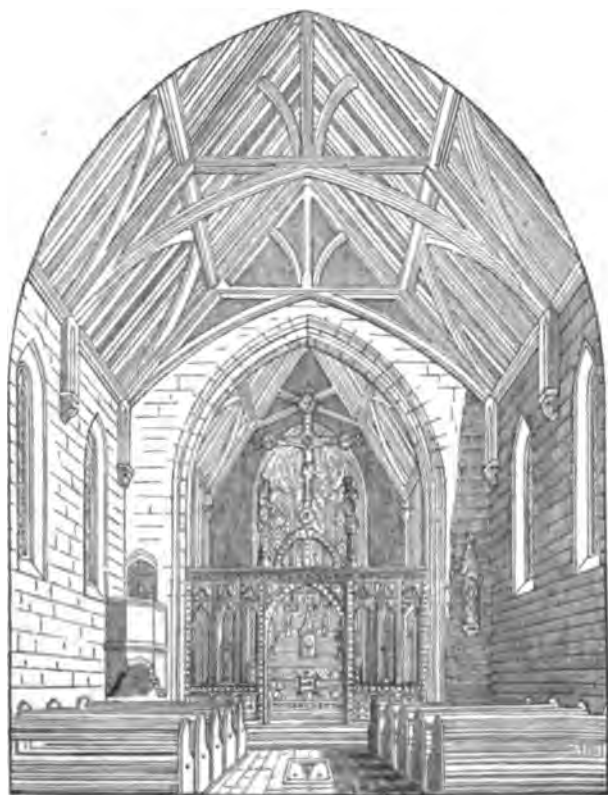
These curtains should be hung sufficiently high to protect the candles from wind, and reach nearly to the ground.

Nothing but the candlesticks, cross, and a small tower for the reservation of the blessed sacrament, should be placed on the altar.

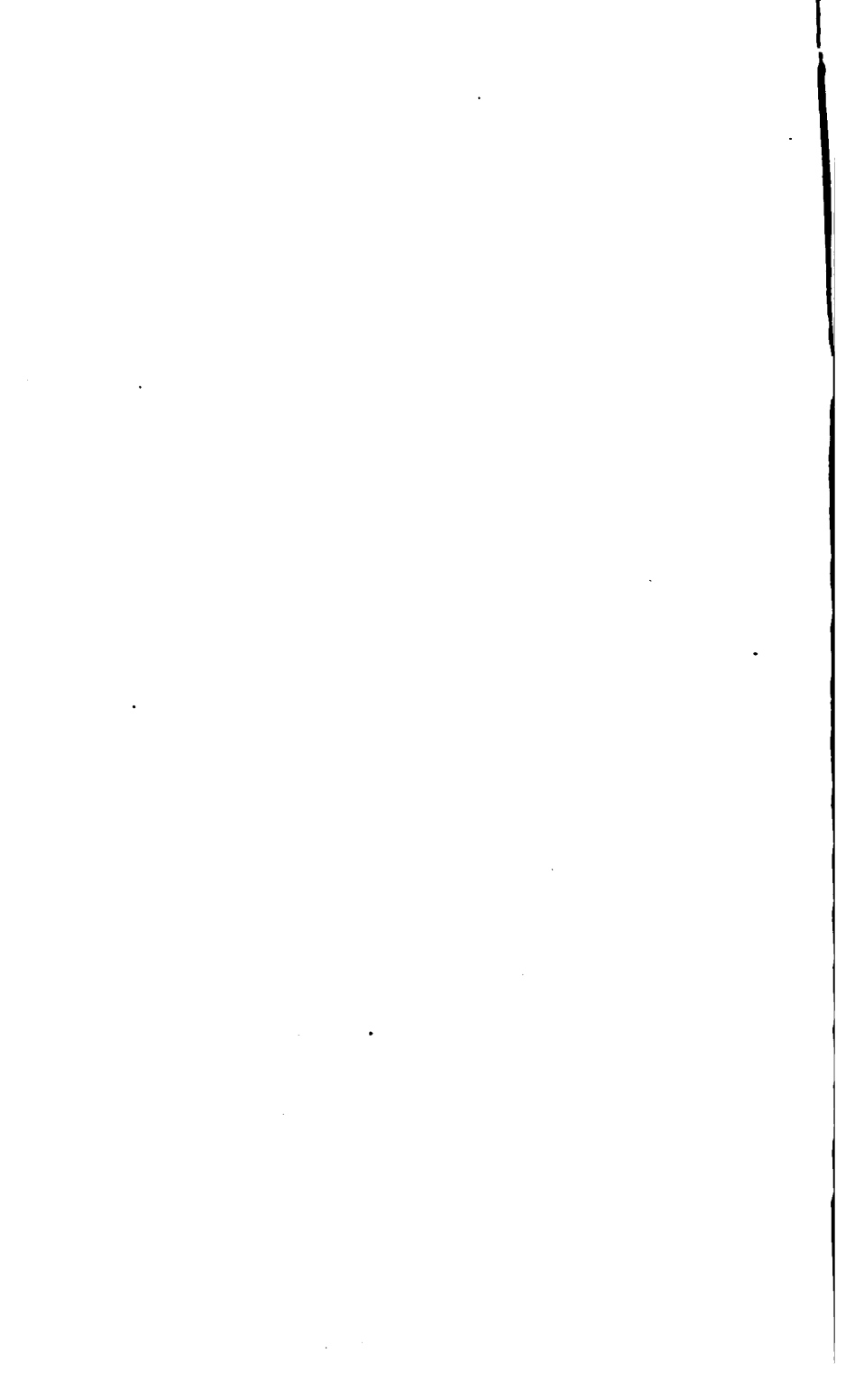
The screen, or dossell, is the proper position for the images of the saints; their relics may repose beneath the sacrificial stone, the walls may be hung with flowers and wreaths, but the altar should be free and unincumbered for the holy sacrifice. All the ancient discipline that we have quoted tended to this point.

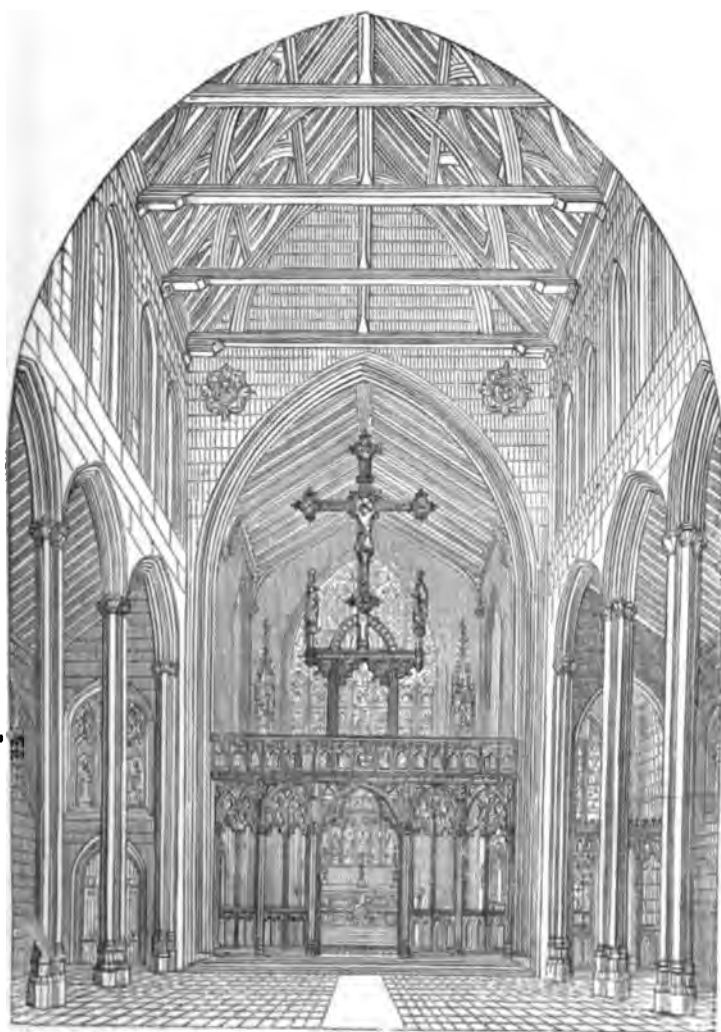
The form and ornaments of altars are not matters of mere whim and caprice, but of antiquity and authority; their purpose is far too sacred to admit of their being made the vehicles of paltry display and meretricious ornament.* Yet every reflecting mind must be both struck and pained with the incongruous decorations of most of the modern altars; the chief

* It should always be remembered that the ceremonies of the church are *realities*, not *representations*; that they were instituted not to *dazzle the eye* but to *honour God*. Altars are not meant to be merely seen by man, but should be erected to meet the all-searching eye of God. The holy of holies, under the old law, in which no man except the high-priest entered, was overlaid with gold;—and should our sanctuary for the reality be less splendid than that of the figure? Surely not. Hence gilding and ornament should not be always *turned towards the people*, nor a showy antependium conceal dirt and neglect.

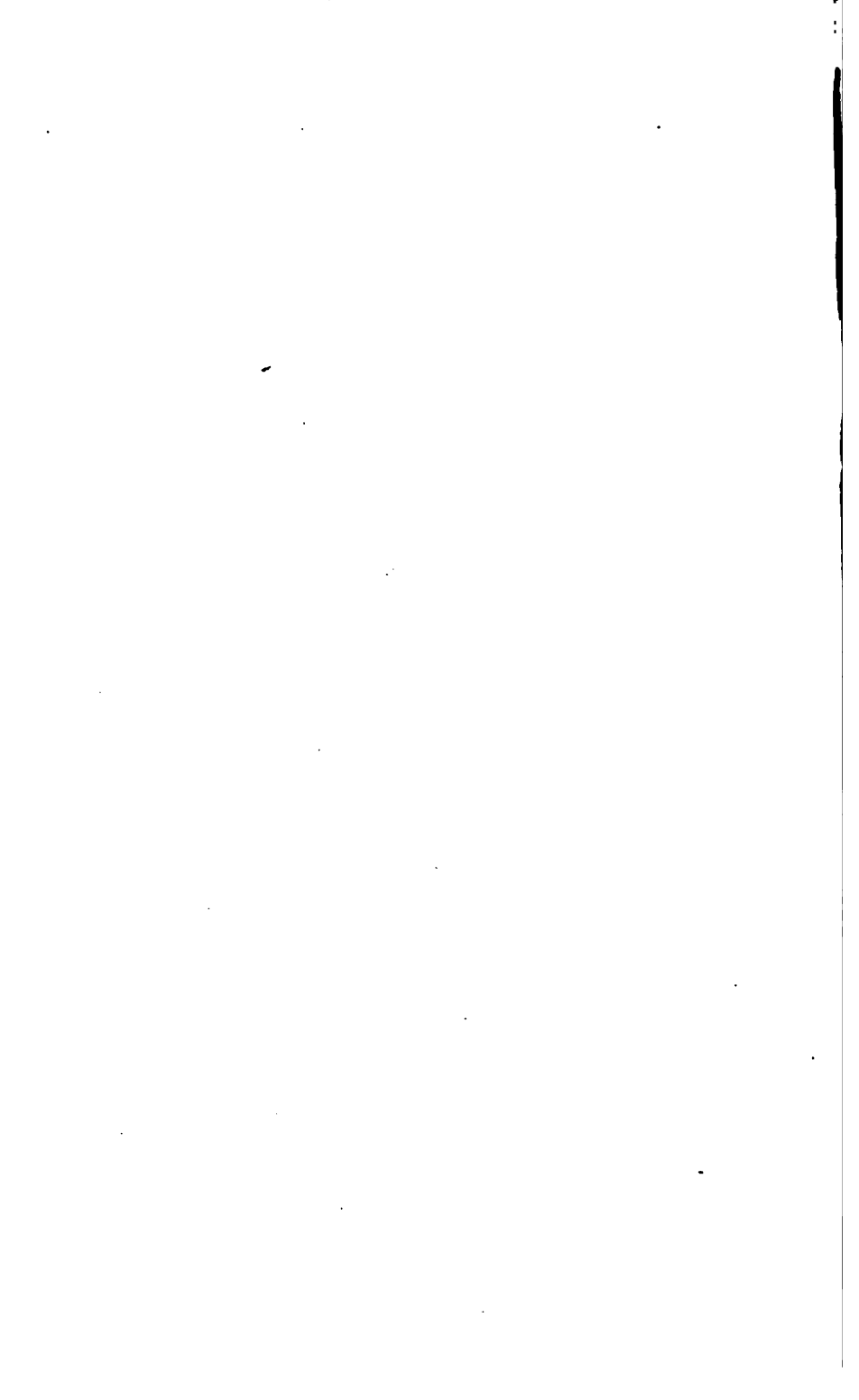


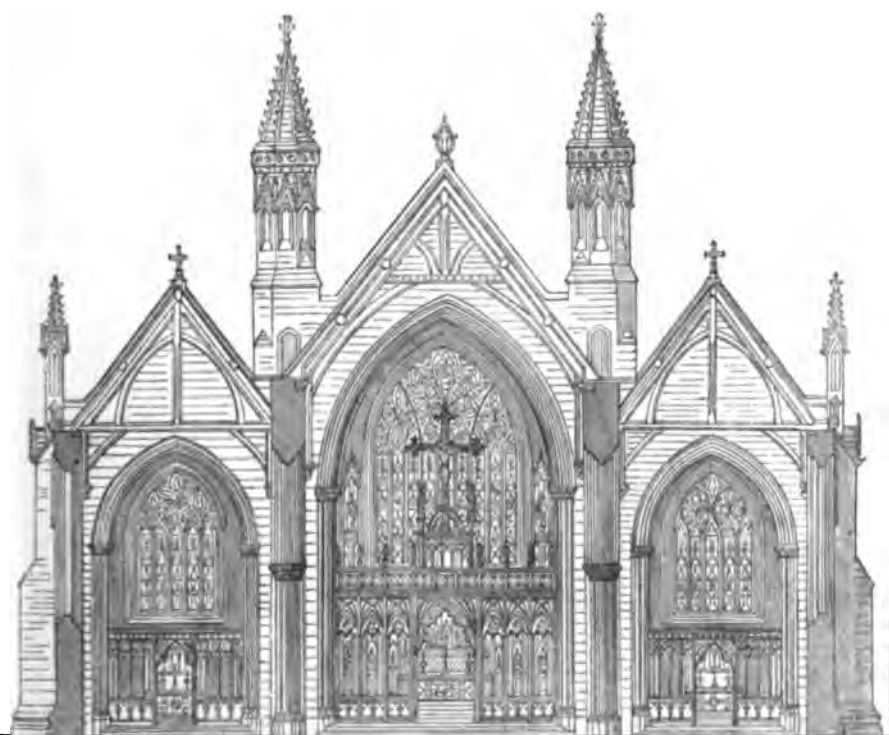
ST. MARY'S-ON-THE-SANDS, SOUTHPORT.



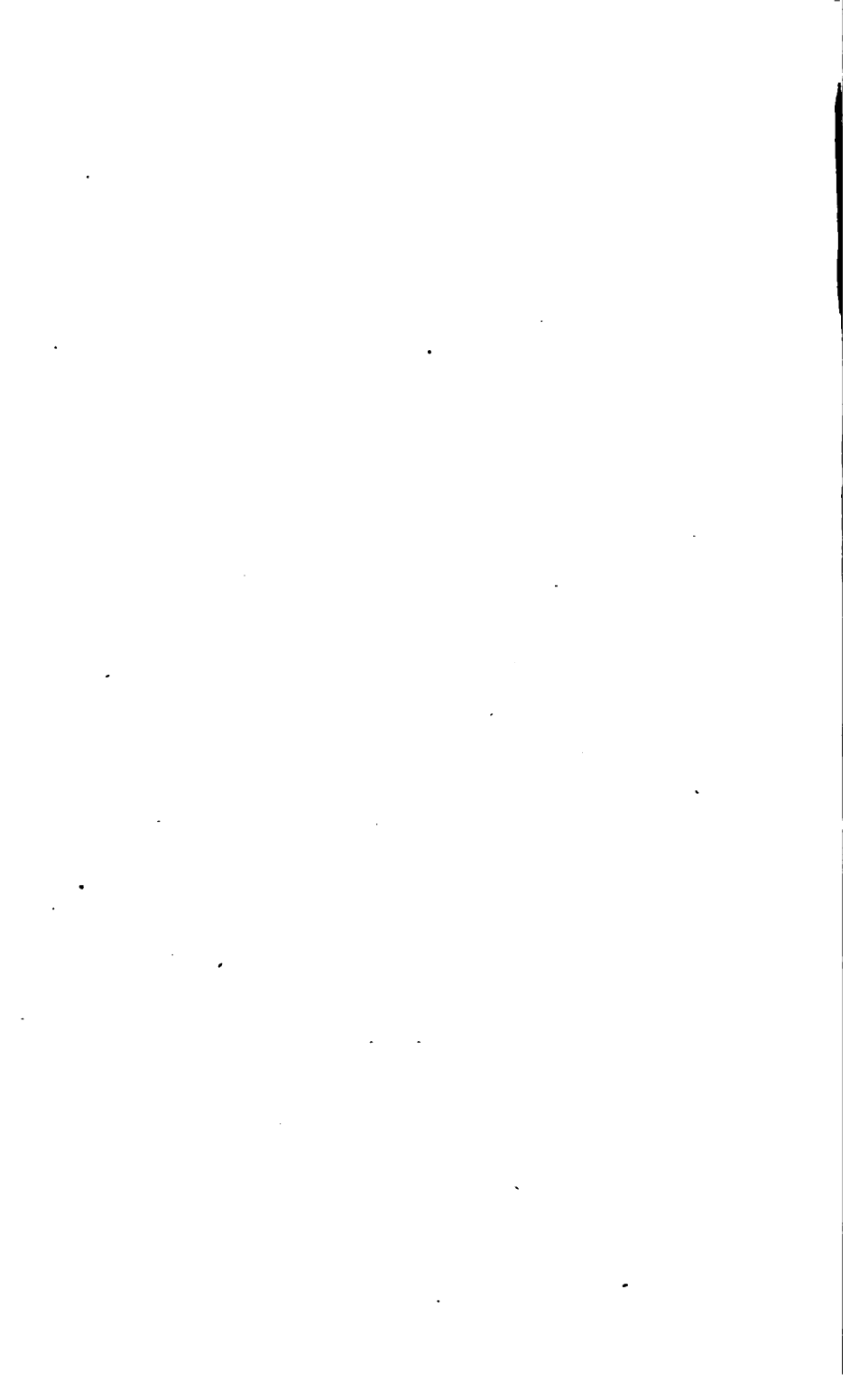


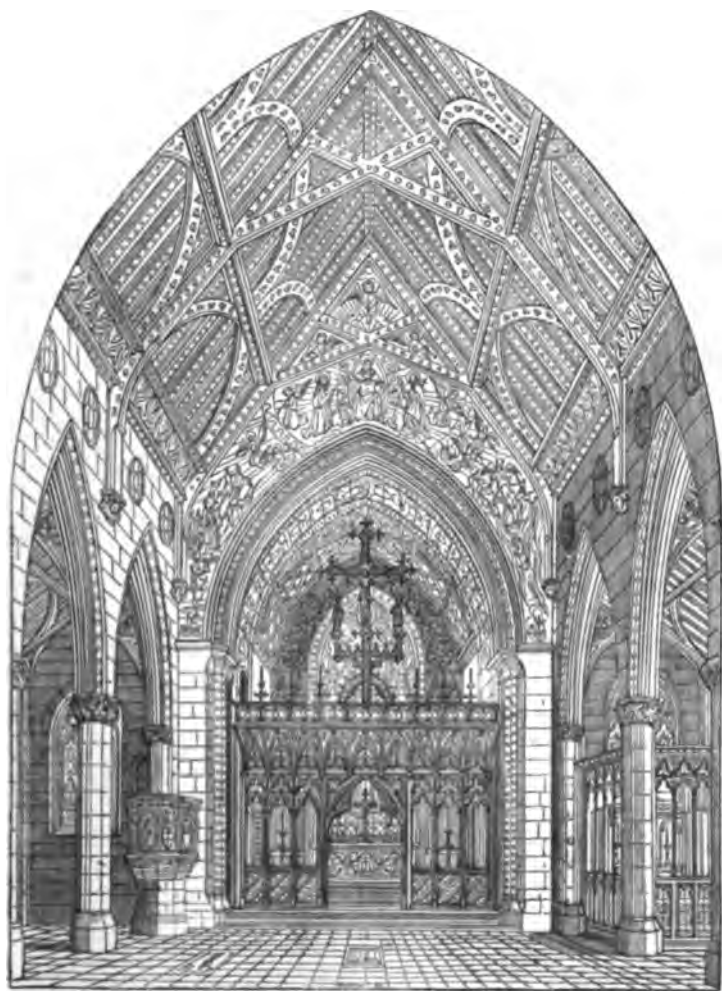
ST. ALBAN'S, MACCLESFIELD.



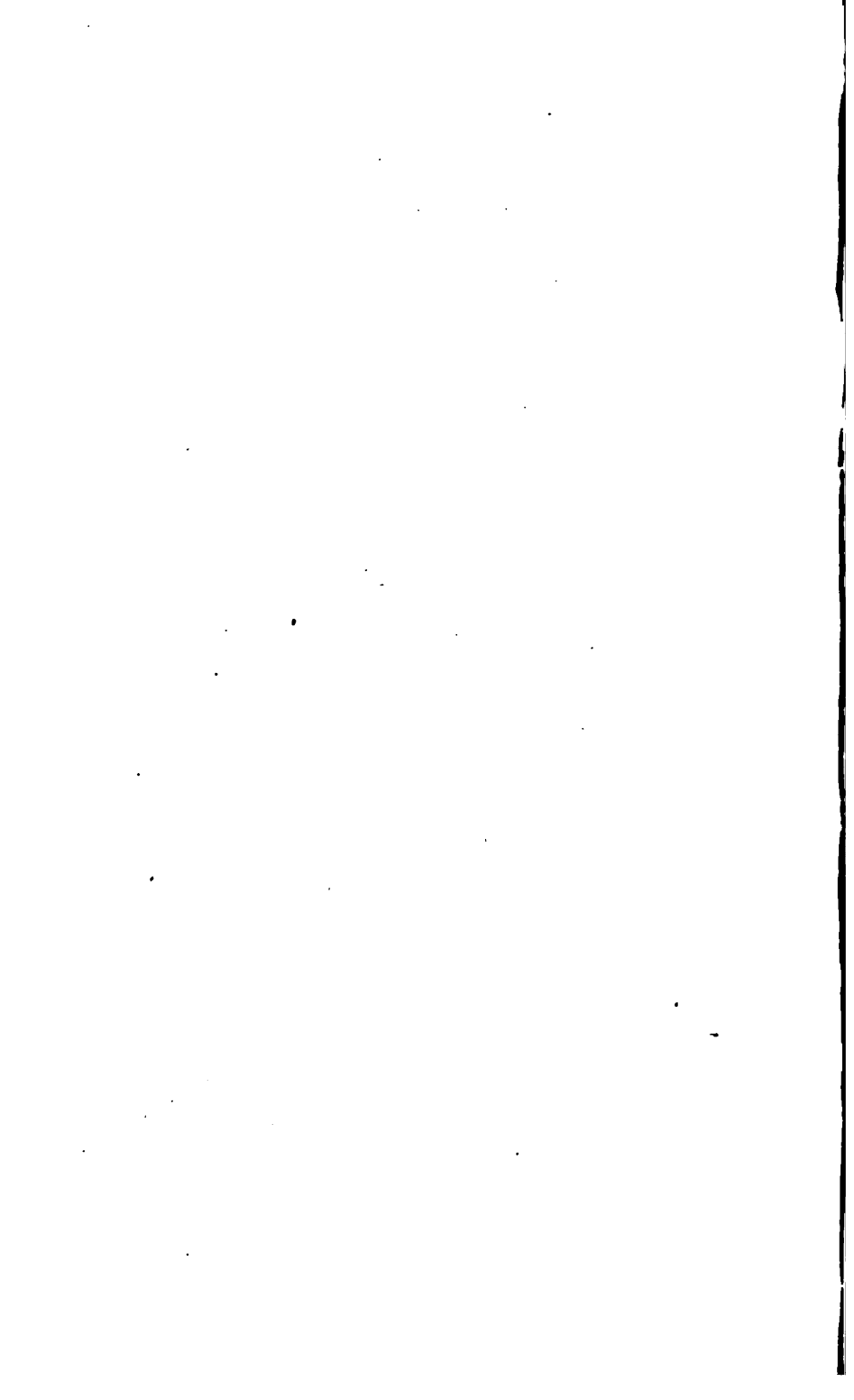


ST. GEORGE'S FIELDS, LONDON.



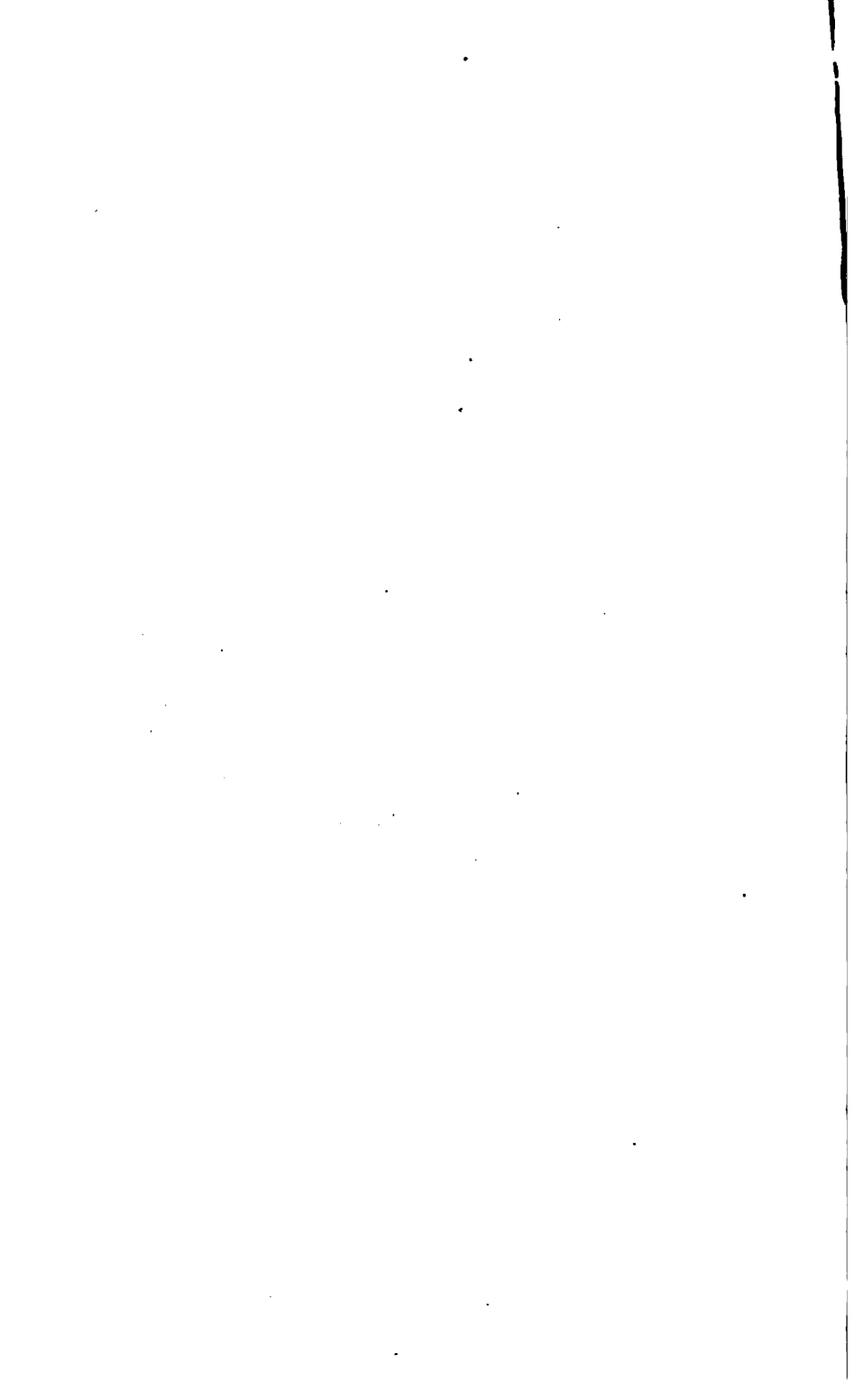


ST. GILES', CHEADLE.



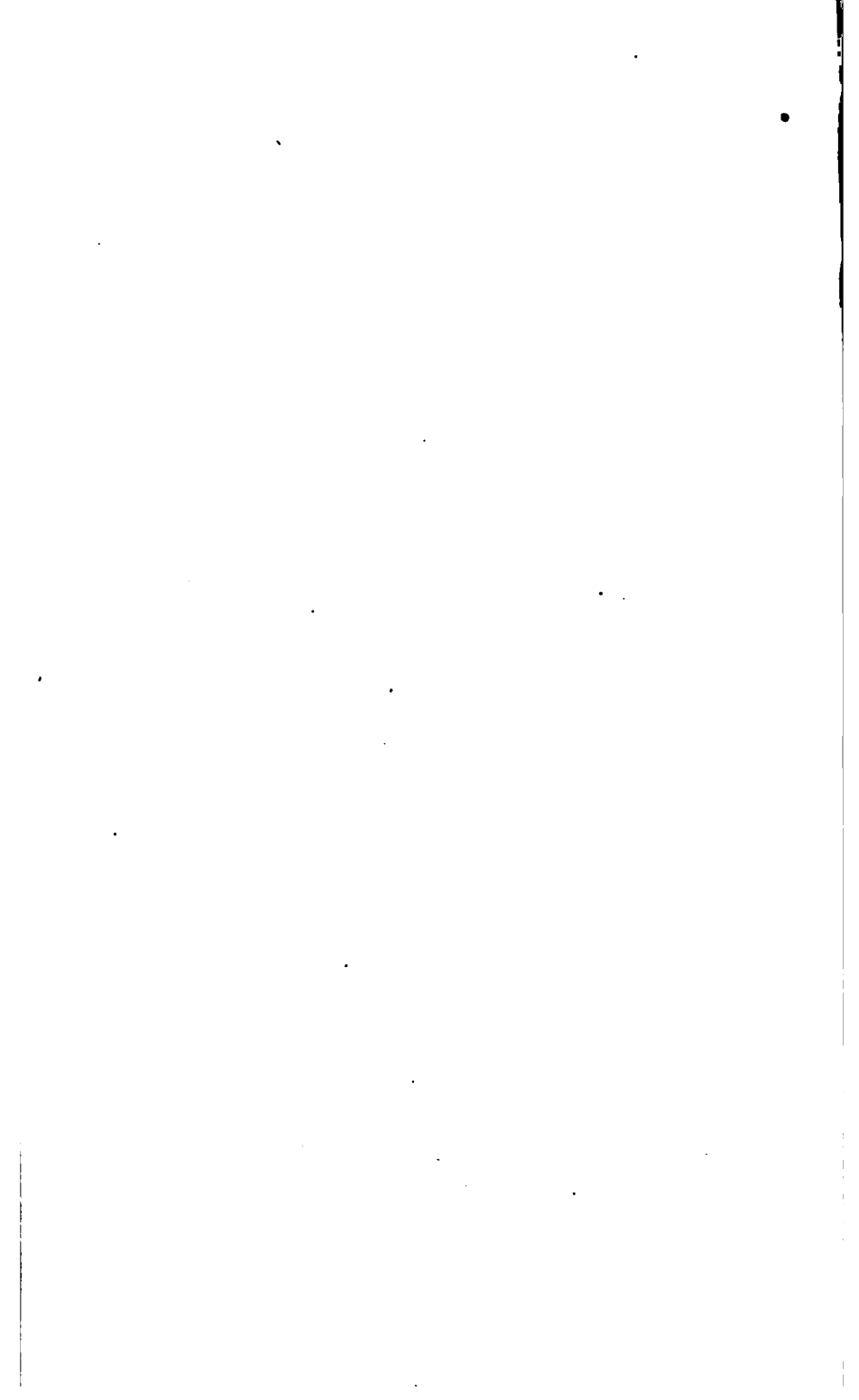


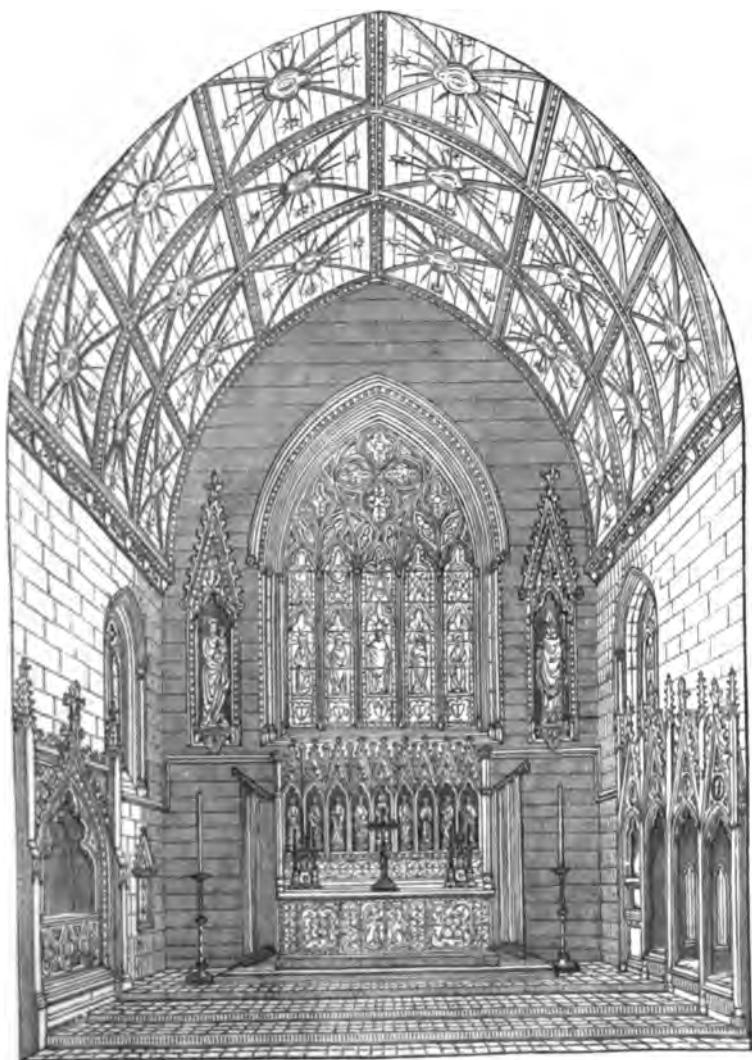
CHANCEL OF ST. WILFRID'S, MANCHESTER.



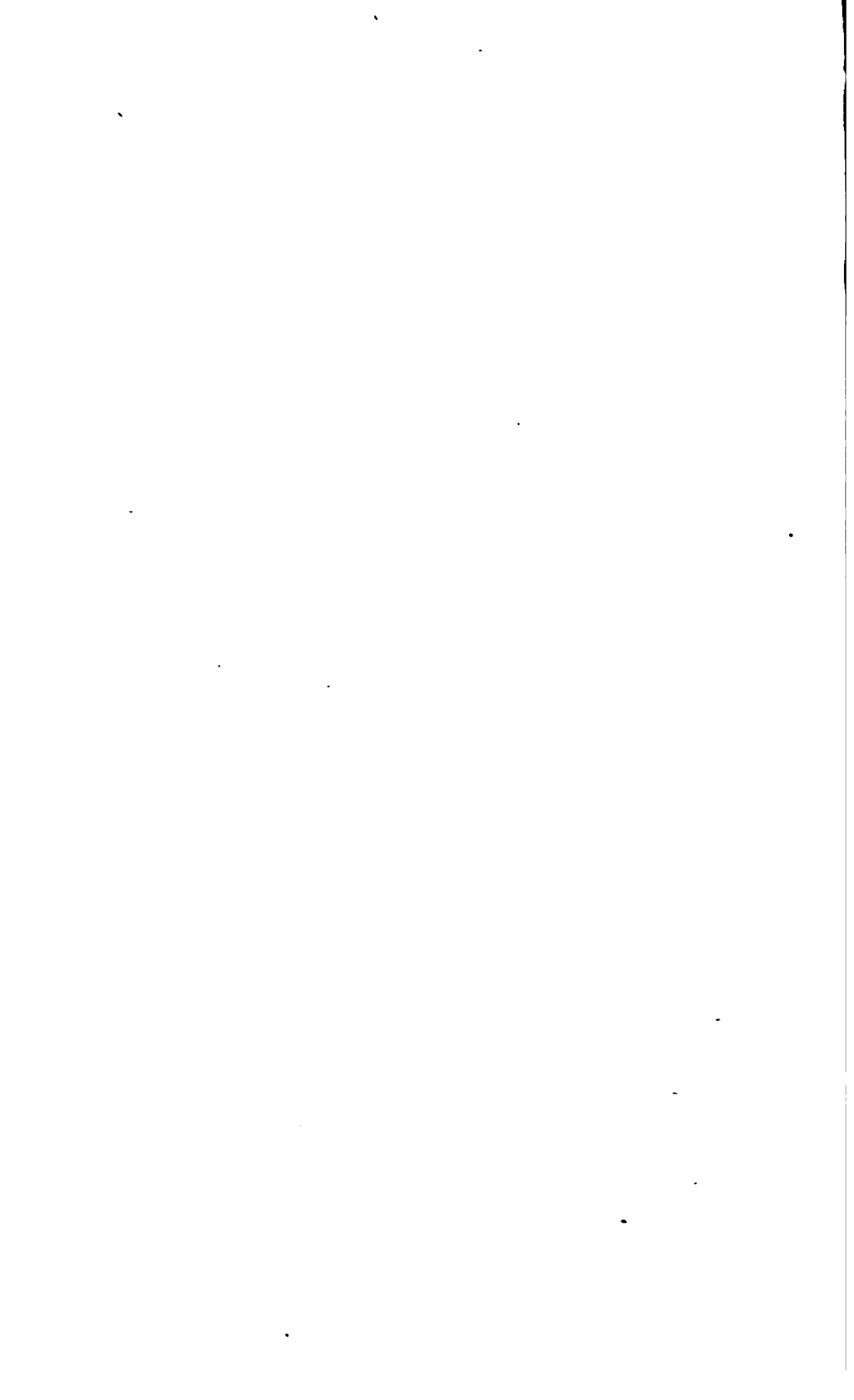


ST. MARY'S, UTTOXETER.





CHANCEL OF ST. GILES', CHEADLE.



aim of those who arrange them appears to be a merely great show. All mystical reasons, all ancient discipline,* all dignity and solemnity are utterly lost sight of; everything is over-done. Candlesticks are piled on candlesticks as if arranged for sale; whole rows of flower pots mingled with reliquaries, images, and not unfrequently profane ornaments; festoons of upholsterers' drapery: even distorting and distracting looking-glasses are introduced in this medley display; the effect of which upon persons who are conversant with ancient discipline and practice it is not easy to describe.

Of all decoration, that of ecclesiastical buildings is the most difficult; to unite *richness* with *severity*, to produce *splendour* without *gaudiness*, and to erect a temple somewhat worthy of the holy sacrifice, is a wonderful effort for the human mind: but when decoration is attempted in honour of the victim there offered—the blessed Sacrament itself—art droops unequal, and genius fails. Who is there that can set forth the glory of God, or add lustre to His majesty? The attempt is almost profane. Hence the ancient churchmen veiled the sacred host in mystery, and, like Moses before the burning bush, bowed themselves to the ground. If the faithful are required to adore in silence, during the elevation of the host, as being too solemn a moment for even the psalmody of praise, “*Sileat omnis caro a facie Domini quia consurrexit de habitaculo Sancto suo,*” what forms can be embodied to honour so great a mystery?

The arrangements sometimes made for this purpose are more calculated to throw ridicule on the solemnity than to raise feelings of inward reverence, and however well meant are not the less objectionable. Lights alone can be considered appro-

* The greatest innovation of later times is placing altars *all over a church*; formerly they were strictly confined to the eastern ends, and *all protected by screens* in regular chapels. *The mass is not less holy, adorable, and deserving of respect because it is celebrated at an altar which is not the principal one of the church:* the same reasons which require that to be screened off from the people, *apply equally to the others.* Now we not only find many altars without screens in modern churches, but *erected against pillars of the nave*, where a great portion of the people must turn their backs on the sacrifice there offered. The nave is erected *for the faithful*, and not as a place wherein to *celebrate the holy mysteries*; the very fact of altars having been erected in such a position, shews how completely the mystical reasons which regulated the architecture and arrangement of ancient catholic churches, have been lost sight of; and hence arises the gross irreverence to be witnessed on the Continent during the celebration of masses at these altars, and is another proof of the intimate connexion between the externals of religion and internal effect on the mind.

priate emblems near the blessed Eucharist, for they have ever been used by the Church as marks of honour, and figures of the brightness and glory of God: and even these require much judgment in their distribution, inclining more on the side of humble simplicity than of pretension towards an unattainable end; and (like the painter, who, unable to represent the intense grief of the human mind, covered the visage of his figure), confess our inability to *embody* our veneration for the adorable mystery, and substitute for ornament a veil.

It is proper to remark, that all the altars in the churches of which we have given engravings, have been erected and decorated with scrupulous regard to the ancient tradition.

We fear we cannot assert, from the examples which we have brought forward, that the English Catholics, as *a body*, are reviving Catholic architecture, for such is unhappily far from the case at present; but we have brought forward sufficient examples to shew that it is *quite possible for them, in the nineteenth century, to revive the ecclesiastical glories of the days of faith*, and it is merely owing to their energies not being sufficiently directed to this important object, that much greater restorations are not achieved. If the piety, faith, and zeal of bygone times are revived, then equal results will soon be attained. There is, at the present time, a great and increasing feeling of admiration for old Catholic art; and among those who have greatly contributed to revive this love of Catholic antiquity, are certain learned members of the Establishment, resident at Oxford; whose endeavours, in this cause, entitle them to the respect and gratitude of all who are anxious to behold a restoration of our ancient solemn churches. Some papers which have appeared in the *British Critic* on this subject, have been written by one who truly feels the principles which actuated the ancient builders in their designs. So much respect indeed do we entertain for the writer in question, that we are pained in being compelled to act as his opponent, although it be only for a time: still the *exclusive* tone he has assumed is so fallacious, that it becomes a duty to point out the inconsistency of it. We repeat we are truly grateful for all the Oxford men have done, and are doing, towards the revival of Catholic art and antiquity: still, hampered as they are by parliamentary restrictions, and their Protestant associates, they can accomplish but little in these respects, compared with what a handful of English Catholics have done who work on the ancient foundation.

We both descend from ancestors who professed one faith

as members of the old Catholic Church of England. The Establishment are the many who, converted by political intriguers, avaricious and ambitious men, abandoned the faith of their fathers, and received parliamentary enactments for the decrees of the church. The English Catholics are the few who remained witnesses of the truth, under the severest trials of persecution.

The Establishment, although she started strong and mighty, is now miserably fallen; she has existed long enough to suffer the most bitter degradations at the hands of her own nominal children: and having lost the hearts and controul of the people—distracted by dissensions—betrayed by false brethren—the learned and pious of her communion look back with longing regret on the happy state of England's Church, ere political intriguers had forced it into schism, and separated it from the communion of the Christian world. Under these circumstances we should have hoped, and expected, that the feeling of deep humility (so beautifully expressed in an article on the church service in the *British Critic*) would have influenced the tone of the writer on church architecture; but this, we are sorry to perceive, is far from the case. We cannot understand how a church in the old English style, erected by the descendants of those who retained the practice of the old rites, can be a *painful* object* to one *professing Catholic principles*; nor why he should be *edified* (even supposing such were the case) that the new Catholic church and dissenting meeting-house were built in the same manner: unless he were influenced by party feelings, such a falling off should cause his sincere grief. Far be it from us to exult at the abortions raised by the Establishment for her worship; it is on the contrary a subject of deep lamentation, that any persons whose ancestors were members of the Catholic Church should have so wofully deserted from the spirit of antiquity. And on the other hand, when we behold even the intention of restoring Catholic architecture and practices, we are both edified and thankful that such feelings should exist.

We are willing to admit that the modern externals of Catholicism in this country are but little calculated to impress a casual observer with feelings of religious veneration, but as the English Catholics have been driven from every ancient church, and cut off from old associations, their present condition, in these respects, is less astonishing than that of the

* "This is indeed a *painfully* beautiful structure."

members of the Establishment, who, with the glories of the old edifices continually before them, have not only departed from every ancient practice, but have defaced and destroyed, in a great measure, the most beautiful portions of these venerable edifices.

It is true that the feelings of many of her children are Catholic, but the Establishment is decidedly Protestant. How would the parochial churches, in their present state, bear the test of an old English episcopal visitation? A solitary surplice and tattered prayer book would but ill answer to the long catalogue of sacred vessels and ornaments extracted from *Lyndwood's Provinciale*. The unoccupied sedilia; the broken sacarium; the defaced screen, denuded of its emblem of redemption; the dismounted altar stone, trampled under foot; the damp and mouldering chancel; the broken window and upturned brass, would but ill exhibit that love of Anglican rites, which the writer would fain usurp as the exclusive feeling of the Establishment: and yet this is the state of almost every church in the country, which is not fortunate enough to have an Oxford man for its incumbent: and then, however good may be his intentions, he is so restricted and controlled, that he can do little more than remove some coats of whitewash, and open a blocked-up arch and window. It is a fact, and we say it in sorrow—not exultation, that there is not a single church, in the possession of the Establishment, where *any* of the old Anglican rites are preserved. There is a great deal written respecting them, it is true, but where are the actual results? Do the clergy celebrate in the ancient vestments? Do they burn lights on the altars and near the tombs of the martyrs? Do they venerate the remains of the saints? Do they place hallowed water in the porches of the churches? Are the roods reared over the screens? Are the sedilia occupied by the clergy? For these are all practices of remote antiquity. It is a striking fact, that *Anglican* rites were in use in the Church in England only so long as she retained her canonical obedience to the holy see, and ceased with her schism.

A paper has recently appeared, on the Anglo-catholic use of two lights at the altar, the object of which is excellent; but it is well known that this disuse of the Anglo-catholic practice is *exactly coeval* with the *formation of the present establishment*, as they were utterly disused after the short-lived reign of the first book of common prayer. We had in England, from Saxon times downwards, our own missals, rituals, benedictionals, offices, litanies, which included among the most

ancient Catholic rites, *some exclusively English*, with vast privileges; and yet all these Anglican rites were abolished to introduce *Lutheran and Genevan discipline, when England's Church was brought under the yoke of foreign sectaries*, by the so-called reformers of the sixteenth century. And if these Anglican rites have in some respects been suspended amongst us, who are the remnant of the old faith, is it not owing to our having been so deserted and persecuted by our Protestant countrymen that we have been too depressed and divided to keep up the externals and practice of a Church? But, however we may fall short in these respects when compared with the glories of ancient days, we are still wonderfully in advance of the members of the Establishment, who, still writhing under the evil influence of a Peter Martyr and John a Lasco, are unable to revive a single practice of Anglo-catholic antiquity. It ill becomes them to speak in a taunting manner of our deficiencies in these respects, and to make extravagant deductions from accidental contingencies; we allude particularly to the observations made on the position of the church at Derby.*

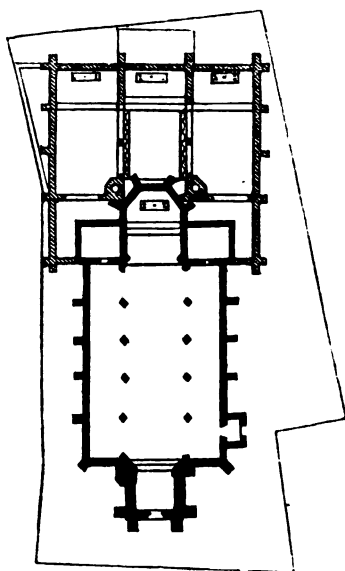
* There is not the slightest foundation for the *significant relation*, asserted by the reviewer, between the church at Derby and the Roman basilicas; there is not, in fact, the smallest similarity between the two. In the basilica, the altar and the celebrant *face the east and the people*, of which we are not aware of any other instance. At Derby, the building was unfortunately forced in on a south and north position. The church at Moorfields was erected by a Protestant, who was totally ignorant of any canonical regulation, and was far more influenced by the city commissioners, in not *spoiling the uniformity of the crescent*, than any notions of introducing Roman discipline into London. As for Mr. Fletcher's meeting-house, the mention of which is rather insultingly introduced, the reviewer must be aware that it has no *bearing at all*, there being neither end nor side, but one great galleried preaching house, with benches all round; a vile conventicle, which, we should have thought, any one *professing Catholic feelings* would not have named in conjunction with a church, built on the same site and position, and over the same sacred tombs, as one of the oldest edifices devoted to christian worship.

There is one observation of the reviewer in which we most heartily concur—the absence of altars at the extremities of the aisles is a *great defect*, although not an *irremediable* one; and we shall hope, before long, to see these, as well as a regular chancel screen, and other arrangements which are absolutely required to be completed, in order to perfect the interior of this edifice.

We cannot conclude these observations without expressing our perfect concurrence in the views of the writer, respecting the propriety and necessity of adhering to the ancient traditional position of churches, from west to east; and we hold, that nothing short of absolute necessity could palliate, even in these times, any departure from this practice. But few persons are acquainted with the difficulties to be encountered in procuring land for the erection of catholic churches. No sooner does the intention of commencing such a structure become known, than every engine of prejudice and interest is brought to bear in opposition, and sites are sometimes purchased, through necessity, which will not possibly admit of canonical arrangements in the position of the edifice.

Had the writer examined the dimensions of the site, he must at once have perceived that the uncanonical position of the building was occasioned, not through disrespect for the ancient tradition of Christendom—which we revere most highly; not from any idea of introducing Roman peculiarities in England, but from unavoidable necessity, occasioned by want of space from west to east. Had the church been properly placed, even supposing the whole width of the land occupied, not only would the light of both eastern and western windows have been at the mercy of the adjacent proprietors, but the edifice itself would have been much too short for its required purposes. Every expedient, by placing the tower on the side, &c., was tried, but was reluctantly and of necessity abandoned.

The annexed plan will shew these difficulties; and it will also be seen that the church was brought forward to its present



DERBY.*

position to admit of enlarging the chancel, and adding chapels towards the altar end.

* As the exterior and interior of this church have been already etched in two plates, published by Dolman, and also illustrated in the "British Critic," it has not been considered necessary to introduce them in this article.

It was certainly a lamentable necessity, which compelled the architect to turn the church at Derby towards the north; but yet this is a light defect, when compared with the pewing of St. Alkmund's, where, in a canonically-built church, the congregation not only face the north, but sit in hollow squares and galleries, and *face each other*. The writer could not have selected a more unfortunate example for illustrating the love of Catholic antiquity in the Establishment, than this ancient but desecrated edifice: it is an old Catholic shell, cut up, galleried, defaced, and transformed by every description of Protestant monstrosity, from the Genevan reading-desk, down to the *glazed* and cushioned pew of the last century. But mistaken indeed are the ideas of the reviewer, in imagining that the new church of St. Mary's was erected as if in *hostile opposition* to the venerable fabric of St. Alkmund's; for, desecrated and desolate as it stands, the pious Catholic can gaze with feelings of deep veneration on an edifice from whose tower the bells have oft called the people to early sacrifice, and beneath whose ancient pavement repose the remains of many a faithful soul departed. How little can the writer estimate the feelings of a true English Catholic, if he thinks every stone of the ancient churches is not inestimably dear to him; for, independent of the art and science of their construction, their antiquity alone will awaken associations more holy and consoling, than the most splendid revivals of Catholic art in the present day can produce. It is a strange inconsistency in such men as the reviewer, to misrepresent and disparage the intentions and works of the only body who are capable of carrying out the very ideas he so beautifully expresses. We are quite willing to throw overboard such of the modern Catholic erections as are built without reference to canonical arrangement or the traditions of the Church, to be dealt with as unmercifully as the conventicles which they much resemble. But we protest against charging the whole body with the ignorance of some of its members; and we equally object to the writer claiming Catholic feelings for the Establishment, as a *body*, because such good sentiments have revived among a few of its members. By how small a proportion would the sentiments of the reviewer be *even understood*, and by a how much smaller proportion *appreciated as they deserve*. The very truth contained in his article refutes the position he would attempt to claim. Every thing Catholic in England is at so low an ebb

at present, that it is folly to boast. All we contend for is, that Catholicism in this country possesses sufficient internal strength to revive its ancient glory; while the Establishment, however willing some of its members may be to produce such a result, cannot, under its present system, achieve it. And why is this? It is not from any want of piety, zeal, learning, disinterestedness, or holiness of life,—for all these requisites are possessed in a high degree by many among them; it is simply for want of a really Catholic foundation. If reunited in communion with the rest of the Christian world, and absolved from the censures which their forefathers incurred, how rapidly would they achieve the greatest works! The spirit of the ancient churchmen breathes in their writings, and in their deeds,—but, like the green shoots from a prostrate trunk, wanting a source, fail in producing fruit; and the men who, in better days, would have raised a Lincoln or founded a Winchester, are scarcely able to preserve common decency of worship, or arrest increasing decay, in the churches which they serve.

ART. III.—1. *Changes produced in the Nervous System by Civilization, considered according to the Evidence of Physiology and the Philosophy of History.* By Robert Verity, M.D., Member of the Universities of Edinburgh and Göttingen. Second Edition, enlarged. London: 1839.

2. *The Anatomy of Suicide.* By Forbes Winslow, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London; author of "Physic and Physicians." London: 1840.

VERY few, we venture to say, were the suicides committed in England in the age when the lord and lady of Northumberland allowed themselves, for breakfast, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, and half a chine of boiled beef, on "flesh days;" on "meagre days," the same quantity of bread, beer and wine, together with a dish of butter, and a piece of salt fish, or, in lieu thereof, a dish of buttered eggs; and during lent, in addition to the usual quantum of bread, beer and wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, and four fresh herrings. The latter were sometimes exchanged for a quarter firkin of

sprats. As to plovers and partridges, pigeons, capons, and chickens, they were esteemed, in those times, such luxuries, that none ventured to touch them, save my lord and lady. This was in the reign of Henry VIII. The propensity to self-destruction was, we suspect, still less manifested in the time of Henry II, even though we believe William of Malmesbury, when he informs us, "the English were then universally addicted to drunkenness, continuing over their cups day and night, keeping open house, and spending the income of their estates in riotous feasts, where eating and drinking were carried to excess, without any elegance."

We can form no idea of a Frenchman deliberately bidding adieu to his friends, and throwing himself into the Seine, immediately after having taken his soup with a wooden spoon, and ate his *bouilli* off a trencher; nor of an Englishman putting a rope round his neck, after having slept on a straw pallet, with a log of timber for his pillow.

That in proportion as civilization makes progress, and the powers of the mind become more developed, the physical constitution of man undergoes very material changes, is a fact which has not yet been sufficiently examined, although it has attracted the attention of several writers of great capacity and learning, such as Vico, Herder, Gall and Spurzheim, Frederick Schlegel, Guizot, and Michelet. Vico was one of the first who took up this "new science," as he justly denominated it. The cultivation of this branch of knowledge offers a most interesting field of enquiry—one intimately connected with every department of the medical profession, and especially with that department most conversant with the maladies to which the intellect is liable.

Even to men unskilled in medical learning, it would seem preposterous that rules of treatment, successful with labourers constantly in the open air, or with soldiers engaged in a campaign, or with our own ancestors a hundred years ago, should be deemed applicable to persons penned up within the atmosphere of a crowded city, accustomed much more to the exercise of the mental than the physical faculties, and constantly availing themselves of all the luxuries which the refinements of modern society present to their acceptance. The same observation applies to diseases of the mind. No doubt can be entertained, that the vast increase which has taken place in the most civilized nations, since the commencement of the present century, in cases of this description, is to be attributed

to modifications that have taken place in the physical constitution of persons belonging to the better orders of society—modifications of which too little account has been yet noted, and which it is the particular object of Dr. Verity's work to bring into public discussion.

Having studied his production with the greatest attention, we may at once assure our readers that they will find it pregnant, in every page, with matter of the most absorbing interest, arranged in lucid order; disclosing many original, profound, and exalting views of the condition of humanity, expressed in a nomenclature sometimes novel, yet always appropriate and intelligible. Dr. Verity's style of composition is remarkably polished. It is often very beautiful; and, when the subject requires it, easily ascends even to the sublime. We have not for a long time enjoyed so delightful a treat, as we have found in this little volume. It carries us forward almost a century before the time in which we live, and exhibits vistas of the future destinies of mankind, in their relations with this world, which are quite captivating;—the more so, as they are supported by a train of reasoning strictly logical, throughout its whole luminous career.

As Dr. Verity's treatise affords, on many points, the most important assistance towards the realization of the object which Mr. Winslow's work has in view, we have placed the titles of both at the head of this article. With the aid of their joint labours, we propose to show that there exists such a malady as "mental contagion"—that is to say, a disease—an actual plague—which is caught by one mind from another, through sympathy, terror, imbecility, or some other operating cause; that this disease is encreasing every day to a most alarming extent; that it is much less difficult to be guarded against, than people in general seem prepared to think; and that even when the disease is contracted, it may often be effectually removed by a proper mode of treatment. The subject is new; and if, in the progress of our discussion of it, we should fall into any errors, we trust that they will be looked upon with indulgence. We shall endeavour to render our observations altogether free from technical phraseology, in order that they may wear as popular a form as the matter can possibly admit.

The "nervous system" which we find more or less developed in every specimen of the human form, is admitted on all hands to be essential to our intellectual, moral, and animal

activity. Experience proves that, in proportion as each of these functions is exercised,—that is, according as one species of activity predominates more than another in the life of the human individual, so does the corresponding element or tissue which administers to it, become more appreciable,—or, in other words, more enlarged, in comparison with the other tissues which are less frequently called into practice. The man, for instance, whose occupations are chiefly of a mere animal or mechanical description, will, generally speaking, be found to possess, after any lengthened exercise in those occupations, a higher proportional endowment of the muscular system, than the individual whose employments are of an intellectual kind. On the other hand, the individual who applies his time more to intellectual than manual labours, will eventually exhibit, in his internal structure, a predominance of the organic tissues appertaining to the mental functions. Now the progress of civilization is the result of mental, rather than of manual operations; and it therefore results, that the increased nutrition or growth of the nervous system is a law of advancing civilization.

Thus, as the boundaries of knowledge become more enlarged, those also of the primitive nervous apparatus of the physical man expand into more perfect outlines of proportion and form. *Pari passu* with every new appearance of rudimental improvement, rises towards adolescence the material condition in the interior human economy, connected with that external amelioration. Had not this been the case, “the progress gained by preceding generations would be lost.” Every new generation would have to begin, *de novo*, the work of civilization. “All would be shifting sand, and we should tread upon no substance which had a resting-place upon the known laws of science.”

Hitherto, history has principally recorded the actions and vicissitudes of nations, without marking, at the same time, the interior relations in the human subject which are concurrent with those results—results, in truth, which ought to be contemplated as the symbols of change in the internal structure of man. Pictures of society, commencing with the Troglodites of old, who dwelt in caverns, and coming down to the age in which we live, might be easily made to disclose, not merely the outward phases of social improvement, but also their corresponding extensions of the nervous system. Such pictures would, it is believed, afford conclusive evidence

of the progressive evolution of internal organization, uniformly advancing towards a higher and a higher degree of perfection, in proportion as communities have advanced from the savage state to that of refinement. In such pictures, were the foremost ground occupied by the representation of human thought, we should have the opportunity of tracing from the primeval stages of ignorance, fear and superstition, the advances of the mind towards its present comprehensive, bold, and noble conceptions; and coevally with these strides towards the heights of knowledge, should we be enabled to mark the inseparable developments of man's physical and moral organization.

"And surely," as Dr. Verity finely observes, "it is looking from a height of commanding eminence, to have already comprehended the laws of the sidereal universe, the geological causes [circumstances] of our earth's creation, and to have secured, as it were, within our own hand, the many subtle and invisible agencies which latently interpenetrate the atoms of all matter, and which fill the secrecies and inaccessible depths of nature with formative life, and an intelligible order of procedure. With a knowledge of the laws and phenomena of light, heat, electricity, and gravitation, we have already repelled away to a harmless distance the many masses of cloud and darkness which, in the infant periods of civilization, so wofully disfigured conceptions both of the physical and moral worlds."—p. 17.

Here indeed it may be asked, how it happened, that as the ancient empires of Hindoo, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, rose in succession, they did not preserve their power, and transmit it to generations who would still have improved them, and brought them down to our time in a condition more and more perfected, through the lapse of ages. For if it be true that the growth and improvement of the nervous system be a law of advancing civilization, the consequence of the rise of any one empire ought to be the concurrent expansion of that system; and, as each generation must partake of that expansion in a more improved form, it would follow, that no empire, having once attained a high degree of civilization, could have gone backward into decay. Nevertheless, all these once-renowned nations did fall from their heights of grandeur into absolute ruin, leaving indeed wrecks behind them—monuments which, to this hour, attest degrees of intellectual excellence, still on many points unrivalled.

To this objection the answer obviously is, that in the first

place, compared with the masses of human subjects of whom those empires consisted, the men of working intelligence were exceedingly few; those few possessed no adequate means of diffusing, in their own time, or of transmitting to any lengthened line of posterity, the improvements which they had themselves wrought. Widening circles indeed were formed, by throwing the pebble into the lake, but the lake itself was too limited in its extent, scarcely comprehending the thousandth part of the empire whose name it assumed. Not so with modern nations. With us, a greater diffusion of wealth enables a much greater number to improve the intellectual faculties. Education, though still restricted within a much narrower compass than it ought to be, is nevertheless much more extensively imparted to our multitudes than it was to those who witnessed the splendour of the empires we have named. The activity of the mind, in those communities, was unequal, and uncontinuous. They knew nothing of the abiding power of Christianity. They had no press, to secure, for the time, the intellectual progress they had made, and to carry it on with ever augmenting energy from one acquisition to another. Theirs was, so to speak, an abortive civilization, so far as the mass was concerned. And it is a curious fact, though one which the process of our reasoning would have led us to expect, that the general deficiency in the exercise of intellect, which, of necessity, marked the Pagan nations, is demonstrated by corresponding wants in the Hindoo, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman cerebral systems. They had no principle of stability, physical or moral. Hence they rapidly broke down under the pressure of the first invading force from without. We, who possess the Christian basis of civilization, even if we were to count upon no other, may therefore confidently cherish the hope, that no fresh retrogression into barbarism can ever again degrade the history of mankind.

It must not however be supposed that the Roman civilization, which combined within itself the best results of that of the older empires, produced no fruits beyond the time when it principally flourished. On the contrary, its language, jurisprudence, and municipal government, made a deep and permanent impression upon the Celtic, and especially upon the Germanic races of Western Europe. This impression was very remarkable upon the old Celtic stock of the British islands, more especially upon that of England, whose good fortune it was to have that impression greatly strengthened, by the immi-

grations into it of the Saxon and Norman tribes, who had already, (particularly the former) become conversant with the Roman elements of improvement.

Every traveller must have observed, that the polished and enlightened classes of different countries approximate to each other in mind, habits, and tastes, much more than is the case with the people of those countries at large. We may conclude, therefore, that the more those nations blend with each other by intermarriage, commercial and friendly intercourse, the more they must all advance towards one standard of character. The nervous systems of the individuals who compose the nations thus progressing in the loftier paths of civilization, are, of necessity, also undergoing a corresponding refining process, because, as those systems are more exercised, they amplify in proportion.

In those nations and ages in which the mere animal will, expressed through instruments of war and limbs of great muscular activity, overwhelmed the organs subservient to the functions of the intellect, the cerebral formations will be found, very generally, to have been of a comparatively low grade. We have only to look at a tolerably correct painting of the signers of Magna Charta in the presence of Cardinal Langton and his monastic assistants, to be convinced of the justness of this remark—a remark obvious also to those who examine attentively the figures, on old sepulchres, of barons and knights, and of the crosiered men reposing by their sides. The contrast is fraught with infinite interest in those cases in which the mind overcame and directed the energies of those gigantic frames, “when,” to use Dr. Verity’s beautiful illustration, “men of colossal growth, all powerful with sinew and muscular strength, clad in steel and mail, could be governed and controlled by the force of intelligence and moral volition, wielded by those stern pale-faced churchmen of old, all chiselled out of the intellectual cast of temperament, and distinguished by their dry spare bodies, their thin compressed lips, and spacious thought-worn brows.” “These individuals,” he adds, “may be said to have possessed, by anticipation as it were, the peculiar nervous temperament of modern times, just as their feudal contemporaries may be said to have partaken of the coarse organization, which now characterizes the obtuse-minded and ponderous-limbed rustic population of England.”

Though not strictly belonging to our present argument, it is impossible for us to pass over the just and splendid repre-

sentation, which, at this period of his reasoning, Dr. Verity gives of the progressive power exercised by the intellect, immediately after its first partial triumphs in the chivalrous ages.

"In the historical picture succeeding the ages of chivalry, the ameliorative activity of society advanced in all ways, with more breadth, rapidity, and power, and in a higher ratio than formerly. There flashed out of its dark surface a brighter display of light and phenomenal effect; the scene was more replete with life and active agency, and there were certainly disclosed to view, and thrown out, from the interior of human nature, more vigorous shoots of intellectual growth, and a much more adventurous will after truth, and the way of knowledge, of enterprise, and of power. A new principle seemed to have worked itself out into noticeable existence, and to be cast freely upon the world to dare what it would. The scanty current of civilization which had flowed almost unseen under the darkness of the feudal ages, had now accumulated into a broad expanse of living waters, which, taken at the flood, were fearlessly navigated by the foremost pilots of humanity, guided by a kind of destiny, and the noble instinct of genius.

"At this stage of the physiological type, the amplification of nervous development, from the steadily increasing depositions of nutrition, must have generally marked itself by a bolder configuration in the higher-related cerebral structures.

"Out of this fuller maturation and advance of the general mind, proceeded the invention of Printing, and discovery of the New World; events whose reactive influence still goes on, and will continue coevally with the duration of mankind. What the one availed to the intellectual world, the other did to the political and social.

"This period might be considered as a middle point in time, whence to contemplate how the small circles of preceding civilization successively enlarged their sphere of action and geographical extent, until at last the globe itself became encompassed. This concentric enlargement of civilized activity into greater and greater circles, may be traced out, beginning from the elevated plateau of central Asia—the historical *officina gentium* of primeval times—through the first Asiatic, Græco-Macedonian, and Roman empires, down to the great Christian confederacy of nations throughout the old and new worlds; the last circle ever transcending the preceding, both as to extent of space, and accumulation of civilization.

"About this period, too, began those maritime expeditions, and frequent emigrations of people to new countries, terminating in the vast system of European settlement and colonization, through which the commanding points of the habitable globe became affiliated to the civilization of the Christian commonwealth.

"This commingling and interaction of different races and communities, one with another, whether by positive admixture of blood, or

reflected influence of language, thought, and ideas, would appear to be the great fundamental principle and tendency of humanity, whereby the world shall become at last the one city of God, as anciently intimated, through moral analogy alone, by St. Augustin.*

"The great thinkers of antiquity were comparatively locked up in a prison-house of geographical knowledge, against whose dark walls how many have broken their strength, and how many noble ambitions have fallen! It is curious to observe how their restless and inquisitive minds were filled with impatience and vain imaginings at this ignorance of the earth's problem. They seemed impressed intuitively that they had a right to know it, and that they were being defrauded of something legitimately allowed to the apprehension of human capacity. The European mind, too, it must be fully recollected, before this period dwelt habitually within a narrow circumscription of locality. No pinion had ever yet crossed the dark horizon until Columbus sailed.

"So nearly bordering upon our own times only has it happened to the species to become acquainted with that portion of the earth's surface left uncovered by the waters of the ocean—to survey, in its whole extent, the theatre of their existence, and their unconquerable activity. This circumstance may be said to mark a great epoch in the history of human progress, and affords of itself alone, in a material and emphatic shape, a most significant refutation, that society had been stationery, and was without a foresettled end in the future."—pp. 82-85.

But we must abandon the fine fields of thought which our author discloses to view, as he prosecutes his history of the human intellect down to the present day. It is sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that in proportion as civilization advanced, the nervous functions developed themselves more and more abundantly; for, as he states, it is a physiological law, that that portion of the human economy which is habitually exercised draws to itself a greater quantity from the general store of nutrition by which that economy is sustained. The nutrition thus absorbed is in due course converted into fresh depositions of material, analogous to the portion of that economy which so absorbs it; and hence the result which we wish to impress upon our readers,—that as the mental powers and the nerves connected with them are more generally developed in the age in which we live, than they had been at any former period of our history, it becomes of vital consequence to society to take notice of this great change in the human constitution, and to act with reference to it, not

only when the health of the body, but especially when the health of the mind is concerned.

"Hence arises the necessity for corresponding modification in food, regimen, and medical treatment, according as the individual participates more or less in the several physiological changes produced by civilization as above considered. This modification in medical practice, perceived at present in its full extent by a few, will no doubt, in the course of time, become generally acknowledged, and reduced to principle, in proportion as a more refined and highly-wrought character of organization—the nervous type of temperament—shall be observed to gain upon greater and greater masses of society. The treatment will come to be adapted full as much to the temperament and individual, as to the disease.

"It follows as a corollary, from the principle of temperament, that medical experience and observation acquired during the earlier periods of society, when the habits and advantages of civilized life were yet unknown, cannot be applicable to individuals in later and more refined times, but with important modifications and allowances; likewise that medical practice exercised amongst those of a nervous type of temperament, predominating in the middle and higher classes, would require to be considerably different, in many respects, from that exercised amongst the general labouring population, the organization of the latter consisting, as it does, chiefly of bone and muscle, large visceral organs, and proportionate fulness and strength of the vascular system."—pp. 114-15.

It is no part of our purpose to attempt any investigation into the nature of the mind itself. What we do know of it is this, that it is capable of being influenced to a very great extent by the nervous apparatus which we find in our frames. Whenever by any accident, by gradual decay of health, by physical disease, or any other cause, that fine series of instruments becomes in any way affected, and altered from its ordinary course of action, the result is felt in what we may call the whole region of the mind. The function of volition seems to be peculiarly liable to derangement on these occasions. The spirit no longer guides it with power, and the tendency to act in some way or other seems almost irresistible. The boat is put to sea without a helm; the passions implanted within us for useful purposes rise like storms around the bark, and toss it here and there. The course of thought is confused. We lose the point of sight by which we had been accustomed to take our aim onward in the even tenor of our way, and although (happily) we are not often, under such circumstances, conscious of the aberrations which the mind undergoes, never-

theless lucid moments come to tell us of the perils through which the divine being within us is labouring.

It is matter of experience, well known to all skilful men who have paid much attention to the functions of the intellect, that in many cases, where, from any cause, those functions are actually out of order, or very liable to be so, the examples of insane acts perpetrated by others presses with all the force of a positive contagion upon individuals thus predisposed to receive the pestilence.

Even when we are in the best health of mind and body, let us go to an assembly of our fellow-creatures, engaged in any occupation which requires intellectual exertion. For instance, attend a public meeting upon a political question that excites interest in the community; mark the influence which the words, the looks, the gesticulation of a leading and eloquent speaker exercise over that assembly. It is not merely the sentiments he utters which affect his hearers; his personal movements, shewing the emotions of his mind, operate of themselves by mere sympathy upon those around him. What effect has even pantomimic action, without any assistance whatever from language! A story can be told by gesture alone, which will harrow up the soul of the spectator as much as the most expressive language could do.

Thus music, without any accompaniment of words, may plunge the source of thought in grief, or raise it to extasies of delight. Thus the expression of joy upon other faces will light up our own almost without any exercise of volition on our part; despondent looks will often produce a similar contagious influence. History, ancient and modern, the newspapers of the current day, abound in instances in which those influences called "panics" run like wild-fire through large masses of the community. To look at the terrors which in some of our rural districts are excited in the breasts of young and old, by those meetings denominated "revivals," you would set the whole multitude down as a gathering of lunatics. We need only go back to the riots of 1780 to learn the consequences which a phrenzy, characterized by the desecrated epithet of "religious," and communicated by contagion to thousands of human beings, may operate in the course of a few days. The Courtney fanaticism, which seized many persons in Kent two or three years ago; the fanaticism of the "unknown" languages, begun or encouraged by Irving; the anti-papal horror which for more than a century was easy to be called into activity; what were all these emotions but

mental plagues, diffused like the cholera, or scarlet or typhus fevers, from one human being to another?

The advocates of animal magnetism err only in the extent to which they seem inclined to carry their doctrine. That there is within each human subject a power which can act by sympathy upon others, is a proposition which experience pronounces undeniable. That our knowledge of this condition appertaining to the animal and mental systems of man, may be practically applied to the prevention and cure of particular diseases, we believe to be equally indisputable. But the adepts in the science, in their attempts to push their knowledge beyond the due boundaries, are likely to bring a degree of ridicule upon their labours which will mar them for an age to come. Hereafter when their enthusiasm, real or dissembled, shall have passed away, it may be found that the proceedings of Mesmer and his pupils, like the researches for the philosopher's stone, have a true basis in the common organization of our species; and that his mistake is, an exaggeration of the scintillæ of science which he has already acquired on this subject.

One of the forms of mental malady is a kind of fascination, which a mind affected by nervous influences is liable to on many occasions. Some serpents, it is said, and we believe not incorrectly, possess the power of preventing a bird, its contemplated victim, from making any effort to escape, by gazing at it for a few moments with a fixed and flaming eye. The bird is not only thrown into despair of safety, but, as it were to get rid of the oppressive sensation of terror, rushes into the jaws expanded to receive it. Everybody knows that men standing on heights from which a fall would be fatal, experience a fascination of a similar kind. The expression "giddy heights," is one familiarly used and easily understood. We ourselves once felt this fascination to a very painful degree, when standing near the edge of the platform of the great tower belonging to the cathedral of Strasburg. The views from that height are vast in extent and magnificent in character. The platform itself is by no means narrow; but the perpendicular line down which you look from its edge, although that edge is guarded by a barrier, fills the mind with a terrific apprehension of the result that would ensue, in case you should be thrown, or should throw yourself, into the depth below. Some adventurers climb even higher than the platform, and look down thence without the slightest sensation of alarm. So probably should we have done, had not the

nervous system been put out of its usual order, by our having previously travelled two nights and days successively, without any other than that feverish sleep which is to be found in a French diligence.

A fascination of this kind often acts upon the minds of those, who holding in their hand any instrument by which instant destruction might be effected, yield to the temptation suggested by the presence of the weapon and the facility of the operation. Suicide, or murder of another—a wife, a child, or a stranger who happened to be near—has been frequently the result of this dreadful feeling; a feeling that takes entire possession, as if it were an evil demon, of the mind for the moment, and never quits it till the deed is done. In cases of the murder of others, when the fever of the moment passes away, and reason recovers its due course, the criminal stands shocked at his own guilt, and wonders how he could have imbrued his hands in the blood of perhaps the very person he loved best in the world, from the impulse of a moment.

It is a just observation of Dr. J. Johnson, that—

“In this country, where man’s relations with the world around him are multiplied beyond all examples in any other country, in consequence of the intensity of interest attached to politics, religion, amusement, and the arts; where the temporal concerns of an immense population are in a perpetual state of vacillation; where spiritual affairs excite in the minds of many great anxiety; and where speculative risks are daily involving in difficulties all classes of society,—the operation of physical causes in the production of disease dwindles into complete insignificance when compared with that of anxiety and perturbation of mind.”

The natural vigour of many minds being almost simultaneously overthrown by any one of these, or of the thousand other causes which might be mentioned, let but a case of suicide occur, which by reason of the station of the individual, or the circumstances attending it, attracts general attention upon being published in the newspapers, we may expect numbers of other suicides to occur forthwith. Unhappily that expectation seldom fails to be realized. The susceptibility to disease already in existence, even a single example of suicide spreads its terrors throughout the whole class of invalids, as we may justly call them; the columns of the newspapers teem with articles headed “determined suicides,” “horrible attempt at suicide,” “extraordinary suicide,” “melancholy suicide,” “desperate murder and suicide,” “suicide by a boy,” “afflicting suicide of a young lady.” We remember reading in *one*

column of the *Morning Chronicle*, last winter, accounts of no less than five suicides, perpetrated within an interval of some thirty or forty hours after the occurrence of a case which had attracted general attention. Eminent medical men agreed in opinion that the cases we have mentioned, and others by which they were followed, were clearly the result of suicidal contagion, acting on minds either predisposed to the malady, or easily made so by the state of their nervous system. It is very certain that a disposition to murderous deeds is often produced by a mental contagion, which has owed its origin to some peculiarly atrocious crime of that nature. Poisonings of whole families by servants, murders of wives by their husbands, without any sort of provocation, or of provocation of the slightest possible character, have been known to take place under the influence of this moral pestilence.

Courvoisier stated, that "the idea of murdering his master was first suggested to him by a perusal of the romance of Jack Sheppard." Here, therefore, is clearly a case of guilt brought on by an example placed before him by a writer, who chose to exercise his talents in investing the character of a most wicked criminal in all the attributes of a hero. The official returns of the state of crime for the last two or three years, show a great increase of house robberies, either directly effected by servants, or by persons whom they have admitted into their masters' houses for the purpose. The returns for the year 1840 will prove, we regret to say, that the crime of murder has of late very much increased in England. Indeed, hardly a day passes in which we do not read of three or four murders committed, many of them with a cold-blooded spirit of cruelty that would disgrace the most ignorant and brutalized tribes of mankind. It would be an exaggeration to say that all, or even many of these cases of murder, were produced by "mental contagion." But undoubtedly some are traceable to that cause, especially those in which the least provocation to resentment has been given.

Abundant evidence appears in the history of the French revolution of the fact, that the disposition to sacrifice life has prevailed epidemically at different periods of that long and terrible tragedy. Mr. Winslow seems to think that a contagion of this kind is apt to spring out of the "imitative principle" with which man is endowed.

"Persons," he observes, "whose feelings are not thoroughly under their command, who act from impulse and not from reflection, are very prone to be operated upon by the cause referred to. Man has

been defined an imitative animal; and, in many instances, we witness this propensity controlling almost irresistibly the actions of the individual. Tissot relates the case of a young woman in whom this faculty was so strongly developed, that she could not avoid doing everything she saw others do. Cabanis gives the account of a man in whom the tendency to imitate was so strongly marked and active from disease, that 'he experienced insupportable suffering' when he was prevented from yielding to its impulses. A woman, in the ward of an hospital, will be seized with an epileptic fit; in the course of a short period, other cases will occur in the same ward. A child was brought into one of our metropolitan hospitals, labouring under a violent attack of convulsions. She had not been in the house five minutes, before three children who were present were seized with spasmodic convulsions of a similar character. The commission of a great and extraordinary crime produces not unfrequently the mania of imitation in the district in which it happened. A criminal was executed not many years ago for murder. A few weeks afterwards, another murder was perpetrated; and when the young man was asked to assign a reason for taking away the life of a fellow-creature, he replied, that he was not instigated by any feeling of malice, but, after having witnessed the execution, he felt a desire, over which he had no control, to commit a similar crime, and had no rest until he had gratified his feelings. It is only on the same principle that we can account for the following case of suicide. It is related by Sir Charles Bell, in his '*Institutes of Surgery*.' The surgeon of the Middlesex Hospital who preceded Sir Charles Bell, went into a barber's shop, in the neighbourhood of the institution, to be shaved. As the barber was operating upon his chin, the conversation turned upon the case of a man who had been admitted the previous day into the hospital, and who had attempted unsuccessfully to kill himself, by cutting his throat. 'He could easily have managed it,' said the surgeon, in rather a jocular strain, 'had he been acquainted with the situation of the carotid artery. He did not cut in the proper place.' 'Where should he have cut?' asked the barber quietly. The surgeon, not suspecting what was passing through the barber's mind, gave a popular lecture on the anatomy of the neck—pointed out the exact position of the large vessels, and shewed where they could easily be wounded. After the conversation, the barber made some excuse for leaving the room; and not returning as soon as he was expected, the surgeon went to look for him, when he was discovered in the yard behind the house, with his head nearly severed from the body!

"The following case is, perhaps, more strange and inexplicable than the one just related. The brother of a hair-dresser and barber had killed himself by blowing out his brains. The circumstance appeared to affect seriously the mind of his relative. He left his business for a few days; and then returned, apparently more tranquil in his mind. In the morning, several persons came in to be shaved;

and, all at once, he felt a strong and almost overwhelming inclination to cut some one's throat. He fought manfully, however, against this horrid desire. During the whole of the earlier part of the day, he had been able to resist the gratification of the feeling. Every time he placed the razor in contact with the throat, he fancied he heard a voice within him exclaim, 'Kill him! kill him!' In the afternoon, an elderly gentleman came into the shop to be shaved; and when the barber had nearly concluded the operation, he was again seized with the desire; and before he could summon courage enough to suppress it, he gave the man's throat a tremendous gash; fortunately, however, the wound was not fatal.

"Gall informs us of a man who, on reading in the newspapers the particulars of a case of murder, perpetrated under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, was instantly seized with a desire to murder his servant; and would have done so, had he not given his intended victim timely warning to escape.

"Some years ago, a man hung himself on the threshold of one of the doors of the corridor at the *Hôtel des Invalids*. No suicide had occurred in the establishment for two years previously; but in the succeeding fortnight, five invalids hung themselves on the same cross bar, and the governor was obliged to shut up the passage.

"Sydenham informs us, that at *Mansfield*, in a particular year, in the month of June, suicide prevailed to an alarming degree, from a cause wholly unaccountable. The same thing happened at *Rowen*, in 1806; at *Stuttgart*, in the summer of 1811; and at a village of *St. Pierre Montjean*, in the *Valais*, in the year 1813. One of the most remarkable epidemics of the kind, was that which prevailed at *Versailles* in the year 1793. The number of suicides within the year was 1,300—a number out of all proportion to the population of the town."—pp. 110-111.

A very curious species of mental contagion, if we may so term it, is known to have prevailed through several parts of Europe in the latter part of the fourteenth century. It was called the "dancing mania." Details of this extraordinary malady will be found in a work published not many years ago in London, translated from the German of Dr. Hecker, professor at *Frederic William's University* at Berlin. Some instances of this malady had previously occurred at *Erfurt*, where upwards of a hundred children were seized with this frenzy. They proceeded thence dancing and jumping along the road to *Armstadt*, where they fell exhausted to the ground. Some of them died soon after, and the rest were affected with tremor to the end of their lives.

The malady assumed a much more serious form about the year 1874, when it made its appearance at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The persons affected by it danced together in circles, in the

churches and the open streets. It then spread rapidly all over the Netherlands. The maniacs, while they danced in wild figures, appeared wrapped in internal visions, shrieking out the names of spirits whom they declared they beheld before them, and looking towards the heavens, which they represented as open to their gifted sight. They wandered in bands through the country and villages, taking possession, wherever they went, of the religious houses, with a view to annoy the clergy, against whom their revilings were particularly directed.

From the Netherlands the disease proceeded along the Rhine. Upwards of a thousand individuals were attacked by it at almost the same moment, at Metz and Cologne. The following abstract of the work above-mentioned, for which we are indebted to *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, presents some very interesting particulars of this frightful contagion.

"Children quitted their parents, servants their masters, mechanics their workshops, and housewives their domestic duties, to partake in the disorder. Many of the wandering dancers are understood to have been impostors, who assumed the character for the sake of adventures and maintenance; but these propagated the disorder as successfully as the truly afflicted, the susceptible being everywhere prepared to fall into a frenzy of which they heard so much. In the Rhenish cities, as in Belgium, it at length in a great measure exhausted itself, and for a time fell out of notice.

"The dancing mania made another conspicuous appearance in the towns of Belgium and the Lower Rhine in 1418, when bands of the afflicted passed along from place to place, accompanied by musicians playing on bagpipes, and by innumerable spectators attracted by curiosity. For a century after this period, it appeared from time to time, like other epidemics, and the symptoms were always of one kind. It now became known as St. Vitus's dance, from a notion that to that saint was commissioned the power of curing it, for which reason his shrines were resorted to by the afflicted. It attacked people of all stations, especially those who led a sedentary life, such as shoemakers and tailors; but even the most robust peasants became its victims. The fury of some was so great, that they would dash their brains out against the walls and corners of buildings, or rush headlong into rapid rivers, where they were drowned. Roaring and foaming as they were, the bystanders could only succeed in restraining them by placing benches and chairs in their way, so that, by taking high leaps, their strength might be the sooner exhausted. Many, after wearying themselves out, would revive in a certain time, and join once more the frantic revel. The afflicted had some strange antipathies. They could not endure to see any one weeping; and when they saw a red garment,

they flew at the wearers as infuriated cattle do, and endeavoured to tear them in pieces. The malady became nearly extinct about the beginning of the seventeenth century.

"Varieties of the dancing mania appeared in other parts of Christendom during the middle ages.

"There is in Apulia, in Southern Italy, a harmless species of spider, called the tarantula. About the same time that the dancers appeared in Germany and on the Rhine, the people of Apulia seem to have become possessed by a nervous dread of the bite of this little insect. Hence arose one of the strangest delusions that ever possessed the human mind. Those who were bitten, or supposed themselves to be bitten, 'generally fell into a state of melancholy, and appeared to be stupified, and scarcely in possession of their senses. This condition was, in many cases, united with so great a sensibility to music, that, at the very first tones of their favourite melodies, they sprang up, shouting for joy, and danced on without intermission, until they sank to the ground exhausted and almost lifeless. In others, the disease did not take this cheerful turn. They wept constantly, and, as if pining away with some unsatisfied desire, spent their days in the greatest misery and anxiety. Others, again, fell into morbid fits of love; and instances of death are recorded, which are said to have occurred under a paroxysm of either laughing or weeping.'

"At the close of the fifteenth century, this malady had spread over Italy, and the virulence of its symptoms was increased. Nothing short of death was expected from the bite of either the tarantula or the scorpion; and all who fancied they had ever been so bitten, became victims of the disease. Sunk in profound melancholy, they never betrayed the least sensibility, except under the influence of music. At the sound of the flute or cithern, they awoke, as if by enchantment, opened their eyes, and, moving slowly at first, according to the measure of the music, gradually hurried on to the most passionate dance. It was generally observed that, on these occasions, the most rustic people showed a grace in their movements which never was observed under other circumstances in persons of their class. Musical pieces devised for the afflicted were called *Tarantellas*; some of them are preserved, and extracted into Dr. Hecker's work."

There are few persons who cannot bear witness that the state of the atmosphere very often produces a powerful effect upon the mind;—sometimes depressing the spirits to an almost intolerable degree, sometimes acting exactly in a contrary way, by exalting them to a height of cheerfulness delightful beyond expression. We remember once travelling in Italy in company with a Russian artist, who stated that whenever he returned from even the more northern parts of that country to Rome, he felt as if his mind were freed from

the weight of a constant night-mare ; but that when he reached Naples, he became almost beside himself with joy, occasioned solely by the climate. It is said, that an excessive degree of moisture in the atmosphere tends to favour the suicidal disposition. It is almost a proverbial saying in London, that with the fogs of November the annual list of suicides commences. The climate of Holland, however, is much more gloomy than that of England, as Mr. Winslow justly observes ; and yet in that country suicide is by no means common. The climate of Ireland also is remarkably humid, and yet we very seldom hear of suicides amongst us. Our people, on the contrary, are naturally the most cheerful on the face of the earth.

Indeed, the *average* number of suicides for each month, from 1817 to 1826, would go to establish the conclusion that the least suicidal month of the year, in England, is the much-calumniated November ; and that it is in April, May, and June, the greatest number of crimes of that class are committed. The average numbers are as follow : January, 213 ; February, 218 ; March, 275 ; April, 374 ; May, 328 ; June, 336 ; July, 301 ; August, 296 ; September, 246 ; October, 198 ; November, 131 ; December, 217. The statistical returns procured from the European capitals, concur generally in attributing the maximum of suicides to the months of June and July, the minimum to October and November. Temperature appears to exercise a more decided influence on the suicidal epidemic, than any other condition of the atmosphere. Mr. Winslow informs us, that in 1806 upwards of sixty voluntary deaths took place at Rouen, during June and July, the air being at that time remarkably humid and warm. In July and August of the same year, more than three hundred suicides were committed at Copenhagen, the constitution of the atmosphere presenting there the same characteristics as it did at Rouen. From the year 1827 to 1830, it appears that no less than 6,900 suicides occurred in Paris, giving an average of 1,800 per annum.

It is not to be doubted that, in many cases, the tendency to suicidal insanity is produced by habits of intemperance, which act with peculiar force upon the liver and abdominal viscera. In France, especially in Paris, the frequent practice of that crime not to be named, is said to be the parent of diseases which perhaps more than any others swell the catalogue of suicides. The losses arising from the vice of gambling also contribute their share to the acts of self-destruction which have become so common in that capital.

It is the remark of Brown, in his work on lunatic asylums, that in the north of France, where the Catholic religion prevails to a comparatively smaller extent than in the more southern departments, suicide and crime predominate; whereas south of the Loire, where that religion "still retains a strong hold of the affections of the people, suicide, and its sister crimes and maladies, are comparatively rare." "This," he adds, "affords a noble proof that the effects of Christianity, in whatever form, and under whatever circumstances, are peace and joy." It may be further stated, that in the lunatic asylums of England, Catholics are very seldom to be found—a fact of great importance, as shewing the influence which our holy religion exercises in calming the agitation of the mind, and teaching it to look forward with confident hope, even in those hours when misfortune or physical disease presses upon it with the greatest severity.

The lunatic returns for England present numerous cases of diseased intellect, caused by that religious uncertainty which is, of necessity, the result of the conflicting variety of forms of faith created by what is usually called the "Reformation."

"Instances," says Mr. Winslow, "very frequently occur in practice, in which patients have appeared, some suddenly, and others gradually, to be seized with a species of religious horror, despairing of salvation, asserting that they had committed sins which never could be forgiven—and these with reference to persons who had never previously appeared to be under religious impressions. Some of these have been visited by divines of various denominations, and been induced to hear sermons and read books well calculated to dispel gloomy apprehensions, and excite religious hope and confidence. With some, this has succeeded, especially when conjoined with medical aid; but it has been observed, that in the cases of those who have recovered, the patients have *emerged* precisely as they *immersed*; for as they before were unconcerned about religious matters, so they remained after their recovery; thus the indisposition has been very erroneously imputed to religion, when it has no kind of affinity to, or concern with it. Such cases almost invariably exhibit the same symptoms, which generally turn on these points—despair of temporal support, or despair of final salvation. But the medical practitioner, and not the divine, is the proper person to be consulted in such cases; and, however the mind may be affected in them, the patient is to be relieved by means of medicine. It may be added, that the agonies of mind under which some persons labour who are called fanatically mad, arise from a sense of moral turpitude, independent of any peculiar religious tenets or opinions. The true doctrines of Christianity, when properly inculcated, never excite a gloomy state of mind. 'To be religious,' says South, 'it is not

necessary to be dull.' Cowper (perhaps, however, the most miserable and melancholy of men) beautifully says :

'True piety is cheerful as the day ;

Will weep indeed, and heave a piteous groan,

For others' woes, but smile upon her own.'"—pp. 106-107.

Cowper's practice was, unhappily, very far from his theory upon this point. But we, Catholics, do not at all wonder at the effects which the "religion," as it is called, of the sectarians, produces so frequently with reference to the mind. It is not possible for any person of a strong religious temperament (and of such persons there are great numbers in England and Scotland, who dissent from the Catholic Church), to find, in the doctrines which prevail amongst them, that great sheet anchor which alone can enable their thoughts to be at peace, when once they set out sincerely in search of truth. Mr. Winslow very justly remarks, that, in such cases of mental disturbance, the divine has done, and can do, but little;—that is to say, the divine who is usually called in on these occasions. It is not books, or sermons, that will afford help to those wandering intellects;—it is the confident and consoling voice of the minister,—it is the sweet and persuasive language of the Catholic Church alone, that can find its way to the agitated bosom, rescue it from its horrors, teach it reliance upon the promises of the Redeemer, and present to it that rock of the true faith upon which it can ever find an asylum from the storm. The fact that so few Catholics (that is to say, Catholics in practice as well as in profession, for there are too many merely nominal members of our Church in this and other countries) are to be met with in our institutions for lunatics, speaks trumpet-tongued for the salutary influence of our holy faith in this respect.

A mind well disciplined in our religion can scarcely ever fall a victim to mental disease, unless it arises from the irresistible pressure of positive physical causes. Cases of this kind are wonderfully few, in comparison with the number of those that are produced by imaginary woes, by mere want of power to resist the temptations to evil that occur to every one of us, however perfect,—by the state of nervous excitement to which uncertainty as to salvation often gives birth,—by the absolute want of any substantial light for the intellect to turn to, when its path becomes clouded by misfortune,—and by the destitution of all resource, when the poor, hunted, wearied stag falls trembling in its agonies to the ground.

Oh, it is in these hours—these gloomy, painful hours—that we, who have in our tabernacles the true bread of life—

who behold upon our altars the crucifix—who see ever near it the resigned and inspiring countenance of the Virgin—feel and appreciate the value of that faith which tells us to put our burdens upon the Expiator, and to go on upon our way rejoicing. If we suffer, we know that it is for our correction, and that calamity is a proof of the love of Him who sends it to try our affections, and to bind us to Him more and more closely. If we be in pain, we are accustomed to ask ourselves what is such affliction, in comparison with his who died for the sins of the world?—or of hers, that weeping mother, (*Mater dolorosa*) whose heart was so deeply pierced by the sword of grief, when she beheld her son scourged at the pillar, bleeding under the crown of thorns, and nailed to the most ignominious instrument of punishment which an apostate nation could devise.

“It behoves us to glory in the cross, the tree on which are the life and salvation of the world.” “Let us rejoice in those things which are told to me: this day we shall go into the house of the Lord.” “Glory be to God on high.” “The heavens and the earth are full of thy glory.” “Come, Holy Spirit, send down from heaven the rays of thy divine light.” “Come, thou Father of the poor, the author of all good gifts, and the light of our hearts.” “Come thou, the best of comforters; the sweet guest, and sweetest refreshment of our souls,”—“The rest of our labours, the ruler of our passions, the comfort of our tears.” These, or such as these, are the antidotes we administer to the “mind diseased,” whenever the poison of despair is mingled in our cup by the hands of the tempter—these are the charms by which we chase him from our presence; and many, many can bear witness how effectual are those charms, when they are resorted to by truly pious souls!

It is indeed the fact, that

“True piety is cheerful as the day.”

What has a conscience that is at peace with God, with itself, and mankind, to fear upon this earth? The loss of fortune—of even the dearest objects of our love—the pains of physical malady—the frowns of the world—the treachery of friends—the persecution of enemies—the disappointment of our hopes—what are all these transitory incidents to him whose heart is set upon the bliss of eternity? who, when his senses emerge from the sleep of night, feels as if the hymns of the heavenly choir were sounding in his ear—enters into converse with his angel guardian, and raises his thoughts at once towards the occupation of those superior intelligences, whom, though

he cannot see, he knows to be near him. They are wherever the Omnipotent is. He is present to all space, and they are for ever exulting in His majesty and glory. The mind that comprehends these truths—that keeps them in lively remembrance—that acts upon them, and makes religion the great business of life, may well defy the suicidal and other oppressive mental influences of climate or disease. It is full of that joy which made Eden the Paradise it was, before it was defiled by sin; and which may still turn the desert into Paradise, if we but choose to listen to the admonitions of those, whom the Divine Preacher on the mount designated as “The Light of the World.”

We are by no means disposed to deny that there are forms of mental disease, which, of necessity, demand the attention of the physician. It cannot be doubted, that the rich and abundant diet, the great variety of wines and of luxuries of every description, to which very large classes of persons, especially in England, have daily access, are prolific causes of disturbance in the digestive functions, and lead eventually to those inroads upon the healthy condition of the nervous system, which are almost certain to derange the intellect. The changes in the physical constitution of men living in a highly civilized community, so well described by Dr. Verity, are not yet sufficiently known, or considered by medical practitioners, still less by society at large. The inconvenience which many individuals feel in imitating the convivial habits of even the early years of the present century, has unquestionably led to a great degree of reform in this respect. We do not now often hear of individuals, who, moving in a respectable sphere, boast of drinking their six bottles of wine after dinner: in fact, they could not do such a thing without serious peril to life; a fact which of itself affords strong confirmation to Dr. Verity's theory. The time is not far distant when such potations were freely indulged in with impunity; whereas, it now seldom occurs, that, on the average, more than a single bottle of wine for each guest is found to have been consumed by a large dinner party—often not even half that quantity. Moderation—temperance—is fortunately the prevailing habit of the day, as to wines especially; and we see the result of this improved habit, in the increased longevity of our times, as compared with those that had previously elapsed.

There is still, however, much room for reform upon many points. The fact that madeira, port wine, and champagne, have very much gone out of fashion, and that for these have been substituted sherry, claret, and the lighter wines of Ger-

many, shows pretty clearly, that our physical constitution, generally, is no longer the same as that of our ancestors. It would be well if the dietetic reform were also extended to tea and coffee, and every species of malt liquor. It is well known, that both tea and coffee act with peculiar energy upon the nerves, and that they very frequently produce "heartburn." Beer is exceedingly apt to turn acid in the stomach. These beverages are all too freely and indiscriminately used. We might advantageously reduce our consumption to less than a third part of the quantity usually taken. Let but even this change be effected on a large scale, and proper exercise in the open air be habitually adopted, and the results will soon shew themselves, in the reduction of the number of lunatics, with which the asylums of England especially are crowded.

Where cases, manifestly owing their origin to disordered digestive processes, exist, the remedy is obvious, and generally effective. Attention to diet—reduction in quantity—simplicity in fare—air—exercise—rational amusement—quiet—agreeable social intercourse—will be found, in general, sufficient to overcome mental affections, proceeding from the causes we have just mentioned. But for the more deeply seated maladies of the intellect—those which are traceable chiefly to the wants of the mind itself; to fears connected with the future stages of existence; to the absence of any firm reliance upon modes of faith, which, however eloquently described and enforced, are nevertheless destitute of the great charm of truth,—the medical practitioner has no remedy whatever. All cases of this species belong to the divine. It is he who must administer to minds affected by diseases of this class—diseases much more numerous than many persons suspect, or will easily believe: and we will take it upon ourselves to assert, that it is in the bosom of our Church alone, are to be found the ministers who can really afford substantial relief in all such maladies as these, or indeed, in any of the intellectual maladies arising from other than mere physical causes.

The soothing language of our Church, spoken by her clergy—generally men mild in their demeanor, and much conversant, from their practice in the confessional, with the human heart, having no object to promote save the eternal welfare of those entrusted to their guidance—would seldom fail of finding its way, even to that reason wandering through the labyrinth in which despair, grief, misfortune, passion, disappointed ambition, ill-requited affection, jealousy, or remorse, may have involved it. The very grandeur of our public worship—our altars on festival days, decorated as they are, and brightened by

numerous lights—the painted Gothic window—the portraits of the Redeemer and the saints—the fragrant incense—the mitred prelate—the splendid vestments of his sacerdotal assistants—the surpliced youths who serve around him—the holy sacrifice, conducted with a degree of piety and fervour which rivets the attention of the spectator—the silvery tones of the altar bell—the thrilling tones of the organ—and the full harmonious voices of the choir, chanting the “Gloria in Excelsis,” the “Credo,” the “Laudate,” and the “Agnus Dei,”—would of themselves dissipate from the oppressed bosom a thousand woes.

Let the effects produced by such powerful agents as these upon the human senses be carefully followed up by other appliances—care of health—gentle treatment—the conversation of kind and intelligent persons;—with men, for example, the Christian Brothers—with females, the Sisters of Mercy—superintended by ministers of the Church who may have given, or may be disposed to give their attention to this, one of, perhaps, the greatest of all works of charity—and we shall find that there is scarcely any form of mental indisposition, short of mere idiocy, or which does not spring from mal-organization, or disease of the brain, that will not, sooner or later, be greatly mitigated, if not wholly removed, under such a system of cure.

In the way of prevention of intellectual disease, when symptoms of its approach become manifest, or, when it is apprehended from hereditary tendency, an institution established upon the principles we have just mentioned, would be productive of the greatest advantage. Indeed, for every class of Catholics mentally afflicted, or liable to be so, an asylum, conducted upon principles which would afford them the continued assistance of their religion, is a desideratum that ought to have been long since supplied. We have stated, and we believe the statement to be undeniable, that by reason of the powerful and happy influence of our religion upon the mind, the number of Catholics—that is, of Catholics who deserve from their genuine piety to be so called—entered on the catalogue of lunatics, bears a very small proportion indeed to those of any other class. Nevertheless, whatever that proportion may be, it is a matter of direct necessity, that an institution should be founded for the reception of any of our brethren who may, from any cause, be visited by so deplorable an affliction as a permanent or temporary loss of reason.

Such being our settled opinion, it will be easily believed that we feel the deepest interest in the success of a project,

which has already been sealed by the approbation of all the venerable vicars apostolic, and the great body of the Catholic clergy in England. It is, we believe, not very generally known, that for some years, the Rev. R. W. Willson, of Nottingham, has dedicated (with permission of his bishop) much time and attention to the treatment of lunacy; and that, by means of his system—which of course embraces all the aid he can derive from our holy religion—he has, under the merciful care of Providence, been successful to a great extent in almost every case which he has undertaken. It has, in consequence, been pressed upon him to render his sphere of usefulness in this important matter more extensive, by undertaking the establishment of an institution for the reception of Catholics who may, unhappily, be visited by affections of the intellect. We are sure that we need make no apology to our readers for introducing to their notice, and recommending to their pious consideration, the resolutions passed upon this subject by the venerable bishop and clergy of the midland district, as well as the “reasons” by which that resolution is accompanied, and the outline of the plan in contemplation.

“At the meeting of the bishop and clergy of the midland district, held at Sedgley Park, May 13th, 1840, —it was resolved unanimously, that an effort should be made to form an Establishment for the treatment of members of our holy religion, whom an all-wise Providence is pleased to afflict with insanity. The plan should embrace all the consolations of religion—the comfort of the patients being watched over by Catholic attendants—and also, ensure the best medical assistance.

“Many reasons were adduced to shew the propriety of such an important step being taken—among others, the following,—

“First.—There being no Catholic Establishment in this Kingdom for the treatment of the insane—the afflicted are necessarily placed in asylums, under the sole guidance of those who differ from us in religion, and who cannot, therefore, enter into our peculiar feelings on this subject. Too many cases are unfortunately known where patients have suffered much from the prejudice of their protectors—and instances are not wanting, where efforts have been made to proselytize. The late Sir Wm. Ellis, who superintended Wakefield, and afterwards Hanwell Asylum, Middlesex, records in his book on Insanity, published as late as 1838, that he converted a poor Catholic, who was under his care, to the Protestant religion! It is also well known, that Catholic patients have frequently, in addition to their malady, much to endure from the vulgar prejudice of keepers and nurses.

“Secondly.—In asylums, where patients of different religious opinions associate together, dissensions constantly arise—and it is known,

that the strongest desire has existed on the part of certain monomaniacal religionists, to convert their poor Catholic fellow-patients to some dissenting creed.

"Thirdly.—THAT CATHOLICS ARE TOTALLY UNABLE TO ATTEND THEIR OWN DIVINE SERVICE—and from the difficulty the Catholic clergy too often experience, in obtaining access to members of their faith, both in private and public asylums—the greater part of those poor sufferers are entirely deprived of the sweet consolations of religion; and in too many cases, live and die without any communication with their pastors, and are thus deprived of comforts not denied to the inhabitants of a prison.

"Fourthly.—During the time a patient suffers from aberration of mind, it frequently happens, that the delusions most prominent are those connected with religion, and therefore, they stand in need the more of judicious and consolatory advice from their pastors—and should be sheltered from the ridicule their delusions frequently expose them to.

"These are a few only of the reasons which influenced the assembled clergy in forming the resolution they have come to. The following, then, is a brief outline of what is contemplated:—

"First.—That a house, in every way calculated for the reception and humane treatment of insane Catholic patients, should be erected in some cheerful and healthy situation.

"Secondly.—That it should be under the immediate superintendence of a Catholic clergyman.

"Thirdly.—That all the attendants should be Catholics—and that as soon as circumstances will permit, the afflicted patients should have the watchful and tender care of the sisters of charity, and religious brothers.

"Fourthly.—That a medical gentleman, fully competent to hold such a situation, should constantly reside in the house."

It was further unanimously agreed to, that Mr. Willson should be requested, on account of his admirable and proved qualifications for the accomplishment of this project, to carry the above resolution into effect. Should he be successful—as we can scarcely doubt that he will be—in procuring from the Catholic body, at large, the funds necessary for this purpose, it is proposed, that the institution should be open to all classes of Catholic patients; the rich paying a settled sum not under two guineas a week, and those in less affluent circumstances paying according to a graduated scale suitable to their circumstances. We trust that means may be also found for affording the advantages of the establishment to the poor, who may not be able to contribute to its support.

Nor do we clearly see why a lunatic asylum, formed upon Catholic principles, should not be open to members of any other

opinions, whose relatives or friends might be desirous of obtaining for them the assistance of our holy faith, in the restoration of their reason. It is possible indeed, that in a canonical point of view, difficulties might arise, and that it would be questionable, whether, in a case of diseased intellect, our religion could be suffered to be used as an *instrument* for the recovery of a patient, not previously a Catholic. This question we leave in the hands of those who alone have the authority to decide it.

The design of the proposed asylum is an object, towards the accomplishment of which the Catholic institute and its branches will, we presume, lend their most zealous exertions. It is an object strictly within the sphere of their labours. The founders of the institute were at first led to its formation, in consequence of the many complaints which had come under their notice, of the difficulties which Catholics, confined to prisons and hospitals, experienced in having access to spiritual pastors of their own creed. The institute was established principally with a view to attend to all cases of this description, and to take the necessary measures for securing, practically, to prisoners and patients, of our creed, the benefits to which they were entitled by law in this respect. The case of lunatic patients calls with peculiar force for the attention of such an institute; and we rely upon its members, amongst whom we are happy to see enrolled so many of the most distinguished of our body, taking up this most important subject at the earliest opportunity.

Amongst the many cases of suicidal tendency enumerated by Mr. Winslow, we find very few which would not appear to us capable of being prevented, or effectually controlled, by the influence which Mr. Willson could, in his joint sacerdotal and medical capacity, bring to bear upon Catholic invalids. Mr. Winslow mentions several premonitory indications of maniacal disease, which, to the eye of the experienced physician, are well marked, announcing the earliest symptoms of derangement. A change manifests itself in the person's usual healthy habits of thinking and acting—he exhibits odd fancies and whims. Though surrounded by all the means of happiness, he refuses to enjoy them, and prefers to give himself up to apprehensions of misery. He is easily irritated by trifles. He becomes suspicious of his sincerest friend,—imagines plots and conspiracies formed against him,—he no longer relishes his former pursuits and amusements,—he shuns society, and talks incoherently to himself. These are

all tokens of a waning intellect; and although they are not within the jurisdiction, if we may say so, of the physician or the Lord Chancellor, they are precisely the sort of failings to which the attention of a clergyman might be called, without any danger of provoking them into more decided manifestations of mental indisposition.

The friendly advice of the confessor,—the spiritual exercises he might recommend, or even impose, with a view to check the sin of irritability, for as such it is liable to be treated, when penitents do not endeavour to resist it,—the representations he might make and enforce, with a view to allay and remove ill-founded suspicions, which, according to our doctrine, are also sinful in a very high degree, as being against all the rules of charity,—the exhortations he might use against a disposition to gloominess, which is equivalent to the expression of despair in the kindness of a superintending Providence,—would very probably be often much more efficacious for the prevention of mental disease, than any medicine which the *pharmacopœia* could suggest.

Out of the pale of the Catholic Church, there is no tribunal which takes notice of sloth and idleness. With us, these are considered as among the most deadly sins, and as such we treat them. It very frequently happens, that in these sources mental imbecility and derangement take their rise. If a Catholic be guilty of them, the remedy is, attention to his religious duties. The first thing the confessor will say to him will be: "Find occupation: if you possess a competency, and you have no occasion or desire to increase it by industrious pursuits, apply your time to the duties of charity and religion. Read such and such books. Pray more frequently than you have done. Attend mass every morning. Seek out the deserving poor, and assist them. Idleness you know to be a crime. Sloth you must absolutely correct, if you hope for salvation." There are appliances of cure in the hands of a Catholic clergyman, which no other person can use with anything like the same power. Dr. Reid recommends a person labouring under these predisposing causes of hypochondria, to engage his mind in the composition of a novel! Any occupation, innocent in itself, would certainly be preferable to idleness; but how transitory and inefficacious would any voluntary literary labour prove—especially to persons unaccustomed to such an avocation—in comparison with the employments afforded by the duties of religion, and which it is in the power of the priest to urge with a voice of autho-

riety not capable of being used by other persons. And we may feel well assured, that it is to the discreet and constant exercise of that authority in the confessional, we owe the almost universal freedom from the suicidal crime amongst practical Catholics. We speak not of nominal Catholics, who pay little or no attention to their duties. The state of sin in which they must usually live (for it is an enormous sin to be mere church-going Catholics—to know all that is required of them in the way of duty, and to neglect its performance) is of itself a great encouragement to the dissemination and growth of mental alienation. Some day or other, remorse will come; and, unless special graces be given from on high, which a reprobate Catholic has no right to expect, the chances are that insanity will ensue.

We find in the *London Medical Journal* (vol. v. p. 51) the causes indicated of upwards of seven thousand suicides which were committed in London between the years 1770 and 1830. Amongst these suicides, nearly three hundred are attributed to losses by gambling alone. We need scarcely observe, that against this vice our much-denounced confessionals afford a safeguard which may be considered perfect. It is utterly impossible that a practical Catholic can be an habitual gambler—or, indeed, a gambler at all to any extent. The power of our clergy to prevent the occurrence of suicides from this cause, amongst persons who frequent the holy tribunal, may be said to be complete.

Another cause of suicide mentioned in the journal we have just referred to, is poverty. From this cause, fourteen hundred persons are said to have destroyed themselves in London within the period we have mentioned. The poor Catholic who attends to his duties even superficially, is constantly accustomed to hear those consoling words addressed from the Mount: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted." There are no members of our congregations in whose regard our Church and pastors evince more endearing solicitude, than they do for the poor, in fact, as well as in spirit, whose lot often tempts them to mourn. That solicitude, frequently expressed in the most parental accents, is of itself a consolation to the working classes, which tends to cheer them in their struggles through life. Hence it is, that amongst our Irish population, oppressed as they are by poverty in its most appalling forms, suicide is almost

never heard of—not even when famine is added to their other sufferings.

“Domestic grief” is stated, on the same authority, as another cause from which originated twelve hundred and fifty suicides within the period mentioned. For this disease, if such it should be called, no remedies can be more efficacious than our confessional, and the constant attendance of our clergy in every house where causes for domestic grief exist. A parent, a child, a much-loved friend, is on his death-bed. Those that love him are around him, weeping. The Catholic minister is seated by the side of the sufferer. He reads the prayers, and offers the supplications, and administers the last rites, of the Church. But he does not confine his functions to the dying;—the living also claim his solicitude; he speaks to them of resignation, of confidence in the goodness of Providence; and leaves them comforted. Nature, indeed, must have her way for the moment; the deep emotions of grief express and exhaust themselves in tears;—but they soon subside under the chastening influence of our offices for the dead. The “Requiem” composes the soul to peace; and the “Dies Iræ” and “Miserere” warn us to prepare for our own transition to those regions in which we may enjoy, with all those pure souls that have gone before us, bliss that is to have no termination.

In short, it is not too much to affirm that, of the seven thousand cases referred to above, not fifty most probably would have occurred, had the persons been practical Catholics. We may further express our confident belief, that if our holy religion were now to resume its ancient sway throughout England, the crime of suicide would be speedily eradicated from amongst the people of that country. It is a crime, we regret to observe, constantly increasing there, from year to year; nor do we see the slightest chance of its being diminished, unless it may please a merciful Providence to restore to her the ancient faith.

How trifling—how inoperative—are the remedies, under the head of “Moral Treatment,” which Mr. Winslow suggests, compared to that medicine of the soul—the Catholic religion! “Travelling,” he says, “agreeable society, works of light literature, should be had recourse to, in order to dispel all gloomy apprehensions from the mind.” These are good auxiliaries in their way, no doubt; but of what use would they have been to the fifteen hundred poor who figure in the dark catalogue of the seven thousand suicides already men-

tioned? Lord Bacon advises, that "if a man's wits be wandering, he should study the mathematics." Mathematics, we fancy, would have little attraction for the victim of "domestic grief," the unfortunate speculator in trade, the gambler, or the drunkard. The Egyptian priests of old had temples purposely set apart for the cure of hypochondriacs. They took care that their patients should constantly have before them a succession of agreeable paintings and striking statues, and sweet and solemn music; that they should be present at religious ceremonies, and enjoy the fragrance of perfumes, and all the delights arising from gardens of flowers and ornamental groves. Such was the success of this mode of treatment, that the physicians of those days recommended their mentally-affected patients to repair to those celebrated temples, as the faculty of the present day advise a trip to a German spa. This fact speaks volumes in favour of the Rev. Mr. Willson's project. For if the solemnities of a pagan form of worship could work benefit to a "mind diseased," how much more efficacy might we not expect from the influence of the true faith!

Mr. Winslow states, that "the relative proportion of Protestants to Catholics in the canton of Geneva is, according to the census of 1834, as 77 to 56; that is, of 133 inhabitants, there are Protestants 77, Catholics 56." He adds: "Of 188 cases of suicide, there are Protestants 107, Catholics 26." He very justly observes, that "this result should attract the attention of those who are interested in the moral and religious education of Protestants." It undoubtedly should. It adds another to the long train of facts which tend to demonstrate the thousand degradations to which the human mind is subject, when it is not under the control of our sacred religion.

Legislation can effect very little good in preventing the crime of suicide. The old enactments which ordained that the body of the *felo de se* should be deprived of Christian burial, and his property confiscated to the use of the crown, has fallen into utter desuetude, as in modern times juries almost uniformly presume insanity before the act is committed; although cases occur every day which offer a very slight basis indeed, or rather no basis at all, for any such supposition. The punishment, such as it is, has therefore failed altogether of its purpose. Nor do we know of any other penalty capable of being applied against this growing crime, which could have the slightest chance of a better fortune. It

is one with respect to which means of prevention alone can be of any practical advantage.

There are, however, one or two great reforms which the law might effect with reference especially to the prevalence of this crime, and indeed of insanity in general. We are clearly of opinion, and we apprehend most people will agree with us in thinking, that the publication in newspapers and other journals, having extensive circulation, of suicidal cases, accompanied by all the details of circumstances, down even to the minutest points connected with them—the appearance of the body after the deed was done; the gashes in the throat; the shattered brains; the pools of blood; the fragments of the skull; the blackened complexion; the rope; the pistol; the razor; the evidence before the inquest; the preceding symptoms of mental aberration; the terrible romances of private life, which that tribunal so often reveals; the miseries of disappointed ambition, of crossed or ill-requited affection, of suffering from remorse and wounded pride, and jealousy, which the coroner brings to light—cannot but contribute to the increase of the crime. Some readers will be affected by sympathy; some will be encouraged by example; some, already disposed to suicide, will, after perusing these recitals, hasten at once to put their resolves into execution; some, who had hitherto struggled against the propensity, will yield the contest in despair; some, perhaps, into whose minds the thought of suicide had never before entered, submit to the contagion which the crime is so apt to impart to nervous persons. The friends of the late Mrs. Radcliffe (author of the *Mysteries of Udolpho*) were obliged to keep carefully out of her sight, during the latter years of her life, any newspapers in which even a murder was related, as it would throw her instantly into a morbid state of feeling of the most dangerous character. There is no question at all, that the police reports of suicides and murders, emblazoned as they are by all the art of the writers, produce a most demoralizing effect upon society. Those writers are generally paid in proportion to the quantity of matter which they produce, usually a penny for each line. It is very natural that they should make their accounts as long as possible, and that they should rather exaggerate than diminish every feature belonging to each case, which might render it more acceptable to the vitiated taste of the day. The admission of their articles for insertion depends often on the graphic style in which they are composed, and it cannot be denied that they frequently display much talent in this

class of composition. But this is one of the characteristics which render these reports most pregnant with mischief to public morals.

Who can doubt that the suicide and the murderer, in addition to the direct crimes which they perpetrate, incur a further guilt by the evil example which they give to society? If this be true, it follows that those who by the voluntary publication of those crimes widen the sphere of the influence which those examples exercise, must share, and share very largely too, of the moral guilt which is contracted by the original criminals. The publication, too, for the sake of gain augments that guilt; and when to the first features of the crime others are added, by way of embellishment, and for the purpose of attracting to them the attention of the public, we should ill perform our duty if we did not declare here our decided opinion, that all such publishers and writers are, in the contemplation of every religious and moral law, deep partakers of every crime to which the reports they write and circulate may give rise.

Nor can we discover any species of benefit which those reports can possibly confer upon the community. It has been frequently stated that the public execution of convicts does much more harm than good; and we believe that statement to be perfectly correct, if for no other reason than that it tends to diffuse the example of the convict's crime, whatever it may be, through a large mass of the depraved members of society, who assemble on such occasions, and who probably might otherwise have never heard of it. Now if the example of crime, actually attended with capital punishment, produce evil consequences, will not the relation of criminal deeds, unattended by punishment, and often escaping from it by the cunning contrivances of the perpetrators, be still more opposed to the progress of order and morality?

The question, in our judgment, admits of no argument. The results are plain, and on the very surface of the subject. It has not, we are willing to believe, received from the conductors of the respectable public journals in this country, the consideration it deserves; and we know of no adequate remedy for the suppression of the evil, except the enactment of a law which shall treat the voluntary reporters and publishers of all such crimes as abettors of them in every sense of the word. They are abettors of them. They are the confederates in guilt of the suicide and the murderer, in every case which results from their publication of those deeds; and from this position no sophistry can relieve them.

"Then," it will be said, "the doors of all the criminal courts of justice, the inquest room, and the police offices, ought to be closed, the moment such deeds as these are about to undergo investigation; and it is very well known that the publication of the preliminary inquiries has led to the discovery of evidence, but for the production of which many criminals might have evaded the hands of justice." Be it so. The number of cases in which such publications have assisted in the detection of guilt are few compared with those in which they have augmented the ranks of the guilty. The balance is enormously in favour of suppression. And, indeed, whether it be so or not, the act which renders a man, even in one instance, instrumental to the sin of another, by making him familiar with the example of that sin, renders the diffuser of that example a deep participator in all the crime which it produces, directly or indirectly. The fact that he (the diffuser) is a reporter or publisher by trade, does not at all relieve him from moral responsibility, for he owes no duty to himself, or any other person, which imposes upon him the necessity of doing evil, even should from that evil emanate universal, not to speak of partial, good.

In conclusion, we cannot avoid observing, that Mr. Winslow's treatise, though, undoubtedly, it has the great merit of calling the attention of the faculty to the discovery and application of means for the prevention of suicide, is by no means well arranged: that many considerations arising out of the cases which he enumerates, are altogether passed over, or very superficially handled; that his work seems to have been put together with great haste; and that by the needless multiplication of cases, and the relation of many circumstances by which they were attended, wholly unconnected with his professed object, he has administered (we hope unintentionally) to the depraved appetite of the day for narratives of this description.

ART. IV.—1. *The Sportsman in France*. By Frederick Tolfrey, Esq.

2. *The Encyclopædia of Rural Sports*. By D. Blaine, Esq.

IT has been said, and truly, that of all the arts cultivated now in these realms, the art of bookmaking has attained the highest degree of perfection. Whether the subject chosen be one of any interest or not—whether the traveller have ever

progressed a dozen miles beyond the sound of Bow bells—whether the historical novelist know more of history than the worthy Irish gentleman who stoutly asserted that queen Elizabeth was the next *king* after Henry the Eighth—the crude and scanty materials are placed in the hands of a skilful artist, who dilutes their native inanity, and, by the addition of certain zests and pungent relishes, gives to the whole such a flavour as the far-famed ragout of Madame de Pompadour's slippers may be supposed to have had, when smoking from the hands of the ingenious *chef de cuisine*. We confess that our tastes are sufficiently old-fashioned to prefer the hearty “cut and come again” fashion of our ancestors, to all these modern fripperies; but the public will have new books,—and the *quocunque modo rem* was never better exemplified, than in the manner in which its craving appetite is supplied.

Of the works before us, the first is the only one which belongs to this class of literature;—and it is rather a fair specimen of the tribe. Any information it conveys to the sportsman, could be comprised in half-a-dozen octavo pages. The author's sporting adventures are such as might be devised by any ingenious gentleman, without wandering a dozen yards from his own fireside. The author is the hero of his own work, and ekes out his volumes with ancient Joe Millers, libels upon members of the Catholic priesthood, and scandalous hints at the characters of individuals, of whom—for he wisely gives only initials—all we know is, that he was a partaker of their hospitality. His knowledge of natural history seems to have been very limited, as he states that he traversed many miles of moors in France, in search of the red grouse (*Tetrao Scoticus*), which is known to be only a native of the British islands. Nor does his acquaintance with the history of maritime discovery appear very extensive; for in a chapter on Canada, (lugged in, head and shoulders, in the second volume—to *fill up*, we presume) he mentions Jacques Cartier casually, as “a Frenchman who discovered”—what?—why merely a river, which now bears his name. It is strange that Mr. Tolfrey should have spent so much time in Canada, without learning something of the history of its first discoverers and settlers; and that meeting with the name, he should not at least have endeavoured to discover whether this “Frenchman,” after whom the river “was christened,” had any further claims on the gratitude of posterity, than the discovery of the stream where Mr. Tolfrey caught salmon.

How the English press would open upon any unfortunate Frenchman, who, in speaking of "Cook's Straits," should say that they were "christened, it is said, after" an Englishman who discovered them. The amount of Mr. Tolfrey's "discoveries" are, that grouse are not to be met with in France; that "Jacques Cartier" was a Frenchman, who gave his name to a salmon stream; and that English guns are better than French—a fact which, we believe, has never been controverted. Still, his book is an agreeable trifle, and may well beguile some of the many idle hours of his brother sportsmen. We have heard that he is about to publish his sporting experiences in Canada. We hope that he will not pollute his pages with any further ribaldry against the Catholic clergy; should he, however, repeat his offences, he will find that his "Colquhounisms"—to coin a word for the occasion—shall not pass unpunished.

Mr. Blaine's book is hardly a fair subject for criticism; but we notice its publication, as it has been long a desideratum, and must form a prominent article in every sportsman's library. The compiler is already well known as the author of a valuable and scientific book on "Canine Pathology." Old sportsmen are generally unwilling to transmit the information which they have gleaned to succeeding generations; and when they do, it is given either orally, or confined to the pages of that *olla podrida* of all that is strange, a family receipt book. Some "sporting dictionaries," valuable in their time, were published—the best of which was the "Complete Sportsman, by Mr. Osbaldiston," a member of a family long famous in the sporting world. But these have all become obsolete; and Mr. Blaine's compilation has appeared at the right time to supply the deficiency that was felt in sporting literature. The style of the work is clear; the information ample, and well assorted; the receipts short, clear, and easily understood; and the instructions such as are necessary to many, and must be useful to all. That the perusal of such a work will enable a man to fill his game-bag or his fishing basket—unless he be a good shot, or an expert fisherman—is not, of course, to be expected; but it will at least show him how such things may be done.

Mr. Blaine appears to have spent some time in Ireland; but assuredly he never visited Killarney, or he would not have allowed his pages to be disgraced by such a plate as No. 82, which professes to give a view of a stag-hunt on that lake, and which he, unfortunately for himself, connects with

the account of one of the most magnificent hunts ever witnessed on Loch Lane—one, namely, which was given in honour of the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, when Attorney-General; and which, if we mistake not, was witnessed by Miss Edgeworth, and the late Sir Walter Scott—who, like almost every other great man, was, heart and soul, a sportsman. He also omits entirely the mention of hurling or gooling, as an Irish amusement. To be sure, he states that his visit to Ireland took place during the rebellion; but could he have witnessed the exertions, the animation, the skill, and the athletic powers, displayed during a good gooling match, he would have certainly given the exercise a prominent place among the rural amusements of the Irish.

By the way, while the press is teeming with sporting tours, and groaning under the weight of the descriptions of the field-sports of every country from Lapland to India,—how comes it that so few authors have deemed Ireland worthy of their notice? Mr. Hamilton Maxwell's *Wild Sports of the West* have more of romance than reality in their details; and the other publications on the subject are either rendered useless by the ignorance, or so tainted by the prejudices of the writers, as to be nearly valueless; and yet no country offers a fairer field to the true sportsman. As it has been hitherto so shamefully neglected or maltreated, we may be excused for devoting a few pages to laying before our readers the facilities and advantages which it offers to the zealous and untiring pursuer of rural amusement.

“We do not write for that dull elf” who requires to be cautioned that he must be prepared to undergo occasional hardships and privations in such a pursuit. These, every true sportsman will be prepared for, and, as far as possible, provided against. Cheerfulness, good-humour, and a disposition to make the best of everything, will gain the hearts of the people for the stranger, and save him from such a designation as Lady Morgan mentions to have been bestowed by an Irish waiter on a more than ordinarily querulous traveller,—when Paddy was interrogated as to the cause of a noise, “Sure it's only the *cross gentleman* calling for his breakfast;” accompanied by the enunciation of the said Patrick's determination, that “The more the *cross gentleman* called, the more he'd keep never minding.” He must also avoid the example of a worthy M.P., who finding, at the commencement of a tour which he meant to have extended through the four provinces, that he could not obtain Cheshire cheese at a road-side inn,

in the county of Wicklow, returned in a pet to Dublin, and thence to Liverpool by the next steamer. But to compensate for the occasional want of such trifles, he will find abundance of good, though perhaps somewhat homely, fare; and he must be a bad artist, if he do not furnish his larder sufficiently by the produce of his rod or his gun.

One other word of advice we will venture to offer. Let him place his politics, for a time, in abeyance; and going merely as a sportsman, avoid, as far as possible, all discussion of those points on which most men differ, and confine himself to those on which, though few agree, yet no asperity flows from argument; namely—the comparative merits of the flies, the rods, the guns, dogs, horses; and, if he be a sportsman at all points, the yachts of those present. Let him also be ready to “give a joke and take a joke,” (the shortest cut to an Irishman’s heart), and he may go through the country from Connemara to Cavan, and from “Fair Head to Kilcrumper,” and be met every where with good-humoured kindness, and receive the “hundred thousand welcomes” of the warm-hearted people, to every description of rural sport in their vicinity. At no season of the year need he lack amusement. If he be a fox-hunter, a few days with the Kildare, Kilkenny, Ormonde, Limerick, or some of the Connaught hunts; or with that prince of good, though also of queer, fellows, the Marquis of Waterford, in Tipperary, will serve to show him the nerve and spirit of Irish men, horses, dogs, and foxes. He must, however, curb his Meltonian superciliousness, and look with a tolerant eye upon such enormities as the green frock coats, buff-coloured breeches, and brown-topped boots, of some few of the congregated sportsmen: nay, he must suspend his judgment even upon some doubtful-looking specimens of horseflesh, until he sees them fairly tried, when he will probably find that they, in the words of the common saying, “are rare ‘uns to go, tho’ rum ‘uns to look at.” We have often seen a raw-boned vicious-looking mule, of somewhat gigantic dimensions, take and keep a good place among a numerous and well-appointed field, and with a very fast and killing pack of fox hounds. And such things are yet to be met with, though, of course, but occasionally. If the stranger be a fisherman, from Donegal to Waterford the rivers teem for him with countless treasures. He may try the Shannon, where, as we have heard an old fisherman say, “you may take all kinds of fish, from a pinkeen (minnow) to a porpoise; and see all kinds of vessels, from an osier-woven skin-covered canoe to an iron

steamer." He may visit Killarney, and gratify his taste for scenery and salmon; mountain trout and mountain views. At the same time, from Killarney a short journey will place him beside Loch Cara, where he will find the salmon in season all the year round: or on Blackwater Bridge, near Kenmare, where he can fish either down to the Kenmare estuary, or upwards to Lough Brin, and be certain of being well repaid for his trouble. From either of these localities, he can enter Iveragh—" *Leonum humida nutrix*, the birth-place of O'Connell," as Blackwood has termed it—and find abundant employment for his time on Lough Leagh (or the Gray Lake); or in fishing Waterville river, as the embouchure of the lake is termed. He will find comfortable inns everywhere in his vicinity; and must be indeed hard to be pleased, if he be not delighted with his excursion. If fond of pike fishing, let him betake himself to the Lakes of Clare, or West Meath; pike being unknown in the rivers and lakes of Kerry. But while in the latter "Kingdom," if he choose to vary his sport by sea fishing, the coast swarms with almost every known species; and he may load his boat, in the proper seasons, with turbot, halibut, cod, mackerel, whiting, haddock, hake, pollock, gurnet, ling, smelts, pilchards, and herrings; and benefit the fishermen by the destruction of sharks, dog-fish, ray, and congers. If he seek for shell fish, he can supply himself with oysters, lobsters, sea cray fish, crabs, cockles, and muscles, to his heart's content. If a rifle shot, he will find seals, porpoises, otters, and martins, to test his quickness of eye, and truth of aim: or he may earn the blessings of the shepherds, by the slaughter of eagles, hawks, and ravens. Does he claim the title of an undaunted cragsman, let him ascend the Skelligs, and traverse the seven penitential stations, from the "Yellow Cross" to the "Spit": or disturb the meditations of the gannets, and scare the other numerous tribes of sea-fowl from their nests. Here, if an ornithologist, he will find ample employment, and add materially to his collection. In short, the follower of any branch of science will never lack sufficient occupation in this district: and the botanist, the zoologist, the mineralogist, and the antiquary, will each reap the most abundant harvest. As the season advances, the young broods of wild duck, teal, &c., become fit for the gun; and will put the sportsman in practice for the grouse shooting. But before he leaves this district, he will, if a true sportsman, endeavour to have, at least, one day's hunting with "the Liberator," when he will enjoy a species of amusement, now

rarely, if at all, to be met with elsewhere. He must be stirring with the first light—Mr. O'Connell generally setting out for his hunting ground at four in the morning; and, if he would keep pace with *him* in his walk to the rendezvous, he will find that some previous practice, under the instructions of the famed Capt. Barclay, is extremely desirable. He will find the hunting pack small in number, seldom exceeding nine couple, about twice that number being left in kennel; but he will see at once that they understand their business—that they are just the description of dogs for a mountain country;—well sized, but not over large; light bodied, but deep chested, and not at all leggy; well hung about the head, and most musical in tongue. Talk of Italian and German concerts! never was such glorious music as the cry of that little pack will draw from the breast of the grey mountain, wakening Echo in her thousand caves, and seeming to make the giant crags tremble at the roar. They will not be long before they come upon a trail, and the sagacity with which they unravel the various windings thereof, will delight the true sportsman. They are never helped—never lifted; and their losing a hare is a thing almost unheard of. Their blood is pure Irish, descending from an ancestry as remote as that of the Milesians who followed the chace; and their vigour, endurance, and instinct, are almost unequalled. Some of the mountaineers always keep near them, in order to pick up the hare when killed; and “the Liberator” is never far in the rear. Two hares being killed, breakfast is announced; and the hungry sportsman finds a cloth laid in some grassy dell, covered with a profusion of cold meats, hot potatoes, sandwiches, and not unfrequently a dish of mountain trout reeking from some cottage gridiron; and copious accompaniments to these are provided, in the shape of tea, coffee, milk, cold punch, porter, cider, and spirits of various kinds; of which latter articles there are now but few partakers in this neighbourhood, gentry and people being almost, without exception, followers of the “Apostle of Temperance.” Breakfast over, the stranger may amuse himself for awhile in reading the newspapers, or smoke a cigar, and look forth, over abrupt precipices and across deep and romantic glens, on the Atlantic, and muse on what “Brother Jonathan” is about. But when “all hands” are refreshed, he must be ready for a fresh start; and must be very unlucky if he do not see five or six hares killed by fair hunting, and fastidious indeed, if he do not declare himself pleased with his day's amusement. Mr. O'Connell

generally hunts three times a week, while in the country. We have frequently seen eight or ten hares killed in the course of a day ; and the slaughter of the season generally amounts to near, if not above, two hundred : still no deficiency in their numbers is observed. The shrubberies about Darrynane form an admirable breeding ground for them ; and the people preserve them most strictly, never allowing a hare to be disturbed—and are delighted when they have the opportunity of showing the result of their care to “the Liberator,” as they universally call him. As for himself, he is not only an enthusiast on the subject, but a most skilful huntsman ; and never did he apply his great legal knowledge and natural acuteness to discover a mode of evading the provisions of an “Algerine,” or rendering those of a “Coercion Act” nugatory, with more zeal than he does his acquirements in the science of the field, to baffle the wiles, and discover the doubles of a hare. And we question, whether his triumph in the one case afforded him more delight at the moment, than his unflinching success in the other causes him almost daily to manifest.

It may be necessary to state that, in Ireland, grouse shooting does not commence until the 20th of August, nor partridge shooting until the 20th of September ; and that frequently, in districts where the harvest is late, the latter is postponed until some day in October, fixed upon by common consent. Grouse shooting also terminates on the 10th of December, and partridge shooting on the tenth of January. Thus (the season beginning late and ending comparatively early) the birds are a longer time unmolested, and the vaches and coveys are stronger on the wing and better game when they are first sought. Partridges are now comparatively scarce in Ireland, and, unless some pains be taken to restock the country, there is room for apprehension that the breed will shortly become extinct. In districts where fifty or sixty brace could formerly be met with, and twenty brace “brought to bag” in a day, not a bird is now to be found. Still there is a fair proportion in many parts ; and the sportsman who likes to look for his game will find abundant amusement, and get well-grown and really *game* birds, instead of the cheepers which too often make up the greater proportion of those “murdered” in England, in the early part of September. Quails are numerous, and are met with both when partridge and snipe shooting.

The land rail, or corn crake, abounds so much in the grass lands near Dublin, that a season for their shooting has

been established; and from about the 10th of May to the middle of June they are eagerly pursued by the residents in or near that city. The shooting ceases when the birds have paired, and they are no more looked for. Of course they are met with by the partridge shooter, chiefly as single birds, and some few then killed. No bird is more delicious than the corn crake, and eight or ten brace can be easily shot in a day during the season we have mentioned. To find them the shooter is generally accompanied by a brace of steady pointers, and provided with a *rail call*, which is made from two horse, or beef, ribs, one serrated on the edge, the other left smooth, and both polished. By drawing the edge of the smooth bone over the rough edge of the other, a sound is elicited which perfectly resembles the call, and is responded to by every amorous individual of the corn crake tribe within hearing. Having thus ascertained the *habitat* of the birds, the pointers are cast off, and the birds are soon forced to take wing, when they form an easy mark. In autumn, however, their flight is stronger, and resembles that of the quail. The birds are then not so acceptable to the gourmand as in May or June, when they are literally bursting with fat; and this may form one reason why they are then neglected.

The broods of grouse are also, from the late commencement of the season, strong on the wing, and from being a good deal harassed by dog trainers (there being a notion prevalent in Ireland that a dog trained on grouse is superior to one whose education has been conducted on any other species of game) are generally wild and wary. This of course tends to prevent the wholesale slaughter which takes place in Scotland and on the English moors; but the sportsman must be either on a bad beat, or in very bad luck, or there must be a "screw loose" somewhere, either in his powers or his appointments,—a scarcity of *straight powder*, or a superabundance of whiskey punch,—if he do not bag some hundred head of these noble birds during the season. Eley's cartridges, No. 7 shot, will be found very useful for the second barrel. We would recommend that a spare gun be always brought to the hill. A seasoned ash, hazel, holly, or mountain-ash pole, about six feet long, will be found an useful auxiliary in climbing and getting along over the very ticklish ground where grouse are chiefly found; and if the sportsman have a sling to his gun, he will find it conduce much to his comfort to carry it *en bandolier* until he requires to use it. A little practice will enable him to unsling it with speed, ease, and safety; and it

is thus carried with much more safety than in any other way. There is no greater mistake than in imagining that very large shot is necessary to kill grouse. No. 6 is almost *too large*—we seldom use anything larger than No. 7, either in loose shot or cartridges; and have shot for some seasons entirely with No. 8, or with 7 and 8 mixed. Mr. Blaine is, we think, quite right in discarding the old prejudice against mixed shot. And in the winter, when, in looking for cocks on the mountains, one frequently falls in with duck and teal, and is always sure to meet with snipe in dozens,—we have found a mixture of Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9, answer all purposes. Of course, in very boisterous weather larger shot will be necessary for the grouse shooter; but he should never go beyond No. 5,—and, we should think, will find No. 6 quite large enough. If, in such weather, he should prefer to use Eley's cartridges alone, we can assure him that No. 7 will answer *all* his purposes—particularly if he shoot with a gun of 14 guage, which is much the best for general use. Our English friends must be prepared to undergo a good deal of fatigue, while grouse-shooting in Ireland. From the nature of the ground, it is almost impossible to ride, unless by bridle paths, to the spot where the sport commences,—when the poney may be safely turned loose to graze. The sportsman should go slowly over his ground, and try it well. Some men have a fancy for racing ahead, and thereby leave the close-lying birds behind them; while the “knowing old hand” perseveres in trying every likely, and frequently every unlikely spot,—and is rewarded for his patience, perseverance, and tact, by getting better shots, and killing more game, than the “wild huntsman” who, with dogs as wild as himself, is scouring along miles in front, and waking the echoes, not with the reports of his gun, but the bellowings of his most unmusical voice. Do not shoot the packs too close; and, above all things, spare the hen birds. A little practice will soon enable you to pick out the cocks. Shoot the father of the family without mercy; and treat every *stuger* as a pirate. It will be found a good rule, not to kill more than one-half of a pack; and if there be an odd number in the pack, to let the survivors be in a majority of one over the slain. You will thus secure future sport,—enhance your welcome on the next occasion,—and, what is of some value, earn the good-will, and good word, of the gamekeepers and attendant gillies. You should always be provided with a supply of *tobacco* for these gentry; it literally *warms* their hearts towards you; and, in these tem-

perate days, is doubly acceptable,—when, as they say themselves, “smoking is the only diversion they have left.”

The attractions of Ireland to snipe and woodcock shooters are well known; but it is as yet nearly an unexplored country by the followers of that branch of shooting which Colonel Hawker especially patronizes, and in which the “wild fowl artillery” comes into play. And here let us offer the meed of our gratitude to the gallant Colonel, for his most valuable publication. It forms our constant companion, and never-failing reference, on sporting excursions. We have perused every edition of it, from the first to the last;—derived much useful information from it, in more inexperienced days;—and always found something to reward us for the pleasing toil of overhauling each new edition. On the mountain, or by the stream—in the snipe bog, or seated in our shooting quarters—we find fresh reason to thank him for his lessons, and trust he will long be spared to enjoy the amusement of which he taught so many to partake. To the sportsman in this peculiar line, Ireland offers many inducements. In the first place, very few are provided with the necessary apparatus. We question whether the entire country can produce a dozen “big guns,” though it has always been fertile in “great guns.” The hooper, or wild swan, is infinitely more common than the tame species. There are several species of wild geese. All the varieties of the duck tribe found in England abound; and certain localities are favoured by the annual visits of the barnacle. Among these last, are Tralee Bay, Wexford Bay, Belfast Lough,—we believe, Clew Bay,—and some localities in Donegal. The bittern is also to be met with, and is considered a great delicacy—the neck being the part most esteemed. The Shannon is literally covered in parts, during winter, with duck, widgeon, and wild geese; and the lakes of Clare, Westmeath, and the rivers in Roscommon, &c. afford them in equal profusion. Wexford is the only place frequented by the “big gunners;” and even there the gunner “Buckler,” whose pathetic lamentations Col. Hawker has given to the world, might be certain of getting, not merely “a few heavy shots in peace,” but sufficient to keep him fully employed, and repay him handsomely. We wish the Colonel himself would try the result of an excursion to Ireland; we are sure that he would be welcomed by every true sportsman in that country,—and he might perchance pick up a few *wrinkles* which would be found useful hereafter.

The snipe shooter, as we have said, will find Ireland the land, not merely of abundance, but of profusion; jacks and full snipes he can fire at until tired. We have heard of the solitary snipe, and have met several birds leading solitary lives, and of much larger size than the ordinary snipe. Still, we do not consider the solitary snipe as a distinct species, but rather think that they are what would, as grouse, be called "stagers:" old gentlemen and ladies, to wit, who are past their prime—who rejoice in single blessedness, and like human beings of "an uncertain age," have increased in corpulence, by solitary indulgence in the good things of life: this is, however, we believe, an unsupported opinion. Of woodcocks, the dwellers on the coast state that there are two immigrations; one from the north of Europe, the other from North America. Certain it is, that woodcocks, differing materially both in size and plumage, are met with; that sometimes the sportsman will meet with only the larger, and sometimes only the smaller variety; and that there are male and female of both. A friend of ours, who was long in Canada, and has shot many brace of woodcocks there, has told us, that the smaller variety exactly resemble the woodcocks he has killed in America. And here we leave the question. The sportsman will find more than sufficient of both, whether Yankee or Norwegian, to reward his toils; and we can only wish, that he may enjoy this "fox hunting of shooting," as Col. Hawker has called it, with as keen a zest as we are wont to do. Pheasants have been introduced, and are increasing in numbers in Ireland: though if, as is reported and believed, they drive the woodcocks from the covers where they inhabit, we confess that we have no wish to see them extensively naturalized.

As for dogs, we prefer the high-bred—high-mettled Irish setter. Of pointers, there are some excellent strains; but for a companion in the field or the house, as a friend or a servant, our leaning is towards the setter.

If the sportsman wants a good gun, at once cheap and serviceable (and the saving of some ten or twenty pounds is not a matter now to be despised), he may be admirably supplied in Ireland. Messrs. Cavanagh, the Brothers Rigby, and Mr. Trullock, of Dublin, are excellent artists; Mr. J. Crispin, of Cork; Messrs. Mara, Colgan, and Boyd, of Limerick, are also good manufacturers. In short, he can nowhere be at a loss, and will get a first-rate "tool" for about thirty guineas.

To the yachtsman, above all others, we would recommend

a cruize to Ireland: he will nowhere find a bolder or more romantic shore, finer estuaries, or safer or more numerous harbours. He can easily "bring up" in the vicinity of good shooting and fishing; and when inclined to remove, can "up stick—up anchor," and "make a fair wind of it either way," secure of soon finding equally good anchorage and good sport in his next resort. If he participates in the feelings of all true seamen, he will rejoice in the opportunities afforded of trying the powers of his vessel amid the billows and breezes of the Atlantic; while, if he delight in regattas, he will be gratified by those of the Royal Cork Yacht Club, at Cove; Royal Western, in the Shannon; Royal Northern, at Belfast; and Royal Irish, in Dublin Bay.

It will be observed that we have said nothing of coursing or horse racing, and for this reason;—that we think, as at present practised, they come rather under the class of inducements to gambling, than of legitimate sporting. The latter may be defended on the score of the improvement in the breed of horses effected thereby. But though we will not say with Mr. O'Connell, that we "hate a greyhound," we may be permitted to doubt the utility of encouraging the breed of "long dogs." That the land affords ample facilities to the lover of either is well known; but most certainly, while we are permitted to enjoy on shore, the various amusements we have depicted, and can feel the pleasure which none but a true sailor can experience in the good qualities of his vessel, and the steady daring of his crew, we shall not interfere with the avocations of the professors of either.

ART. V.—1. *Leibnitzens Deutsche Schriften*, herausgegeben von G. Guhrauer. Berlin: 1838-40.

2. *Leibnitzens System der Theologie, nach dem Manuscripte von Hanover, den lateinischen text zur Seite; übersetzt von Dr. Räss und Dr. Weis*. 3te. vermehrte Auflage. gr. 8vo. Mainz: 1825.

3. *Exposition de la Doctrine de Leibnitz sur la Religion (ouvrage Latin inédit, et traduit en Français), avec un nouveau Choix de Pensées sur la Religion et la Morale, extraites des ouvrages du même Auteur; par M. Emery, Ancien Supérieur Général de St. Sulpice*. 8vo. Paris: 1819.

GODFREY William, Baron Leibnitz, was one of those extraordinary men whom, at rare and distant intervals, nature sends into the world, in the prodigal exercise of her

creative powers, and as if to display their wondrous versatility. With a compass of intellect which falls to the lot but of a favoured few, he cultivated every branch of human knowledge, and excelled in all; a critic of the highest order, an historian not unworthy of the classic times, familiar alike with the earliest monuments of ancient learning and the newest theories of modern science. He possessed faculties which men are wont to deem irreconcilable. With an exquisite literary taste he combined a passion for the most abstruse mathematical studies; he united the most refined subtleties of metaphysical speculation with the minutest details of practical knowledge; and, unlike most minds gifted with this universal power of application, his prodigious intellect excelled in each department, as though it had been confined to that alone. In elegance of historical composition he is not inferior to De Thou; the equal of Puffendorf in jurisprudence, the worthy antagonist of Bossuet in scholastic divinity, the successful opponent of Locke in psychology, the rival of Newton in the unexplored regions of abstract mathematics!

But, high as was the place assigned to Leibnitz by his contemporaries, and varied as were the grounds upon which their admiration was founded, his posthumous works present him to posterity in a light entirely new. His letters to Péllisson, on toleration, had proved that the vast variety of his profane reading had not prevented his attending to the less inviting studies of divinity; and his voluminous correspondence with Bossuet displayed theological acquirements not unworthy his character in other departments. But it was not until the Abbé Emery rescued from the dust of the royal library at Hanover, where it had laid for a century, the extraordinary work which stands second upon our list, that men saw the prodigious stores of erudition, which here, as in all else his mighty mind had collected, and the daring originality with which, though a Lutheran and the minister of a Protestant court, he had shaken himself free from every prejudice of birth, of education, and of political association.

The *Theological System* of Leibnitz, published for the first time in 1819, although still but little known in these countries, was comparatively old upon the continent when we entered upon our literary labours. We have long entertained the purpose of submitting it to the notice of the public; but the present position and future prospects of parties in the Anglican Church prevent us from regretting the circumstances which have compelled us to defer until now the notice which we have

long contemplated. Recent events have concurred, far beyond the expectations of the most sanguine, to prepare the public mind for its singularly important spirit. The silent, but rapid, steps by which the Catholic movement is daily advancing—the freedom and familiarity with which, in the bosom of the Anglican Church, principles and practices hitherto deemed exclusively ours are put prominently forward, and the serious and earnest interest with which even those who do not share the feelings observe and study its progress—all assure us that a time has come when the opinions of such a man as Leibnitz may have their full weight: a translation of the work is, we understand, on the eve of publication; but we conceive that a brief outline of its character and contents may do good service in this important crisis, to the cause of truth and charity.

During the reign of the irreligious philosophy of the last century in France, the desire of opposing the great name of Leibnitz to the contemptuous dogmatism of the new school, induced the young Abbé Emery to publish, in 1772, a collection of his opinions under the title *Pensées de Leibnitz sur la Religion, l'Eglise, et la Morale*. Of this work the zealous author gave a new edition, with numerous and important additions, in 1802. He regarded this collection of the opinions of Leibnitz as a work of great importance; but his dearest wish was, that circumstances might enable him to give to the world the still more unequivocal record of his Catholic views, which, although preserved in manuscript in the Hanoverian library, had been, for nearly a century, withheld from publication. Its existence was well known, and its singularly Catholic character, as described by those who had seen it in manuscript, had long excited the curiosity of the theological world. Leibnitz himself, in one of his letters to the Landgrave of Hesse-Rheinfels (to whom it is supposed to have been addressed), mentions his intention of preparing such a volume. M. Jung, the librarian, had transcribed it in a hundred and fifty folio pages, about 1750; and the celebrated antiquarian, Murr, mentions that he had himself read it with the utmost interest.

"I have read," says he, "the *Systema Theologicum* of Leibnitz. It appears to have been written between 1671 and 1680, or soon after. The autograph is preserved in the royal library of Hanover, but without title or preface. M. Jung, aulic councillor and librarian, has transcribed, in one hundred and fifty pages folio, this singular work, which will create a greater sensation than all the other writings

of Leibnitz. He defends therein the Catholic religion, even on those points which have been most warmly discussed between Catholics and Protestants, with so much zeal, that one could scarcely believe him to be the author, were not his writing so perfectly known by thousands of monuments. There reigns throughout the work a noble simplicity, no emphasis, no animosity; and the author everywhere displays a singular sagacity."*

The zealous abbé was doomed to many disappointments; but at length, in 1809, through the interference, it is said, of the constitutional bishop Grégoire, an order was obtained for the removal of the manuscript to Paris; and on October 16th it was forwarded to Emery by M. Feder, the librarian, with whom he had long maintained a most friendly correspondence. Unhappily, amid the distracting occupations of these afflicting years, detailed in a recent number,† in which he was compelled to perform an ungrateful, though highly honourable, part, it was long before he was able to prepare the manuscript for publication; and, just as he had completed what to him was truly a precious labour of love, he died, full of years and virtues, in 1811, leaving the work to be followed up by his literary executor, M. Garnier, afterwards his successor as superior general of the Sulpician Congregation. The political revolutions which followed, for a time suspended the work; nor was it actually published until the year 1819. The text, accompanied by a French translation from the pen of M. Mollevault, was edited by M. de Genoude. Almost immediately afterwards a German translation was published by MM. Räss and Weis, whose joint labours in the *Bibliothek der Katholischen Kanzel-beredsamkeit*, and many similar works, have since done so much for the cause of religion in Germany. The German translation, accompanied by the Latin text, and a valuable preface from the pen of Dr. Doller, has been several times reprinted. The copy which lies upon our table is of the third edition, within a few years of its first appearance.

In order to appreciate fully the value of Leibnitz's testimony in favour of the Catholic religion, it is necessary to understand the circumstances of the times in which he wrote; and we shall offer no apology for detaining the reader by a brief review of the important ecclesiastical negotiations in which he took a very prominent part. Germany, exhausted by the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had

* "Journal sur Kunst-geschichte und zur algemeinen Literatur." March 11, 1779.

† No. XIX. "Artaud's Life of Pius VII."

just begun to feel the blessings of repose, and, in the growing sense of its advantages, to think anxiously of securing its continuance. The peace of Westphalia, while it adjusted their political differences, had done little to extinguish the religious animosities in which the political struggle had mainly originated; and, in more than one of the subsequent diets, the question had been started whether it might not be possible to effect a reunion of the Churches, and thus establish the tranquillity of Europe upon a solid religious basis. Circumstances were considered not unfavourable to the project. The horrors of a religious war were still fresh in the minds of men; and the people were supposed, from very satiety, to have conceived a distaste for theological disputation. The intemperance, too, of the early controversies, when reviewed at a time of more coolness and deliberation, contributed to produce a disposition to calmer counsels. The reaction in favour of Catholicity, which succeeded the first frenzy of the Reformation, had now settled down into a permanent feeling, manifested in the return of many to the Church, from the highest ranks of literature and the most distinguished circles of society—as Péliisson and Isaac Papin—and even from the royal families of Europe, as the Princess Palatine Louise Hollandine, and John Frederick Duke of Brunswick.

The zeal of an humble, but gifted, ecclesiastic improved these advantages with considerable effect. Christopher Royas de Spinola, a Genevese Franciscan, in a series of conferences with the most influential of the Lutheran party, succeeded, by his prudence and moderation, in removing most of the popular prepossessions against the Catholic religion. By his learning and address, he secured so completely the confidence and esteem of all parties, that the Emperor Leopold, who was deeply interested in the success of the measure, procured his nomination to the see of Bosnia, *in partibus*, from which he was afterwards translated to that of Neustadt; and ultimately, in 1691, invested him, by an imperial edict, with “full power and general commission to treat with all states, communities, or even individuals, of the Protestant religion within the empire, concerning the reunion in matters of faith and the extinction or diminution of unnecessary controversies.”*

The Duchy of Hanover might be regarded, at that period, as the head-quarters of the Lutheran party, whose prin-

* See the commission at length in volume xiv. of “Bossuet’s Works,” pp. 1-3. Liege: 1767.

cial strength, at the close of the thirty years' war, lay in the northern provinces of Germany. Circumstances, however, had recently occurred which rendered it peculiarly favourable for the commencement of the Bishop of Neustadt's interesting mission. The Lutheran clergy of Brunswick and of Hanover were known to be more moderate, as a body, than their brethren of the other states of the north. John Frederick, Duke of Brunswick, had openly embraced the Catholic religion; other members of the ducal family had formed alliances with the royal Catholic houses of Europe, and Ernest Augustus, the Duke of Hanover, himself, although political reasons prevented any decided step on his own part, made no secret of his anxiety for the union of the Lutheran with the Catholic Church.

But more favourable, perhaps, than all the rest, was the character of the celebrated Molanus, who at that time possessed great influence in the Hanoverian court, and held the important office of superintendent-general of the consistorial churches of the duchy. Profoundly versed in the theological learning of his order, Molanus had long deplored the disunion of the several Reformed Churches, and the dissensions even of the separate congregations in each, and especially in his own, party. To a strong and polished mind he united a moderate and conciliating temper; and, taught by the almost universal misrepresentation which pervaded the controversies of the day, he had studied the principles of the Catholic religion in the writings of the Catholics themselves. Accordingly, in their very first conference, the Bishop of Neustadt discovered that his labour was in great part forestalled; and that the enlightened candour of the negotiator whom the Duke of Hanover had named to represent the Lutheran party, relieved him from the necessity of combating the vulgar prejudices from which, at that time—as indeed, unhappily, even still—few, even of the learned, were entirely exempt. Satisfied of the idleness of long and elaborate discussions, the delegates confined themselves to mutual explanations of their respective doctrines on those points where the creeds appeared most widely separated. During more than half a year (1691) they conferred together, Molanus being assisted by the most learned divines of Hanover; and, at the end of the conference, Molanus presented, in the name of the Lutheran clergy, a digest of the conditions upon which, in their judgment, the union might be effected. This curious and important document, with all the others relating to the attempted union of the

Churches, will be found in the fourteenth volume of the works of Bossuet.*

But these propositions of the Lutheran party, though in many respects extremely liberal, were, as a whole, far from being such as could be adopted without injury to Catholic principle. Spinola saw with regret that the way towards union contained more of difficulty than his first zeal had anticipated; and he resolved, before proceeding further in the negotiation, to avail himself of the counsel of the great light of the Church in those troubled times—the illustrious Bossuet.

He had already, for some time, maintained a correspondence with this distinguished man; and the wishes of the electoral family, as well as those of the emperor, coinciding fully with his own, the memorial of the Hanoverian divines was submitted to his judgment. Bossuet, with his characteristic ardour, entered warmly into the project. Although he was naturally disappointed by the imperfect concessions already made, yet he regarded it as a most important first measure; and conceived the most sanguine hopes from the temperate and conciliating spirit in which the conference had been conducted. He expressed, in the warmest terms, his approval of the course pursued by the Bishop of Neustadt; and, at the close of that year, was himself busily engaged in the negotiation, for whose successful results each day appeared to bring more flattering hopes.

It is impossible for us to enter into any considerable details of its further progress. The documents are all preserved in the volume of Bossuet's works already cited; nor do we know, in the whole range of modern or ancient controversial history, a period of greater interest or instruction.

In the September of that year, Bossuet, in a letter to Mme. De Brinon, through whom the memorial of the Hanoverian divines had been submitted to him, stated, clearly and explicitly, the particulars in which these views, as there put forward, were irreconcilable with Catholic principles; and explained, with equal precision, the leading points of discipline in which they might hope for a certain modification, in their favour, of existing usages, not essentially connected with faith. The frankness of his tone, far from alienating, had rather the effect of creating or confirming the confidence of the Lutheran party. Molanus, upon his own part, and

* Pp. 4-18. 8vo. Liege: 1767. They occur in the thirteenth volume of the edition in 4to. Antwerp: 1753.

independently of the joint declaration of the body, drew up a private memoir, entitled, *Cogitationes privatæ de Methodo Reunionis*: to be submitted confidentially, though with the consent of the authorities, to the Bishop of Meaux. (Bossuet, xiv. pp. 39-76.) This document possesses far more of interest than the common declaration. It displays, throughout, a clear and masterly judgment, an intimate acquaintance, not only with the principles, but also with the literature, of Catholic theology; and though shrinking, in many points, from the full acknowledgment of Catholic truth, yet, in others, it evinces a freedom from prejudice and an appreciation of truth, wherever found, which form a gratifying contrast with the coarse invective and factious intemperance by which most of the controversies of that time are disfigured.

The *Cogitationes Privatæ* were regarded by Bossuet as "a great advance towards the peace of the Church." His reply (*Works*, xiv. 105-189) is addressed to Molanus himself. It is one of his most finished productions, uniting with that spirit of charity and mildness peculiarly his own, the firm and uncompromising adherence to principle by which charity, in order that it be Catholic, must ever be accompanied.

It is at this point of the negotiation that Leibnitz first appears.

He had already distinguished himself by the theological acquirements displayed in his correspondence with Pélisson; and the elector, whose full confidence he enjoyed, did not hesitate to associate him, layman and philosopher as he was, with the divines to whom the negotiation had hitherto been entrusted. But, in truth, the presence of Leibnitz eclipsed all his associates, as did Bossuet's those of the Catholic party. Even the learned Molanus and the zealous Spinola from this moment disappear; and henceforward the two parties are merged in the great names of their illustrious representatives.

But, great as were the theological acquirements of this extraordinary man, it is impossible, in reviewing the records of the correspondence, not to perceive that he entered upon it without full preparation; and that it was principally during its progress his quick and powerful intellect caught up that amazing store of erudition which is displayed in its close, and, still more, in the *Systema Theologicum*, which is evidently long posterior. M. Murr attributes the latter work to some period between 1671 and 1680, long prior to the conference with Bossuet. But abstracting from all other argument, it is more than improbable that the writer, who had already ac-

quired the clear and precise notions of Catholic principles displayed in the *Theological System*, could fall into the palpable misconception of their nature betrayed in the first proposals of Leibnitz in his conference with Bossuet.

The proposals to which we allude were, that project of external union, then recently developed by Jurieu, in which the Lutherans should be free to admit or reject certain articles maintained by the Catholics, and his demand that, in the future negotiation, they should abstract from the decisions of the Council of Trent, which, having been made without the presence or consent of the Lutherans, should be reconsidered in a new assembly of delegates from either party.

These proposals were, of course, at once set aside by Bossuet, as irreconcilable with Catholic principle. He briefly states the only conditions on which a union could obtain the sanction of the Catholic Church; and, as a first step, distinctly declares the utter impracticability of the proposition concerning the Council of Trent. The decrees of that assembly, embodying and declaring the traditionary belief of the Church on all disputed questions of faith, having been sanctioned by the holy see, and universally received throughout the Church, now constituted an integral portion of the explicit faith of Catholics, which it was no longer possible to modify, much less to rescind. Upon this point—unfortunately an impracticable one—the after discussion principally turned. Leibnitz, confounding decrees of faith with rules of discipline, contended that the council was not received in France; and, in addition to the arguments put forward in his letters, and especially in one of March 29, 1693, he submitted a memoir which he had drawn up, some years before, against the œcumenicity of the Council of Trent. It is a long and ingenious document, and called forth from Bossuet the brief, but memorable, reply to be found in the fourteenth volume of his works. (pp. 430-42.)

At this stage, the conference, now of some months' standing, rested for a time. Leibnitz urged the example of the Council of Constance, in which, he contended, similar concessions had been made to the Bohemian party. He complained that he had been induced, by the recorded opinions of Catholic divines, to hope for the proposed concession. It is needless, however, to say, that the Catholic representative was here inexorable; and upon his express declaration, that it was incompatible with the first principles of our faith, the negotiation, now hopeless, was, somewhat abruptly, suspended.

The publication of Veron's celebrated *Regula Fidei*, in

1699, gave an occasion to Leibnitz, at the desire of the Duke Anthony Ulric, to reopen the communication so long interrupted. Our limits do not permit any detail of this second correspondence.* We can do no more than refer to the two clear and masterly letters (of Dec. 11, 1699, and Jan. 30, 1700) in which Bossuet replies to the questions which arose from this remarkable work. From the closing letters of the former conference, it is easy to perceive that, without a total change of opinion, little could be expected from its renewal. Accordingly, although interesting in the highest degree, it was less satisfactory in its results even than the former. Leibnitz returned, as before, to the *rexta quæstio* of the authority of the council; and this, together with the canon of Scripture, as determined in the fourth session, exclusively engaged the attention of the disputants after the opening letters of Bossuet, already referred to. It would be impossible to find a subject better fitted for the display of Leibnitz's great powers; combining, as it does, history and criticism with the ordinary topics of theological argument. His two letters (*Œuvres de Bossuet*, xiv. 488-529) may be taken as an epitome of the strong arguments against the Catholic canon of Scripture. Bossuet's reply (Aug. 17, 1700) forms the last letter in this memorable series. The correspondence was abandoned, never to be resumed; and the projected union, to which all Europe had looked forward with anxious hope, was given up as unattainable, "till Providence should find its own more auspicious time, and deign to employ the agency of happier instruments." The entire substance of the terms which he had felt himself warranted to propose, was collected by Bossuet in a long and explicit memorial, which, in the following year, he submitted by his own desire, to the pope, Clement XI. It is given in the volume already so often cited (pp. 259-308), and is one of the noblest monuments of the zeal, charity, and learning, of the mighty mind from which it emanated.

Thus terminated this remarkable negotiation, from which so much was hoped, and which brought together in friendly collision all the learning, zeal, and wisdom, of the two great religious parties, by which central Europe had long been held in agitation. If the learning, integrity, and moderation, of the agents could be regarded as a guarantee of its happy termination, never did treaty open under happier auspices. The

* An interesting abstract will be found in Bausset's "Vie de Bossuet." Liv. xii. c. 15 and 16.

principals, too, taught by the experience of years of dissension, looked forward to its success as the only permanent ground of that tranquillity for which all Europe had long sighed in vain. And, indeed, the first steps seemed to promise a steady and secure progress. The clearness and precision of the inimitable Bossuet, whose versatile mind was at home alike amid the most abstruse questions of mystical theology and the simplest truths of the catechism, appeared to have shut out the possibility of misapprehension. The second memorial submitted by Molanus betokened more of yielding than the first; and the early letters of Leibnitz evince the same spirit, though not in an equal degree. But on a sudden, when all seemed brightest, clouds began to gather, doubts to arise and thicken around; limitations and modifications were appended, frittering away what, at first, had seemed satisfactorily arranged; and the dark, if not stormy, back-ground of this once brilliant picture remains to the world, a fresh evidence, that the light of human learning, however brilliant, is but that of a puny and capricious taper, flickering and fading in every breeze of doctrine; and that the lamp of faith alone emits a steady and saving ray, which no storm can darken or extinguish. Alas! this blessed light is a gift of God alone, dispensed according to his own good pleasure, not to be purchased, either by the learning of philosophers, or the moderation of theologians, or the policy of kings!

The causes of this sudden and inauspicious interruption of the negotiation have been variously stated; nor indeed is it necessary to look far for an explanation of the failure, where success was at the best precarious and problematical. The union of the Greek and Latin Churches, auspiciously commenced at Florence, was of but brief tenure; nor do we want, in ecclesiastical history, abundant evidence to show how little the issue of human things is in the hands of men, and how little the success of human policy, however exalted, is dependent upon human agency. The known and proved moderation of Bossuet sufficiently secures his memory from the imputation of having wantonly thrown obstacles in the way of the negotiation; and if evidence of similar dispositions on the part of Leibnitz were wanting, the *Systema Theologicum*, would furnish abundant refutation of the equally improbable statement of the Abbe Le Dieu,* that he interfered, only for the purpose of frustrating its already too favourable progress.

* Bausset's "Vie de Bossuet," vol. iv. 205.

The true causes of the rupture will be found in the history of the times. At the commencement of the affair, the House of Hanover felt a warm interest in its success, and used all its influence to forward and facilitate the negotiation. The succession to the Protestant crown of England, though opened by the Revolution, was yet held but in dim and distant prospect. But a few years materially changed the position of affairs. The hope of the continuance of the succession in the reigning family was becoming every day more faint, by the premature birth, or early death, of most of the children of Anne; and the second correspondence had scarcely been opened, when the death of the only remaining child, the Duke of Gloucester, extinguished for ever the hopes of the existing line, and made the way clear for the House of Hanover. Unfortunately it was felt that dispositions so favourable to the Catholic religion, would be but an equivocal qualification for a throne already sufficiently Protestant, but rendered still more so by the very decree (of 1701) which secured the Hanoverian succession. Can we wonder, therefore, that the same year which brought about a change so unexpected in the fortunes of this hitherto comparatively powerless family, should also have proved uncongenial to that spirit of conciliation in which, a few years before, the overtures of union had originated? The act of succession was passed March 14, 1701. The only letter of Leibnitz subsequent to this date declares, equivalently, that all further negotiation is hopeless; and the letters of Bossuet, in August, are suffered to remain without reply. Who can avoid reading, in these significant facts, the clear, though far from creditable, solution of the difficulty?

It was after this long and trying preparation, that Leibnitz drew up the *Systema Theologicum*, which we cannot but regard as the most extraordinary production of his wondrous mind. It is because we feel how much additional value this circumstance lends to the opinions therein recorded, that we have deemed it right to premise so much of the history. It now remains that we enable the reader, by such extracts as our limits will permit, to form his judgment of the work itself.

We shall introduce it in the modest and simple preface with which it opens.

“When, after long and earnestly invoking the divine assistance, and, as far as is possible for man, laying aside all bias of party, just as if, a neophyte attached to no school, I came from a new world,

I had thoroughly examined all controversies in matters of religion, I have at length arrived at the following conclusions, and have thought it my duty, all things being weighed, to adopt them, as being those which *the holy Scriptures and pious antiquity, as well as right reason, and authentic history, recommend to every unbiassed man.*—p. 2.

Upon the opening sections it is unnecessary to dwell. They contain a clear and methodical summary of the leading tenets of natural and revealed religion,—the existence and attributes of God, especially his providence in the care of his creatures; the nature and origin of evil, the sin of our first parents, and its fatal influence on the destinies of the human race. In the same brief, but singularly clear and accurate, manner, he runs through the possibility and necessity of revelation, the chief notes by which it may be distinguished, and the great leading outlines of the mysteries in which the Christian revelation is founded. These, however, are doctrines, which, important as they are in themselves, interest us less directly than the great questions controverted among Christians at the present day, and it is to these Leibnitz principally addresses himself. It will easily be understood that, *although they are all, without exception, strictly Catholic*, we do not hope to transcribe his opinions upon each and all of these important controversies. This would be literally to transcribe the entire volume. Upon all the mysterious questions of grace and free will, justification, its source, its nature, its effects, its amissibility, he is as rigidly Catholic as Bellarmine or Suarez; not only discarding the doctrines of the Lutheran and Calvinistic schools, but adopting the decisions of the Council of Trent, always in their substance, and often in their very phraseology. The necessity of tradition, the infallible authority of the Church, the number and efficacy of the sacraments, the real presence, the transubstantiation of the elements, the sufficiency and expediency of communion in one kind, the permanency of the presence beyond the moment of communion, the sacrifice of the mass, reverence of images and relics, purgatory, and all the practical consequences which Catholic usage draws from it,—are not only stated as opinions, but confirmed by numberless arguments; and it is only by a forcible effort of memory you can persuade yourself that the writer is not a Catholic, strong in the faith, and familiar, from long and industrious use, with all the weapons of scholastic warfare.

It would be impossible, therefore, by any selection of extracts compatible with our limits, to give an idea of the per-

feely Catholic character of the *Systema Theologicum*.* We must confine the examination to a few points. And perhaps we cannot better illustrate his *perfectly Catholic* spirit, than by contrasting it with that of the Oxford Divines, whose Catholic tendencies have created, and continue to create, such alarm throughout the Anglican Church.

This comparison is the more natural, inasmuch as both parties agree in the great fundamental principles on which their respective systems are grounded. Both insist with equal earnestness on the necessity of tradition, and the authoritative teaching of the Church. Both are of one mind as to the doctrines of the sacraments and of justification; both equally protest against the unscriptural innovations of ultra-protestantism. It is fair therefore, and may afford much instruction, to compare the several conclusions which they deduce from these common premises, and to examine the consistency of their respective schemes of scriptural and traditional belief.

With this view, we shall take a few of the leading questions in which Dr. Pusey and his colleagues, going a part of the way with us, yet shrink from the full acknowledgment of the doctrine as it is professed in our Church, and forms a portion of our religious system. Far from us be every harsh and acrimonious feeling in the inquiry. We have long regarded with the deepest interest the remarkable movement to which they have given the chief impetus, and which seems each day to draw nearer to its crisis. We have watched with solicitude, and we will add with fervent hope, the struggle to unite principles which we believe to be utterly incombinate, to reconcile Catholic premises with Protestant conclusions, to clip down and prune the ancient and venerable cedar to the puny proportions of the stunted shrub of a few years' growth! We believe, with all the strength of our faith, as we hope with all the fervour of the hope which is in us, that the time is not far distant, when, taught, by experience and by extended inquiry, the hopelessness of the effort, those ardent and enthusiastic worshippers of ancient truth, will, in the fitting and pre-ordained season, seek, in a union with that Church, where alone it is to be found, that unchanging and consistent body

* We cannot too earnestly press the entire work on the attention of all, especially Protestant, readers. We beg particularly to refer to "Justification," 44, and seq; "Good Works," 78; "Religious Orders," 88; "Images," 120; "Saints and Relics," 160; "Transubstantiation," 224; "Confession," 268; "The Mass," 284; "Vows," 334; "Purgatory," 348. These references are, for the convenience of the reader, to the French edition (No. 3 upon our list).

of heavenly doctrines, whose fragments, in greater or less proportion, are scattered through the various systems into which Christianity is divided, but lose, in all alike, their beauty and their strength by being shorn of their Catholic consistency.

The few last years, which have seen so large an increase in the numbers of this remarkable body, appear also to have brought with them a considerable modification of its opinions. It is impossible not to be struck by the difference between the earlier writings of the controversy and the *Tract* (90) recently published, as well as the letters to which it has given occasion. In the former we find our doctrines discussed as drawn from our received decrees and formularies of faith; the latter, acknowledging the formularies to be "much less objectionable than the system which they represent,"* objects to a certain "traditionary system" which it supposes to exist among us, going beyond, and practically contradicting, their letter.

The following extracts from the *Systema* are intended to meet both views. The passages which we shall quote from Dr. Pusey's *Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*, and from *Tract* 71, involve, in several points, a different view of certain articles from that taken by Mr. Newman in *Tract* 90, and the defences of it. But in producing testimonies from Leibnitz against the one, we shall also, at least indirectly, combat the other. Leibnitz knew our religion thoroughly—its "traditionary system" as well as its received formularies. His work contemplates it not as an ideal abstraction, but as it really exists; and his silence as to these "traditionary" views is an evidence that he knew not of their existence, or that he identified them with the formularies which they really represent.

To begin with transubstantiation, which Dr. Pusey regards as the root and source of almost all the "practical corruptions of our system."

"We would maintain, then, my lord," writes he in his letter to the bishop of Oxford, "that here also our Church holds the Catholic truth, distinct from the modern novelties, whether of Rome, of Zurich, or of Geneva; that she holds a real spiritual presence of our Lord in the holy Eucharist; that He really and truly imparts himself therein, His body, and His blood, to the believer; and that through this gift, bestowed by Him and received through faith, Christ dwelleth in us, and we in Him: we maintain, on the other side, that Rome has grievously erred by explaining in a carnal way the mode of this presence, and requiring this, her carnal exposition, to be received as an article of faith. She anathematizes us in our Church

* "Mr. Newman's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford," p. 27.

for holding that 'in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist there remains the substance of bread and wine,' and 'denying that wonderful and remarkable conversion of the whole substance of bread into the body, and of the whole substance of wine into the blood, so that there remain only the appearances of bread and wine,' 'which,' it proceeds, 'the [Roman] Catholic Church most aptly terms transubstantiation.' We suppose, also, that they meant it in a carnal and erroneous sense, that they say, 'that the body and blood of Christ is not only "really" but "substantially" present in the sacrament of the holy Eucharist;' for 'substantially' they explain to be, not simply equivalent to 'really,' but 'corporeally;' that the body of the Lord is sensibly touched by the hands, broken and bruised by the teeth.* Further, we think it presumptuous to define, as they do, that "Christ is wholly contained under each species," whereby they would excuse their modern innovation of denying the cup to the laity, and would persuade them, by a self-invented and unauthorised theory of modern days, that they receive no detriment thereby. Again, we hold it rash to define peremptorily 'that the body and blood of Christ remain in the consecrated elements which are not consumed, or are reserved after the communion,' (meaning thereby that they so remain independently of any subsequent participation, as of the sick, or by the communicants), although, doubtless, they are not common bread and wine, but hallowed. Then, also, we reject what Rome maintains under an anathema, 'that, in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist, Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, is to be adored with the outward adoration of divine worship, and to be set forth publicly to the people in order to be adored;' nay, 'that this most holy sacrament

* Dr. Pusey cites Bellarmine for this apparently revolting exposition of our doctrine. But he omits the explanation which removes all its inconvenience, and which Bellarmine does not fail to subjoin, namely, that it is only mediately, that is through the medium of the sacramental species (*mediantibus speciebus*).

The doctrine thus imputed, far from being that of the Catholic Church, would be, in the sense imputed at least, constructive heresy. But, as both here and in the late Tract (No. 90), (which makes it the sole ground of objection to our doctrine) great stress is laid upon this phraseology, we subjoin a few extracts from St. Chrysostom, which, if there be anything revolting in them, must share the blame with the objected passages.

"To those who desire it He hath given Himself, not only to see, but to touch, and to eat, and to fix THEIR TEETH IN HIS FLESH." (*καὶ ἑμπεῖται τὰς ὀδόντας τῆς σαρκὸς*).—Hom. 46, in Johan. vi. 3. tom. viii. 272. Ben. ed. Paris: 1728.

"Of what sun-like brilliancy should the hand be which cutteth that flesh in sunder!" (*τάνυσσιν διατμήσασαν τὴν σάρκα*).—Hom. 82, in Matt. a. 5. vii. 788.

"He giveth Himself to thee, not to see only, but to touch, to eat, to receive within."—Ibid. p. 787.

"But why do we add, 'which we break?' For thou mayst see that this is done in the Eucharist. But on the cross not so, but the contrary; for he saith, 'a bone should not be broken.' But what He bore not on the cross, that He suffereth for thee in the oblation and submitteth to be broken in sunder" (*ἀνεχεται ῥηκλωμενος*).—Hom. 24, in 1 Cor. a. 2, x. 213.

It is on this model the retraction of Berengarius (Tracta, 90, p. 80) was drawn up. But it is to be understood with this limitation (*mediantibus speciebus*).

rightly received the same divine worship as is due to the true God; and that it was not therefore the less to be adored, because instituted by Christ, the Lord, to be received. For that the same eternal God was present in it,—whom, when the eternal Father brought into the world, he said, 'And let all the angels of God worship him.' Lastly, as connected with, and dependent upon, transubstantiation, we cannot but hold, that the sacrifice of masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain and guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits,' and interfere 'with the offering of Christ once made,' upon the cross."—*Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*, second edition, pp. 133-5.

The points of difference from the doctrine of our Church stated in this very striking passage are five. 1. Transubstantiation, which, in another place, is rejected as a "theory of man's devising, profane and impious." (*Tracts*, No. 38, p. 11.) 2. The presence of the body and blood of our Lord under each species, and the sufficiency of one for the communion of the faithful. 3. The permanence of the presence in the consecrated elements, "which are not consumed, or are reserved after communion." 4. The outward adoration of the Eucharist. 5. The sacrifice of the mass; which, while they freely admit it to be "*commemorative*," they do not acknowledge "to be a real and proper sacrifice." (*Tracts*, No. 75, p. 1.)

Upon each of these points, severally, we shall extract the opinion of Leibnitz.

To the following clear and explicit declaration we shall merely premise, that, in the previous pages, he has laid down the doctrine of the real presence, and disproved the philosophical arguments from reason, by which it is sought to establish its repugnance and impossibility.

"I. TRANSUBSTANTIATION.—If it could be established by irrefragable arguments of metaphysical necessity, that the whole essence of a body consists in extension, or in the occupation of a determinate space, then, unquestionably, since truth cannot be opposed to truth, it should be confessed, that one body could not, even by divine power, exist in many places at once, no more than the diagonal can be commensurable with the side of a square; and, in this case, we should have recourse to an allegorical interpretation of the word of God, whether written or delivered by tradition. But so far from any philosophers having perfected this vaunted demonstration, on the contrary, it appears to be susceptible of solid proof, that the nature of a body indeed, unless an obstacle be placed by God, requires that it should have extension; but that its essence consists in matter and substantial form, that is, in the principle of passion and of action.

"There are some who, admitting a real presence, defend a cer-

tain, so to speak, *impanation*. For they say, that the body of Christ is presented in, with, and under, the bread; and therefore, when Christ said, 'This is my body,' they understand as if a person, showing a bag, should say, 'This is money.' But pious antiquity has declared with sufficient clearness, that the bread is changed into the body, and the wine into the blood; and in this the ancients universally acknowledge a change of substance (*μεταστοιχείωσις*), which the Latins aptly translated *transubstantiation*: and it is defined that the whole substance of the bread and wine passes into the whole substance of the body and the blood of Christ, and therefore, as elsewhere, so also here, the Scripture must be explained from the tradition which the Church, its keeper, has transmitted to us. Oftentimes, however, the name of bread and wine is given to the species which remain, since they are not distinguished by sense. Thus St. Ambrose said that 'the Word of the Lord is so efficacious, that they at once are what they were, and are converted into another thing,' that is, *the accidents* are what they were, *the substance* is changed; for the same Ambrose says, that 'after consecration they are to be believed to be nothing else than the flesh and blood of Christ;' and Pope Gelasius insinuates that the bread is changed into the body of Christ, the *nature* of bread remaining, that is, *its qualities or accidents*; for, at that time, forms of expression were not adopted in strict accordance within rigid metaphysical notions; which sense also, Theodoret said, that in this conversion, *which he himself calls μεταβολη*, the mystic symbols are not divested of their own proper nature."—pp. 222-6.

Upon this clear testimony, which not only states, but vindicates, the Catholic tenet of transubstantiation in its most extended sense, it were idle to offer a word of commentary. We regret that we cannot subjoin his admirable solution of the philosophical repugnances attributed to this mysterious article of our belief,—a solution the more invaluable, that, upon such a point, his decision is all but beyond appeal. It is well observed by Dr. Wiseman, in his admirable lecture on the difficulties of transubstantiation, that there is no question in the entire range of controversial theology, the true position of which has been so completely misunderstood and misrepresented; and we rejoice to observe, in the recently published tract, a disposition to place it upon its legitimate foundation. The philosophical repugnances so loudly vaunted are, without a single exception, both in themselves and in their spirit, the creation of a narrow or blinded intellect. For the true philosopher, like Leibnitz, they are divested of all their imposing difficulty, and he "who in the beginning felt himself inclined to adopt them, at length, by the progress of meditation, is forced to return to the doctrines of the ancient philosophy." (p. 234.)

We pass to the second point, which is the great stronghold of the "Anglo-Catholic" school, the presence of our Lord, whole and entire, under each species, and the denial of the cup to the laity. We shall see this specified hereafter as one of the "practical grievances" to which Christians are subjected in the communion of our "misguided" Church; and Mr. Pusey (p. 135) is of opinion that it should "alone, without further disputing, restrain any one from joining himself to our communion."

II. SUFFICIENCY OF COMMUNION IN ONE KIND. — "And indeed it cannot be denied, that, by the power of concomitance, as the divines express it, Christ is received entire under either species, since his body cannot be separated from his blood. The only question is, whether it be lawful to recede from the form which appears to be prescribed in Scripture. And I confess, that, if private persons had done it, they could not be absolved from a grievous charge of temerity; but now, the usage of the Church for so many centuries proves, that, from the earliest times, it was believed that, for approved reasons, the use of the chalice might be dispensed with: and some Protestants admit that, if any one have a natural repugnance to wine, he may be content with the communion of the bread alone. Now what cause can be conceived at the present day more weighty than the avoiding schism, and preserving the unity of the Church and public charity? Therefore, *I hold for certain that the denial of the cup can afford no man a just cause of withdrawing from the Church.*

"But what the pastors of the Church have done they have done with a good intention and for a solid reason. For it is certain, that, (liquids being divisible into the most minute parts, and exposed to various dangers of effusion and adhesion), a portion of the wine may be more easily destroyed. And for this same reason the bread also has been changed, and, instead of brittle bread, portions of which may easily be detached from the mass, a different kind has been substituted."—pp. 250-2.

"There is no doubt that Christ instituted the consecration of the bread and wine alike, and gave his body and his blood to the apostles under both forms. Paul delivered the same usage to the Corinthians; and the primitive Church, as the Oriental Church at the present day, observed it; until by degrees, originally out of reverence, not to mention other causes, it was judged right in the West, that the bread alone should be administered to the faithful communicating, and the wine should be received only by the priest consecrating.

"But this was not done without authority insinuated in the Scripture, or precedent in the ancient Church. For many of the fathers interpret of the Eucharist the supper of Emmaus, in which the breaking of the bread alone is mentioned; and bishops communi-

cating together were wont, in order to testify fraternal charity, to send from Rome even to Asia the Eucharistic bread, as a pledge of unity in faith and communion. Besides, this sacred aliment was given into the hands of the communicants, to be carried away into the deserts, or upon their journeys. And when some, I suppose with the view of preserving both species, received the element of bread moistened in the wine, Pope Julius condemned the custom about the middle of the fourth century. That in the fifth century, the omission of communion of the cup was free, and adopted by many, is evident from the fact that the Manichees, mingled and concealed among the others, always acted so; and, in order to their discovery, the Roman pontiff Leo ordained that both species should be received by all; and, a short time afterwards, Gelasius repelled from communion those persons (a remnant, I suppose, of the Manichees) who, receiving only the sacred body, abstained, through some superstition, from the chalice of the hallowed blood."—pp. 244-6.

He continues in the same calm and temperate tone to trace the history of the present disciplinary usage through the succeeding centuries. But as the great principle, that it has always been regarded in the Church solely as a question of discipline, and that its adjustment was uniformly regulated by the expediency which the reverence for the sacrament suggested, has already in the preceding extract been fully conveyed in the most express terms, we pass on to the third point, namely, the permanence of the presence of our Lord in the Eucharist beyond the moment of communion; and in those portions of the precious elements which are reserved after consecration. This is a difficulty of long standing, and, little as the divines of Oxford may relish the connexion, may be traced back to the teaching of Luther himself. It is one, however, to which the practice of the Church from the earliest times affords an obvious and evident solution, and is well designated by Leibnitz, in another place, as "a new and incongruous invention." (p. 264.) He formally considers it in the following passage.

III. PERMANENCE OF THE PRESENCE OF OUR LORD IN THE EUCHARIST.—"It is certain, moreover, that antiquity has taught us, that the change of elements takes place in the very moment of consecration, as appears from the words of St. Ambrose already cited; nor was the new opinion of some, that it is only in the moment of communion the body of Christ becomes present, ever heard of by the ancients. For it is certain that some did not immediately consume the sacred food, but sent it to others, or carried it with them to their homes, nay, upon their journeys, and into the deserts; and

that, at one period, this usage, though afterwards abolished for greater reverence sake, was commended in the Church. And, indeed, either the words of institution,—which far be it from us to say,—which the priest pronounces, are false, or it is necessarily true, that what is blessed by him becomes the body of Christ before it is consumed. I shall not advert to the difficulties which embarrass the defenders of this opinion, as to whether the change of elements commences upon the lips, or in the mouth, or in the throat, or in the stomach, and whether it take place even there, if, through any defect of the organ, the elements be not consumed.” — pp. 228-30.

The practice of adoring the blessed Eucharist follows by a consequence so natural and so necessary from the doctrine of the real presence, that we know not how to explain its rejection by those who are disposed to look with a favourable eye upon the qualified reverence paid to relics and to sacred images. Unhappily, the last clause of the 28th article furnishes too significant an explanation.

It can hardly be necessary to say what is the opinion of Leibnitz, who discusses the question at considerable length.

IV. ADORATION OF THE BLESSED EUCHARIST.—“The adoration of the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, although not always equally in use, nevertheless has been received through a laudable piety. The first Christians observed the utmost simplicity in all that appertains to the display of external worship, which certainly cannot be condemned, for internally they burned with true fervour of soul. But when men began, by degrees, to grow cold, it became necessary to use external signs, and to institute solemn rites, which might admonish them of their duty, and revive the ardour of devotion, especially where any great cause or occasion existed; and certainly for Christians, it will not be easy to find an occasion more important than that which is presented in this divine sacrament, in which God himself offers to us the body which he has assumed (pp. 256-8). Here, therefore, if anywhere, it was most fitting that adoration should be prescribed; and thus it has been rightly introduced, that the greatest solemnity of the *external* worship of Christians should be lavished upon the sacrament of the Eucharist, which has been instituted by the Saviour to be the chief object of their *internal* worship; that is, to inflame the ardour of divine love, and to testify and cherish internal charity. It is certain, however, that the ancients also adored the Eucharist; and, indeed, Saints Ambrose and Augustine understand of the adoration of the body of Christ in the Mysteries, that passage of the psalm,—‘Adore ye the footstool of his feet!’

“In fine, since the necessity has ceased for that regard to the prejudices of Pagans, which led Christians either to conceal the

mysteries, or to abstain from certain external signs which might offend the weak or prevent the appearance of paganism, it has seemed right (especially in the West, where there was no necessity for regarding the prejudices of the Saracens), gradually to prescribe in the honour paid to this venerable sacrament all that is most exquisite in external worship. Hence, not only has it been prescribed to bow down at the elevation of the sacrament after consecration, but it is also ordained that it be borne with the utmost reverence either to the sick or for any other purpose; that it be exposed, from time to time, for a public cause, and that every year this divine pledge should be worshipped upon earth by a special festival, and with the utmost exultation of the, as it were, triumphant Church. The wisdom and congruity of these institutions is so manifest, that even the Lutherans adore the Eucharist in the act of receiving, though they go no further, from the belief that the body of Christ is not present sacramentally, except in the moment of eating. But it has been already shown, that this is a modern and incongruous invention.

"When men, therefore, reprobate this ordinance of the Church, they reprobate either abuses which are reprobated equally by the Church herself, or they impugn certain imaginations of their own. For they imagine that Catholics adore earthly symbols, and, even while they confess that the substance of the bread is expressly excluded, they fear lest the species themselves should be adored; and they say, further, that the fact of transubstantiation is uncertain, either because the dogma itself in their opinion is ill-established, or because a wicked or invalidly ordained priest has it in his power either to withhold the intention of consecrating, or not to consecrate at all. But they should know that the adoration is not directed to the species at all; . . . and although it should happen that the consecration was not performed, idolatry would not therefore be committed. For nothing else, nor in any other sense, is adored, but Christ the Lord, whether his body be present or not."—pp. 260-4.

Upon the last point,—the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice,—the opinion of the Oxford school as stated in the above extract from Dr. Pusey's letter, and in other publications, is no less at variance with the plain and consistent doctrine of the *Systema Theologicum*.* We can but select a few passages

* We have read, with great satisfaction, in the late Tract (No. 90) the following very remarkable exposition of the Thirty-first Article of the Church of England:—

"On the whole, then, it is conceived that the article before us neither speaks against the mass in itself, nor against its being an offering [though commemorative] for the quick and dead for the remission of sin; [especially since the decree of Trent says, that 'the fruits of the bloody oblation are through this, most abundantly obtained; so far is the latter from detracting in any way from the former], but against its being viewed, on the one hand, as independent of, or distinct from, the sacrifice of the cross, which is blasphemy; and, on the other,

from the very full and admirable section which Leibnitz devotes to it; the reader will perceive how his clear and powerful mind unmasks the sophistic argument, by which it is sought to prove that the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic oblation is injurious to the one oblation of Christ on the cross.

V. SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.—“It remains that we explain the sacrifice of the mass, which the Church has always taught to be contained in the sacrament of the Eucharist. In every sacrifice, there is the person who offers, the thing which is offered, and the cause of offering. Now in this sacrament of the altar, the offerer is the priest; and indeed the sovereign priest is Christ himself, who not only offered himself on the cross when he was suffering for us, but also exercises his priestly office for ever to the consummation of ages, and now also offers himself for us to God the Father through the ministry of the priest or presbyter. It is therefore he is called in Scripture, ‘a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedec;’ in which offering of bread (as nothing can be more manifest) the Eucharistic sacrifice is allegorically prefigured in the Scripture itself. The thing offered, or the victim or host, is Christ himself, whose body and blood are subject to immolation and libation, under the appearance of the elements. Nor do I see what is wanting here to the nature of a true sacrifice. For why may not that be offered to God, which is present under the symbols, since the sensible species of bread and wine are meet matter to be offered, and in them did the oblation of Melchisedec consist; and since that which is contained in the Eucharist is the most precious of all things, and the most worthy to be offered to God? Thus, by this most beautiful provision, has the Divine mercy enabled our poverty to present an offering which God may not disdain; whereas He himself is infinite, and nothing would otherwise proceed from us bearing any proportion to His infinite perfection, no libation could be found capable of propitiating God, but one which itself should be of infinite perfection. For, by a mysterious disposition, it occurs, that, as often as the consecration takes place, Christ, always giving himself to us anew, may always again be offered to God, and thus represents and seals the perpetual efficacy of His first oblation on the Cross. For no new efficacy is superadded to the efficacy of the Passion, from this propitiatory sacrifice, repeated for the remission of sins; but its entire efficacy consists in the representation and application of that first bloody sacrifice, the fruit of which is the divine grace bestowed on all those,

its being directed to the emolument of those to whom it pertains to celebrate it, which is imposture in addition.”—Second ed. p. 63.

Strike out (as it will be seen above that Leibnitz has done) the qualification, [though commemorative] and the above paragraph might be deemed extracted from the “Catechism of the Council of Trent,” so perfectly Catholic is it in its tenor.

who, being present at this tremendous sacrifice, worthily celebrate the oblation in unison with the priest. And since, in addition to the remission of eternal punishment and the gift of the merit of Christ for the hope of eternal life, we may further ask of God, for ourselves and others, both living and dead, many other salutary gifts (and among those, the chief is the mitigation of that paternal chastisement which is due to every sin, even though the penitent be restored to favour); it is therefore clearly manifest, that there is nothing in our entire worship more precious than the sacrifice of this divine sacrament, in which the body of our Lord itself is present."—pp. 282-6.

Leibnitz proceeds to detail at considerable length the arguments by which the perpetual faith of the Eucharistic sacrifice is established. Upon these arguments, though in themselves very interesting, we do not think it necessary to dwell. But we must transcribe the passage in which, with the same calm impartiality, weighing the for and the against, the good and the bad, he records his judgment on the subject of "private masses, when the priest alone communicates,"—a practice more obnoxious at Oxford than any of the others connected with the sacrifice.

VI. PRIVATE MASSES.—"Now, since the dignity and utility of the perpetual sacrifice are so great, it was, in fine, established, that it should very frequently be offered for the necessities of the faithful, even though not always accompanied by communion. It is true that, primitively, all those who were present at the sacrifice, were wont to partake of the communion; but, by degrees, it was reduced to a small number, since, the fervour of primitive piety having abated, it became justly to be feared, that too frequent communion and promiscuous distribution might diminish reverence, and be to many an occasion of sin; for if, at the present day, all the faithful were to approach the table of the Lord after the celebration of the mysteries, who can doubt that very many would eat unworthily? But, now-a-days, by the intervals of communion, time of preparation is given to those who come to the supper, that they be not found without the nuptial garment. It would have been wrong, notwithstanding, that, because communicants were not always found, anything should have been taken from the Divine honour. Wherefore, since with most laudable piety, it has been ordained, that the most holy sacrifice be celebrated daily in all churches, it has been judged sufficient, in consequence, that the offering priest alone should communicate. And this is the origin of what are called '*Private Masses*,' of whose immense fruit it is not just that the Church, to the detriment of the Divine honour, should be deprived; neither are admirable institutions to be abolished now, with great scandal to the faithful, because the Church was long without them; nor are we to return, all at once, to primitive simplicity, unless, perchance, those who trust, without

rashness, that they possess the fervour of the early Christians,—of whom, would that there were many among us !”—pp. 290-4.

Such are the opinions of this extraordinary man upon this great question, with the all-important consequences which it involves. How widely different from the doctrines,—themselves differing widely from the tenets of ultra-Protestantism—which we have transcribed from the authorised summary of the creed of the new “Anglo-Catholic” school ! Whence this wide and deplorable discrepancy ? Both are parties of undoubted learning, and of deservedly high name ; both profess equal reverence for Catholic antiquity ; both draw with equal eagerness from its consecrated fountains. Alas ! we shall see the reason, or rather it meets us in every page. Leibnitz had no preconceived system, to whose stubborn and unpliant articles he was forced to bend and twist and torture the simple and obvious teaching which he read in the records of the primitive Church !

Meanwhile, let us carry this interesting comparison through a few further points. We shall take them at the choosing of the Tracts themselves, selecting those which they put forward as practical abuses of the system of Rome, irreconcilable with the leading principles of the gospel, and the undoubted uses of the early times. They are contained in brief space.

“The following are selected, by way of specimen, of those practical grievances to which Christians are subjected in the Roman communion.—1. The denial of the cup to the laity. 2. The necessity of the priest’s intention to the validity of the sacraments. 3. The necessity of confession. 4. The unwarranted anathemas of the Roman Church. 5. Purgatory. 6. Invocation of Saints. 7. Images.”—*Tracts*, No. 71, pp. 9, 10.

To the three last-named grievances, perhaps we could not append a better commentary than the new Tract (No. 90) upon these several points. But let us hear Leibnitz upon each of them. The first having been already discussed, we proceed at once to the second,—the necessity of the priest’s intention. While, however, we cite the opinion of Leibnitz upon this point, it is scarcely necessary to observe, that those who have even cursorily examined the discussions among our divines upon it, will at once perceive, that the idea of the practical grievance objected therefrom only originates in a misapprehension of the opinion itself.

II. INTENTION OF THE PRIEST.—“In the minister is required ‘the intention of doing what the Church does ;’ for, if it be certain

that he acts only in jest or in mockery, it would appear that, in this case, he does not validly baptize, or absolve from sins. Therefore, although the person baptizing or absolving should be an atheist, who believed that baptism produced no effect, he may, notwithstanding, wish to baptize in a serious manner, which is sufficient. However, should it perchance occur, that a wicked priest should withhold the necessary intention, although the sacrament would be wanting, yet St. Thomas well observes, that the chief priest would supply its fruit; and St. Augustine favours that opinion in his book on Baptism. The impiety of the minister does not prevent the validity of the sacrament, provided the other essential conditions be not wanting."—pp. 208-10.

The third practice, confession, if it were, indeed, a burden imposed by the Church without authority from God, might well be deemed a "practical grievance;" and the very repugnance which men feel to this (humanly considered) ungrateful duty, and the manifest impossibility of their submitting, without having objected at some assignable period, to its unauthorised imposition, are used by our controversialists, with irresistible effect, to establish its divine institution. The well regulated mind of Leibnitz, while it saw and appreciated this natural repugnance, saw also the wise and merciful design, to which, in the providence of God for his Church, it was intended to subserve.

III. CONFESSION.—"The remission of sins, which takes place in the sacrament of baptism, and that in confession, are both equally gratuitous; both are equally founded on the faith of Christ; both equally require penitence in adults;—but there is this difference, that, in the former, nothing is especially prescribed by God beyond the rite of ablution; but, in the latter, it is commanded, that he who would be made clean, shall show himself to the priest, and confess his sins; and that, afterwards, he shall, at the sentence of the priest, subject himself to some punishment, which may serve as an admonition for the future. And, whereas God appointed His priests to be the physicians of souls, He willed that the malady of the patient should be made known to them, and his conscience bared before their eyes: whence the penitent Theodosius is related to have said wisely to Ambrose, 'Tis thine to prescribe and compound the medicines: 'tis mine to receive them.' Now the medicines are the laws which the priest imposes on the penitent, as well that he may feel the evil which is past, as that he may avoid it for the time to come; and they are called by the name, 'satisfaction,' because this obedience of the penitent, in voluntarily chastising himself, is agreeable to God, and mitigates, or removes, the temporal punishments which should otherwise be expected at the hands of God.

"This whole institution, it cannot be denied, is worthy of the

Divine wisdom; and if, in the Christian religion, there be any ordinance singularly excellent, and worthy of admiration, it is this, which even the Chinese and Japanese admired; for the necessity of confessing, at once deters many, especially those who are not yet obdurate, from sinning, and administers great comfort to the fallen; insomuch that I believe a pious, grave, and prudent confessor, to be a powerful instrument in the hands of God, for the salvation of souls; for his counsel is of great avail in assisting us to govern our passions; to discover our vices; to avoid occasions of sin; to make restitution and reparation for injury; to dissipate doubts; to raise up the broken spirit; and, in one word, to remove, or mitigate, all the evils of the soul. And if, in human things, there is scarce anything better than a faithful friend, what must it be, when that friend is bound, by the inviolable religious obligation of a Divine sacrament, to hold faith with us, and assist us in difficulties? And although of old, when the fervour of piety was more warm, public confession and penance were in use among Christians, nevertheless, in order to consult for our weakness, it hath pleased God to declare by the Church, that private confession to a priest is sufficient for the faithful; an obligation of silence being further attached, in order that the confession may be more thoroughly freed from the influence of human respect.”—pp. 268-72.

The very fertility of the *Systema Theologicum* in testimonies to our doctrines to a certain extent embarrasses us by the variety and multiplicity of matter which claims our notice. Upon the fourth “practical grievance”—the “unwarranted anathemas of Rome”—we find abundant commentary in every single section of the work; since in all, by adopting the doctrine of our Church without reserve, he equivalently approves the wise policy by which she requires, under anathema, their profession by all her members. The following direct declaration, however, is, perhaps, more unequivocal.

IV. POWER OF DEFINING UNDER ANATHEMA.—“Furthermore the bishop, and before all other bishops, he who is called ‘Œcumenical,’ and represents the entire Church, has the power of excommunicating and depriving of the grace of the sacraments; of binding and retaining sins, as well as again loosing, and restoring to communion; for in the ‘power of the keys’ is contained, not voluntary jurisdiction alone, such as is that of the priest in the confessional, but the Church has power to proceed against the refractory also; and he ‘who doth not hear the Church,’ and who, as far as he can, doth not, for the salvation of his soul, keep her commands, should be accounted as the heathen and the publican; and (the judgment of heaven being superadded to the earthly sentence), as a regular consequence, experiences, at the peril of his soul, the rigour of ecclesiastical authority, to which God himself communicates that which in all jurisdiction is the last and supreme complement,—execution.”—pp. 296-8.

Of the Oxford doctrine of purgatory we have already spoken.* We have demonstrated the folly of attempting to explain those passages of the fathers which refer to the practice of prayers for the dead, in any other than the Catholic sense. On this point, also, the tract (No. 90) indicates a very remarkable approximation to the true doctrine of our Holy Church. The strong and natural language of Leibnitz is at once a clear statement, and a solid proof, of the Catholic belief.

V. PURGATORY.—“But, dismissing these disputes, let us come to the much-agitated question of purgatory, or temporal punishment after this life. Protestants are of opinion that the souls of the departed are at once either established in eternal happiness, or condemned to eternal misery. Hence, they reject prayers for the dead as superfluous, or reduce them to empty wishes, such as are conceived with regard to things past and completed, rather from custom than from any hope of utility. *On the contrary, it is a most ancient belief of the Church, that we are to pray for the dead, and that the dead are assisted by our prayers; and that those who have departed this life, although through Christ, being received by God into mercy, and the eternal punishment remitted, still, notwithstanding, continue to undergo a certain paternal chastisement, and purgation for their sins, especially if they have not sufficiently washed away their stains during life.* To this some have applied the words of Christ with regard to ‘paying the last farthing,’ and that ‘all flesh shall be cleansed by fire;’ others, the passage of Paul concerning those ‘who have built upon this foundation wood, hay and stubble,’ and ‘shall be saved, so as by fire;’ and others, again, the passage on ‘Baptism for the dead.’

“The Holy Fathers, indeed, differ as to the mode of purgation. For some were of opinion that the souls are detained for a limited period (which some of them extended even to the day of judgment, and a few even further), in a certain place, and there subjected to purgation. Some, again, placed the mode of punishment in corporeal fire; others (to which opinion St. Augustine for a time inclined, as some Greeks do at the present day), in the fire of tribulation. Some, on the other hand, thought that the purgatorial fire was the same as that of hell; others, that it was distinct from it. There were some, too, who placed the purgatory specially at the time of the resurrection, when all, even the saints, shall be obliged to pass through fire, but those only shall be burned, or shall suffer loss, whose work shall be so ill-executed as that it may be burnt. But, however these differences of opinion may be, almost all agree in admitting this paternal chastisement or purgation after life, whatever be its specific nature, to be such, that the souls themselves, being illuminated after their release

* “Dublin Review,” vol. vii. 450-2. See also “Library of the Fathers,” vol. i. 179-80, and vol. ii. 273-6.

from the body, and seeing then, for the first time, thoroughly, the imperfection of their past life, and the foulness of sin, touched with compunction thereat, will desire it of themselves, nor wish to arrive otherwise at supreme felicity. For many writers have well observed, that this affliction of the soul reviewing its actions, is a voluntary purgatory; among whom Louis of Grenada is remarkable, whose celebrated sentiment gave great consolation to Philip II, in his last illness."—pp. 348-52.

We are at a loss to understand fully the early principles of Dr. Pusey and his friends, upon the practice of invoking the saints. The formal protest in the passage cited from No. 71, is not easily reconciled with the long and elaborate, but extremely unsatisfactory, dissertation in Dr. P.'s "*Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*;" still less with Mr. Newman's declaration, "that the *Ora pro nobis* is not necessarily included in the invocation of Saints which the article condemns"—but merely "the maintenance of addresses to them which entrench upon the incommunicable honour due to God alone." (No. 90, p. 42.) "Such," he adds, "are, and have been in the Church of Rome." Let us hear Leibnitz, whether it be so. We pass over his arguments from Scripture and reason (pp. 160-70), confining ourselves to his remarks upon the primitive usage, as more to the point in the present discussion.

VI. INVOCATION OF SAINTS.—"But from reasonings let us come to examples and to authority. It is certain, that as early as the second century of the Christian Church, the natal days of the martyrs were already celebrated, that religious assemblies were appointed to be held at their tombs, and that the prayers of the saints were believed to be useful. For Origen, a writer of the third century (*Num. c. xxxi*), asks, 'Who doubts that the saints assist us by their prayers, and confirm and encourage us by the examples of their lives?' He speaks, then, as of a matter well established, and universally received, in his time. St. Cyprian commended himself to the living, 'that after their death they should be mindful of him.' (*L. i. Ep. i.*) But if, as some imagine, we cannot find, as of the reverence of images, so also of the invocation of saints, examples during their times, it must be answered, that, until the abolition of idolatry by Constantine, the Church scrupulously avoided all things, however harmless in themselves, which could by any means be distorted into a confirmation of the Gentile superstitions. But, it is certain, from SS. Basil and Gregory Nazianzene, that, at least in the fourth century, the usage of calling on the martyrs by name, was fully established, as well as the belief in their power of assisting us. St. Gregory of Nyssa says, that 'we pray to a martyr that he may act as ambassador for us with God.' St. Ambrose, in his book *De Viduis*, having remarked that Peter

* Mr. Newman's "*Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*."—p. 18.

and Andrew prayed our Lord for the mother-in-law of Simon, who laboured under fever, says, 'that those who are conscious of grievous sins wisely employ other sinners to intercede with the physician;' and that 'it is right to invoke the aid of angels and of martyrs.' Now, if it be idolatry, or at least a censurable worship, to address angels and saints in order that they may intercede for us with God, I do not see how SS. Basil and Nazianzene and Ambrose, and the others who have hitherto been regarded as saints, can be excused from idolatry, or, at least, from the foulest abomination."—pp. 170-4.

Nor is he content with this statement and confirmatory explanation of his views. He, too, was aware of the possibility of that danger, "of tending to give, often actually giving, to creatures the honour and reliance due to the Creator alone," which the Tract (No. 88, 1) makes the ground of its objection to this holy and venerable practice. But while he looks this, its imputed danger, in the face, he contends for its manifold advantages; and confesses that the Church has always, by wise and salutary restraints, striven to obviate and remove it. He concludes this long and important section (161-198) with the following passage:—

"If the veneration and invocation of the saints be restrained within these limits, it is not only tolerable, but deserving of praise, though it be not necessary; certainly it can neither be 'idolatrous' nor 'damnable,' unless we be willing, with great peril of the faith, to affirm that the Church—the promises of Christ having fallen to nought—fell away from her very cradle into horrible apostacy; but if we confess that she has subsisted untouched, despite the powers of hell, until the present day, we should not tear ourselves from her bosom because she is unable, at one stroke, to sever from her abuses which she herself reprobates: nor can we doubt that she will more easily provide remedies against them, when unity shall be restored, and when, peace being established, and the variety of objects no longer distracting her attention, her entire solicitude shall be turned upon the cure of her own domestic evils."—pp. 196-8.

There remains but one other "practical grievance" to be considered—the use of images in our communion. The subject is so familiar to all that we may permit the author to speak for himself, without a word of observation.

VII. IMAGES.—"On the other hand, there appear to be a manifest utility and reason for the use of images in religion. For why do we read or listen to histories, but in order that the images they convey may be impressed upon our memory? But since the images thus expressed are extremely fleeting, nor always sufficiently distinct and clear, we should regard, as a great gift of God, the arts of painting and sculpture, by which we obtain lasting images, expressing objects with the utmost accuracy, vivacity, and beauty; by the sight

of which (since it is not always in our power to consult the originals), the internal images are renewed, and, as a seal on wax, more deeply impressed upon the mind. Now, since the use of images is so advantageous, where, I ask, shall they more fully be employed, than where it is of the greatest moment that the impressions on our memory should be of the most lasting and vivid character—that is, in the duties of piety and of the love of God? especially since we have already proved, that the most especial use of all the arts and sciences (and consequently of painting), should be devoted to the worship of God.”—pp. 122-4.

He cites the decree of the council of Trent with praise, and proceeds—

“ Having established, then, that no other reverence of images is admitted than simply the veneration of the original in presence of the image, there can be no more of idolatry therein, than in the veneration which we show to God and Christ when His most sacred name is pronounced; for names, also, are signs, and, indeed, of a class far inferior to images, since they represent the thing much less vividly. Therefore, when it is said that an image is honoured, nothing more is meant than when it is said, that ‘ in the name of Jesus the knee is bent,’ that ‘ the name of God is blessed,’ or that ‘ glory is given to His name;’ and to adore before the external image is no more censurable than to adore before the internal image, which is painted upon our imagination; for there is no other use of the external, than to render the internal image more vivid.”—pp. 144.

He concludes—

“ All things considered, therefore, since I see that there is nothing in the veneration of images as approved by the Tridentine fathers, which is opposed to the divine honour, since there does not appear in those times any danger of that idolatry which transfers to others the honour due to God (whereas all men sufficiently know that the omnipotent God alone is worshipped with divine honour); since, further, there exists a use of so many ages in the Church, which could not, without the greatest revolutions, be abolished; since, in fine, abuses being removed, the practice is one of very great fruit in the maintenance of piety, I conclude that the usage of venerating the original in the presence of an image (in which alone image-worship consists), is rightly and piously retained, provided it be carefully circumscribed, with the utmost caution, within its own limits. Men should be taught to think and speak aright of matter which appertains to the divine honour; and to avoid those things which are a source of the greatest scandal, and which may alienate the minds of men from the unity of the Church, and even repel those who are prepared to return thereto.”—pp. 154-6.

We have now run through the several practical difficulties which the authors of the Tracts object, partly to our doctrines

in themselves, partly to the usages which naturally and necessarily grow up out of them. The plan which we have thus been obliged to follow, has deprived us of the pleasure of transferring to our pages many a glowing testimony to the wisdom and beauty of the Catholic religion, with which the *Theological System* literally teems. But, much as the extracts already made have trenched upon our limits, we cannot refrain from adding one other noble passage, on the monastic institutions, contemplative as well as active, which occupy so striking a place in the external and disciplinary constitution of the Church. Numerous as are the tributes of admiration to these holy and venerable institutions from philanthropists of every class, we know none from any writer, whether Catholic or Protestant, more worthy of the sacred theme, breathing more of the spirit which it panegyricizes, than the following glowing paragraph:—

“ But since the glory of God and the happiness of our fellow-creatures may be promoted by various means, by command or by example, according to the condition and disposition of each, the advantages of that institution are manifest, by which, besides those who are engaged in active and every-day life, there are also found in the Church ascetic and contemplative men, who, the cares of life abandoned, and its pleasures trampled under foot, devote their whole being to the contemplation of the Deity, and the admiration of his works; or who, freed from personal concerns, apply themselves exclusively to watch and relieve the necessities of others, —some by instructing the ignorant or erring, some by assisting the needy and afflicted. *Nor is it the least among those marks which commend to us that Church, which alone has preserved the name and the badges of Catholicity, that we see her alone produce and cherish these illustrious examples of the eminent virtue, and of the ascetic life.*

“ Wherefore, I confess, that I have always ardently admired the religious orders, and the pious confraternities, and the other similar admirable institutions; for they are a sort of celestial soldiery upon earth, provided, corruptions and abuses being removed, they are governed according to the institutes of the founders, and regulated by the supreme Pontiff for the use of the universal Church. For what can be more glorious, than to carry the light of truth to distant nations, through seas, and fires, and swords,—to traffic in the salvation of souls alone,—to forego the allurements of pleasure, and even the enjoyment of conversation and of social intercourse, in order to pursue, undisturbed, the contemplation of abstruse truths and divine meditation,—to dedicate oneself to the education of youth in science and in virtue,—to assist and console the wretched, the despairing, the lost, the captive, the condemned, the sick,—in squalor, in chains, in distant lands,—undeterred even by the fear of

pestilence, from the lavish exercise of these heavenly offices of charity! The man who knows not or despises these things, has but a vulgar and plebeian conception of virtue! he foolishly measures the obligations of men towards their God by the perfunctory discharge of ordinary duties, and by that frozen habit of life, devoid of zeal, and even of soul, which prevails commonly among men. For it is not a counsel, as some persuade themselves, but a strict precept, to labour with all the powers of soul and body, no matter in what condition of life we may be, for the attainment of Christian perfection (with which neither wedlock, nor children, nor public office, are incompatible, although they throw difficulties in the way*); but it is only a counsel to select that state of life which is more free from earthly obstacles, upon which selection our Lord congratulated Magdalen."—pp. 86-90.

In the lengthened comparison which we have now brought to a close, each of the parties throws a certain light on the peculiarities of the other. It is a fond and favourite theory of the enthusiastic Reformers of Oxford, that their Church of to-day is the ancient Church of Christ in England, as reformed by herself; that "the bishops and clergy in England and Ireland remained the same as before separation; and that it was these, with the aid of the secular power, who delivered the Church of these kingdoms from the yoke of the papal tyranny and usurpation." (*Tracts*, 15, p. 4.) We have already examined the historical truth of this assertion, and demonstrated, upon incontestable evidence, that the Reformation of the Church of England was a work purely of the civil power; that, far from having originated with the Church herself, it was literally forced down her throat—weak and passive it is true, but certainly reluctant, and yielding in sullen and discontented, though silent, obedience to each successive innovation.†

Now upon this theory, paradoxical and untenable as it is, rests the whole frame-work of their system; and to it may be traced its many incongruities. Fettered by the hasty and ill-digested articles thus forced upon the Church, in her ill-starred infancy, the more enlarged and Catholic spirit of her sons in modern Oxford is driven into a thousand straits. Hemmed in between the evidence of that Catholic antiquity to which they appeal upon the one hand, and the too Protestant articles of their Church upon the other, they are forced to stop short of conclusions which follow, by a direct and necessary consequence, from their premises. Let the belief of a doctrine,

* In the French translation the meaning of this passage, as indeed of several others, is completely lost.

† See "Dublin Review," vol. viii. 334-73.

or the existence of a practice in the primitive Church, be never so evident, they must pause, "in respectful deference," till they have compared it with the modern standard which their Church has set up. They "must not see with their own eyes;" they may not pause, in sorrowful admiration of the majestic remains of sainted centuries, of which their modern Church preserves not the faintest trace, "to speculate how things *might have been* otherwise;" their sole duty is "to live up to them as they are." Hence the perpetual efforts to compromise—to combine the old and the new—to reconcile the fact with the theory—to cut down the primitive doctrines, in the fulness of their Catholic spirit, to the cold and soulless forms which were forced upon the English Church, by the open violence of Henry or the underhand intrigues of the partisans of Geneva.

It is easy to account, on the other hand, for the more consistent Catholicism of Leibnitz. Profoundly versed in the theological learning of all the forms of Christianity, he took up his pen to record his judgment on their conflicting claims, with perfect freedom from all bias of party—"as though he had been a neophyte from a new world." He had no preconceived theory to which he was bound to accommodate his facts; no system by which the ancient doctrines should be regulated; no Church "against which he might not admit an appeal;" no articles to which "it was unlawful to superadd." He was not forbidden "to see with his own eyes," nor to "criticise a Church which it was not his to amend." If he read in St. Cyril, that, "as, at Cana of Galilee, Christ turned water into wine, so it is not incredible that he should have turned wine into blood" (Cat. xxii. 8), he had no *twenty-eighth article* to fetter his assent. If he were assured that "what seems bread is not bread, though bread by taste, but the body of Christ, and what seems wine is not wine, though wine by taste, but the blood of Christ" (ibid. 9), he was not forced to shut his eyes to evidence, because transubstantiation "overturneth the nature of a sacrament;" and he was at full liberty to believe, that, "for those who had fallen asleep, they offered Christ sacrificed for their sins" (ibid. xxiii. 10), despite the terrors of that sweeping denunciation which reprobates the "doctrine of the Romanists on purgatory" as "a fond thing vainly invented." (Art. 22.)

Such are the causes why two systems, each separated from Rome, and each appealing to the same antiquity, involve,

* See the prefaces of volumes i. and ii. of the "Library of the Fathers," *passim*.

notwithstanding, conclusions so diametrically opposed. Can any man, considering even human motives, hesitate to say, to which side the balance of credibility is to be placed?

The work of Leibnitz, interesting to all, may seem especially designed for those who, from prejudice, or education, or habit, have been wont to regard the Catholic faith as a mass of debasing superstitions, unworthy of any philosophic mind. If such there be among our readers, let them remember that this extraordinary volume contains the calm and dispassionate decision of a man whose name as a philosopher, a divine, a historian, and a statesman, is among the proudest that adorn the literary annals of Europe. Let them remember the long and patient discussion by which he prepared himself for this solemn judgment, and the remarkable circumstances under which it was pronounced. It is not the fancy sketch of a stranger who has seen our Church but in passing, and whose imagination may, perchance, have been struck by the majesty of her form, and the beauty of her general outline. Far from it. It is the matured report of one, who has examined every point, from the foundation to the highest top of the edifice—inspected with a scrutinizing and jealous eye—sought out and canvassed every defect—probed to the bottom every fancied unsoundness—not grounded on a hasty view of a few isolated principles of doctrine or a few striking points of practice, nor on the majesty of our imposing ceremonial, nor the beautiful spirit which pervades our pious institutions; but the result of a minute scrutiny into the most hidden details, seeking out the weakest and most suspicious points, looking all the imputed superstitions full in the face, and striking with rigid, and perhaps niggard, justice, the balance of apparent good and evil in the entire system. Nor should we forget—what places the sincerity of the writer beyond the possibility of question—that the *Systema Theologicum* is a posthumous work, committed to paper without any view to publication, in the silence and privacy of the closet, where there was no earthly feeling to bias, no love of paradox to seduce, no external influence to sway—where all was between the writer and his God; nor to be given to the public eye till the cold grave should have closed over himself, and over every human motive which its composition could subserve.

In conclusion, we earnestly reiterate our warmest recommendation of the *Theological System* to the serious consideration of all readers who are not members of our Church; and, specially, of those in whose regard a tardy, but we trust extending, acquaintance with the usages of the primitive times

is daily narrowing the line which separates them from our communion. Let not the circumstance of Leibnitz not having openly professed what his book evidently proves him to have believed, detract, in the eyes of any, from the value of his testimony. However we deplore this unhappy circumstance, as a stain upon his sincerity and a blot upon his illustrious name, we believe that it increases, rather than diminishes, the authority of his opinions; because it removes altogether the suspicion of impulse, or precipitation, and specially of prejudice, which might otherwise attach to his judgment. The most interesting evidence of the spotless morals of early Christianity, is the report of the pagan Pliny; the most convincing proof of the heavenly beauty of her system, is the extorted admiration of her modern philosophical assailants. It may well be doubted whether the cause of Catholicity draws more of popular evidence from the arguments of a Bellarmine, or from the concessions of a Grotius or Fabricius; and we believe, and fervently do we trust, that numbers, on whose ears the most eloquent appeal of Bossuet might have fallen in vain, may perchance open their ears, and their hearts too, to the calm, but irresistible, representations of LEIBNITZ.

VI.—*The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore, collected by himself.* London: 1841. Vols. I to VII.

SOME of the sweetest recollections of our young days are associated with the name of Thomas Moore. The first stirrings of patriotism and of poetry were awakened within us by the *Irish Melodies*: and the reperusal of them, in this new edition, has brought back to our imagination, feelings, and scenes, and persons long since forgotten,—the fairy land of early home again presented to us; for the home of childhood is the fairy land of riper years—the voices we may never more hear falling again on our ears,—the indignation and defiance that swelled our bosom, while first listening to the charmed tale of Ireland's glory and Ireland's sufferings, again warming our hearts,—

“ The smiles, the tears,
Of boyhood's years,
The words of 'joy' then spoken;
The eyes that shone,
Now dimmed and gone,
The cheerful hearts now broken ! ”

Strange, indeed, is the prospect disclosed before us, on glancing over the last chapters of our country's history. She has been, for ages, one of the most persecuted nations on the face of the earth, and yet she has given birth to men who stand among the first, in the first ranks of fame. She has been beggared, insulted, cursed, trampled in the dust; yet has she produced, within the last half century, a poet the first of his age in his own peculiar walks,—a host of orators, most of them great, and two, Grattan and O'Connell, perhaps the greatest, certainly among the greatest, in a period fertile, beyond all example, in eloquent men,—a statesman, the latter of these, who, without shedding a single drop of blood, has successfully guided his countrymen through one of the most protracted and arduous struggles a people had ever engaged in,—a warrior (though alas! sometimes the foe of Ireland), “the conqueror of the conqueror of the earth.” Scarcely has the winter of her sorrow begun to pass away, when a harvest of genius springs up, rich and teeming as that which covers her green fields. Many years must yet come, before her condition can be so far improved, as to leave her patriotic children nothing more to wish for than the continuance of the blessings they will have won: but for an increase of renown in the works of genius, she need not look in the future for any thing to outshine the past. The mind and the name of O'Connell will live for ever to instruct, to animate and to guide: and the sweet verses of Moore will never be unremembered or unsung, while there is a heart to feel, or a lip to breathe, in his native land.

Numerous notices of Moore's poetry have appeared, at different times, in the periodicals of our day: some of these we have read, many—we know not how many—we have never seen. We do not profess any deep skill in the mysteries of criticism; nor do we feel much reverence for them, as helps to a correct judgment upon works of pure imagination. The mere pointing out of a beautiful passage will generally do more to make it understood and felt as such, than the most elaborate analysis upon the principles of art. The merely mechanical part of the poet's workmanship is improved, and may to some extent be acquired, by attention to rules and philosophic maxims: but the soul, the “*spiritus intus alens*,” can be as little felt as produced, without that faculty which nature gives, and which art can do little to mend: upon *this* philosophy can exercise little other influence than to chill, as a delicate flower fades when pressed by the hand. We do

not propose, then, to write a critical essay upon the volumes before us: we shall content ourselves, in this short paper, with offering a few remarks upon the "Genius of Moore," as it is developed in some of his prose and poetical works.

The exhaustless richness of Mr. Moore's fancy is, of course, the first characteristic of his mind that would strike the reader of his poems, and is that, accordingly, which his critics have never failed to notice. It would appear that he possesses the faculty of association, just as much as the faculty of perception: he sees no object singly or nakedly: no idea ever crosses his mind, that is not followed by one like to itself, as star follows star, both flashing light. The precious gems, which others treasure up and barter not, are his common coin: they scatter a few images over their pages, to give value and lustre to the meaner materials, of which the rest is composed; but by him they are not used to adorn or diversify, but to make up the whole. Similes and metaphors come at his bidding, as spirits rise at the enchanter's voice, as though he ruled the world of fancy, in which others are but ministers or sojourners. This has been ascribed to him as a fault, and no doubt,—as there *must* be faults somewhere,—in this he has sometimes, let it be granted frequently, transgressed. Great endowments lead to petty imperfections; great bravery is often reckless, great generosity is often extravagant, great prudence often misses fine opportunities. Homer is simple and natural, and therefore he sometimes proses and spins out; Virgil is polished, and therefore he is sometimes pedantic; Moore holds unbounded sway over the region of fancy, and therefore, like other monarchs, he is sometimes over-bounteous in bestowing his gifts. Different works suit different tastes. Some prefer Byron, for his splendid diction and his vehement passion; some prefer Campbell, for his correct and classic chasteness; some prefer others, from other motives of predilection. Moore has numberless admirers, perhaps as many as the former, certainly far more than the latter. Those who delight more in the murky glimmer of Scotch metaphysics, than in the pleasant fancy, which entertains us, or the fine old truths which men can understand and benefit by; those who love the bleak, the barren, the desolate, need not look to his pages for interest or amusement; he has not written for them. But those who would rather laugh, than "weep this wearied life away,"—his gay countrymen among the rest,—those who love the green fields more than the rocky desert, the sunny more than the cloudy skies,—are all his; and well may he be

content with their homage, for they are the best, as well as the happiest of men.

Nearly allied to his splendid fancy is the wonderful power which he possesses over the expressive and harmonious parts of the language. No man ever brought the music of our poetic numbers so nearly to rival the sweet rhythm of the Doric dialect, without sacrificing in any case sense to sound. The musical flow of his lines is more enhanced, when they become the vehicle of sentiments—if we be allowed the expression—musical as the words themselves. Thus, in the Peri's song:—

“‘How happy,’ exclaimed this child of air,
Are the holy spirits who wander there,
Mid flowers that never shall fade or fall;
Though mine are the gardens of earth and sea,
And the stars themselves have flowers for me,
One blossom of heaven out-blooms them all.

“‘Though sunny the lake of cool Cashmere,
With its plane-tree isle reflected clear,
And sweetly the founts of that valley fall;
Though bright are the waters of Sing-Su-Hay,
And the golden floods that thitherward stray;
Yet oh! ’tis only the blest can say,
How the waters of heaven outshine them all.

“‘Go, wing thy flight from star to star,
From world to luminous world, as far
As the universe spreads its flaming wall:
Take all the pleasures of all the spheres,
And multiply each through endless years,
One minute of heaven is worth them all.’”

We need not extract further: we know not what we should prefer, or where we should stop. Among the sources of intellectual delight, a high place is unquestionably due to mere harmony of language. Nor is this neglected, even in cases where great ends are to be attained, important questions to be decided, by means of speech. The finest passages in modern, and yet more in ancient eloquence, those which moved men's hearts, and changed their resolves the most, are particularly remarkable for the selection and arrangement of words, so admirably adapted to the sentiment, as a benevolent expression of countenance is the natural companion of a meek and amiable disposition. In poetry, of course,—whose first end is to please,—the harmony of language must be a more indispensable requisite, and a subject of higher praise.

It has been said by one of Moore's critics, that "his poetry is essentially that of *fancy*; or, if there be passion in his effusions, the fancy by which it is expressed predominates over it." If by passion is here meant the strong and stormy feelings of the soul, revenge, disdain, demoniac hatred—and no doubt this is meant—the remark is correct enough. The bent of Mr. Moore's genius, and, we may add, of his disposition, did not lead him in this way. He is evidently no lover of strife and bloody conflict: he is too much a man of benevolence and charity, to delight in scenes that shock and harrow up the soul, and, when the course of his story leads him to such topics, he throws indeed the light of his genius over them, but does not enter into them with all his heart: in the midst of the darkness and the tempest, there is heard a soft note of peace, there is seen a streak of light,—

"Like moonlight on a troubled sea,
Brightening the storm it cannot calm."

But in the softer passions of affection, pity, sorrow, joy, those which belong to men in their natural state, of peace and social comfort, those which preside over the domestic hearth, or the festive board, or the places of religious worship,—in these he possesses a power of painting never surpassed. To find proofs of this we need not go beyond the *Irish Melodies*; we need but open them at random, to find some of the most touching sentiments of feeling that ever spoke from heart to heart through the medium of words. We may refer to the following, among many others:—"Go where glory waits thee,"—"Erin the tear,"—"The meeting of the waters,"—"The last rose of summer,"—"The song of O'Ruark,"—"My gentle harp," &c. &c.

Seldom is a writer the best judge of the relative merits of his own works, especially if they be works of imagination. Mr. Moore forms an exception to the general maxim: in the preface to the fourth volume he says,—". . . the *Irish Melodies*,—the only work of my pen, as I very sincerely believe, whose fame (thanks to the sweet music in which it is embalmed) may boast a chance of prolonging its existence to a day much beyond our own." All the world will, we are sure, agree with him in the truth of this anticipation, as far as regards the lasting fame of the *Melodies*: and, we are equally sure, all the world will disagree with him, in his too modest opinion, that it is the *only* work of his pen of which this can be said, and that its fame is owing, among the great bulk of his

readers, "to the sweet music in which it is embalmed." The thoughts themselves, and the fair forms in which they are clothed, possess a charm absolutely independent of everything else. Music may give the additional, and—to speak our own sentiments plainly—the far less charm of sweet voice: but the immortal soul, the undecaying beauty of outward shape, are there, which, though they never spoke in musical notes, can never cease to be admired.

This is indeed a truly wonderful work, whether we view it as a production of rarest genius or as a precious repository, in which are treasured up the essence of all the purest and warmest and noblest feelings, the joys and sorrows, the hopes and regrets experienced by a brave and kind-hearted but unfortunate people, through long and chequered ages. In the first point of view, we look in vain through the literature of other nations for a work like this. Fragments we meet with, indeed, beyond which, in their own way, the mind of man is, it would seem, incapable of producing anything more perfect—isolated effusions which some happy occasion, not to occur again to the same person, brought into being. But for a series of poems like the *Irish Melodies*, so perfect in all that makes perfection, in simplicity, in beauty, in condensation of thought, we search but find not. Here we meet not some solitary spot which art and nature had combined to adorn with the richest productions of both, and beyond which succeeds the common-place scenery: but we pass through Elysium after Elysium, each rivalling the other in beauty, and stretching out, far as the eye can reach, an endless path of loveliness and splendour; we have flowers for every fancy, and, as we proceed, the fascinations of beauty are kept ever fresh by the charms of variety. The measure and the tone of sentiment in the *Irish Melodies* are ever changing, and would speak as if the language of different minds, but for the "hidden soul of harmony" which pervades them all, and shows them to be the production of *one* master spirit. We read them, not as we read other poems, for an hour or a day or a season, then betaking ourselves to a more serious occupation or a more novel amusement: but we get them by heart, and repeat them over and over again, whether we are sad or gay, whether we are alone or in society. They do not sparkle in the memory for a time, and then fade insensibly away; but they sink deep into the heart and form a part of the feelings, of the thoughts, of the language we never forget. We recite them or sing them in warm youth, in sober manhood, in grave

old age: we are never tired of them—any more than of the faces of our parents, our brothers and sisters, whom we love from the impulse of nature, not of passion—any more than we grow tired of the light of day, in which we are moving from our first to our latest breath.

Ireland is proud of this work, and justly; it is her own in its general theme, in the sentiments it breathes, but, above all, it is her own in the immortal genius impressed upon its every page. No one but an Irishman could have written it. We have somewhere seen it asserted that the influence (which all must admit) of the Irish Melodies in advancing the great cause of Catholic emancipation was exerted in the higher circles of English society, where the language of them and the sweet music to which it was wedded, excited a sympathy never before felt for the suffering country. This is but a very small part of the truth. That a sympathy was excited in those high places we can readily believe; for we believe that genius can work even greater miracles. But it was not there that their magic power was most felt: it was not there that the first whisperings of the voice that ere long spake in thunders to the ears of the oppressors were first heard. It was among the people of Ireland, who were in reality their own emancipators, that the songs of their own bard helped to kindle the flame that afterwards blazed forth. It was among the middle, and even some of the lower orders, where most of the original airs were still preserved, that the melodies were most cherished, most repeated, most sung: it was often by felicitous quotations from them, sometimes embodying the point of an eloquent harangue, that the great father of his country sent home to the popular mind, and fixed there, the maxims of liberty and patriotism. Let not Mr. Moore be led to suppose that the sentiments of his melodies were too refined for the understandings, or their music little known to the ears of the more humble among his countrymen: let him not be led to suppose that the sphere of their greatest popularity was the saloon and the drawing-room. We know that among the peasantry, the scorned, the oppressed, the uneducated peasantry, the "bewers of wood and drawers of water," the notes of his patriotic songs were raised. We have mixed not a little with them, and with the middle classes still more; and seldom have we been present at one of their merry meetings, that we have not heard some of these divine strains sung, with a charm of voice, and, still more, with an intensity of feeling, which, if their author himself could have witnessed, he would

have seen how little of inspiration was required to foretell with undoubting certainty that—

“ ——— though *his* memory should now die away,
 ’Twill be caught up again in some happier day;
 And the hearts and the voices of Erin prolong,
 Through the answering future, *his* name and *his* song.”

But, perhaps, among no other class were the melodies so popular as among the generous, the laborious, the simple-minded clergy of Ireland. They who, above all, witnessed and felt for the miserable condition of the people; they whose minds had been cultivated and refined, without being corrupted by the education they received; they who, being versed in the ancient history of their country, knew all that she had once been and all that she had since become, could not fail to sympathize, in a special manner, in language and music which, like those of the *Melodies*, so faithfully expressed the alternate feelings of pride for the past, of sorrow and indignation for the present, of hope and daring for the future. We could name a score or two of the melodies, and would venture to assert, that there are not a score of priests in Ireland who have not some three or four of them by heart: and we know moreover that, next after Gregory XVI, Queen Victoria, and Daniel O’Connell, there is not a greater favourite on earth with that venerated order than Thomas Moore, nor one who would receive a more cordial welcome at their hospitable boards.

If the *Irish Melodies* display so strikingly at once the genius and the patriotism of their author, no less Irish in their sentiments, no less sparkling with the same genius—exhibited in another form—are the innumerable witty effusions, in which the follies and crimes of the enemies of human liberty and of Ireland are immortalized. The “Twopenny Post Bag,” the “Fables for the Holy Alliance,” the “Fudges in Paris and in England,” the “Reprinted Trifles,” though, of course, containing many things which have lost much of their flavour with the occasions that produced them, are, as a whole, by no means to be ranked among the ephemeral productions “which are laughed at for a season and then forgotten.” The fraud, the rapine, the hypocrisy, the tyranny, against which some of the most beautiful of these sportive missives are directed, are not certainly among the manners and follies of a day. There is no rashness in supposing that, while the world lasts, there will be bigots, and despots, and villains, and fools, to be

laughed at, or despised, or resisted. The characters of Moore, though drawn from individuals, represent a species that, luckily for the excitement or amusement of mankind, are not likely ever to become extinct. While there are two religions in this country, or rather while there continues to exist a Church establishment, Mortimer O'Mulligan, and the Curate of Romalldkirk, and Dr. Phillpotts, will always remain living and substantial personages : while there are the weak and the strong, the simple and the crafty, the bullock will, in some places, and in some way or other, be sacrificed to the fly ; religion and royalty will play their freaks, and the cutting humour and playful sarcasm of Thomas Browne the younger will be understood and relished. But, independently of their permanent faithfulness as pictures of men and things, these poems possess a still surer passport to immortality, in the abundant display of the same qualities which elsewhere characterize the author's mind, enriched here by the additional charm of his no less characteristic wit. The following, though, we suppose, already familiar to our readers, we cannot resist the temptation of quoting. We know of nothing in the whole circle of humorous writing more perfect ; the points are so playfully yet so strongly put, the imagery so delightful, the versification so exquisitely harmonious.

“ A DREAM OF HINDOSTAN.

Risum teneatis amici.

“ ‘The longer one lives, the more one learns,’
 Said I, as off to sleep I went,
 Bemus'd with thinking of Tithe concerns,
 And reading a book by the Bishop of Ferns,*
 On the Irish Church Establishment.
 But, lo, in sleep not long I lay,
 When Fancy her usual tricks began,
 And I found myself bewitch'd away
 To a goodly city in Hindostan,—
 A city, where he, who dares to dine
 On aught but rice, is deemed a sinner ;
 Where sheep and kine are held divine,
 And, accordingly—never drest for dinner.
 “ ‘But how is this ?’ I wondering cried—
 As I walked that city, fair and wide,
 And saw, in every marble street,
 A row of beautiful butchers' shops,—

* An indefatigable scribbler of anti-Catholic pamphlets. (*Author's note.*)

'What means, for men who don't eat meat,
This grand display of loins and chops?'
In vain I asked—'twas plain to see
That nobody dared to answer me.

"So, on, from street to street I strode;
And you can't conceive how vastly odd
The butchers look'd,—a roseate crew,
Inshrined in *stalls*, with nought to do;
While some on a *bench*, half dosing, sat,
And the Sacred Cows were not more fat.

"Still posed to think what all this scene
Of sinecure trade was *meant* to mean,
'And, pray,' ask'd I, 'By whom is paid
The expense of this strange masquerade?'—
'Th' expense! Oh, that's of course defrayed
(Said one of these well-fed Hecatombers),
By yonder rascally rice-consumers.'
'What! they, who never must eat——'

'No matter——

(And, while he spoke, his cheeks grew fatter)
The rogues may munch their *Paddy* crop,
But the rogues must still support our shop.
And, depend upon it, the way to treat
Heretical stomachs that thus dissent,
Is to burden all that won't eat meat,
With a costly MEAT ESTABLISHMENT.'

"On hearing these words so gravely said,
With a volley of laughter loud I shook;
And my slumber fled, and my dream was sped,
And I found I was lying snug in bed,
With my nose in the Bishop of Ferns's book."

The style of these humorous poems, though often familiar, is never vulgar or savage. There is no misanthropy, no hankering after blood and devastation; none of that intensely vehement hatred which banishes from the heart every feeling but that of revenge. Moore makes his victims smart, but he does not scourge them with scorpions; he puts the fool's cap upon their heads, and they are laughed at and hissed away, but he does not array them in a burning helmet and a cloak of fire. It is the easiest thing in the world to scold bitterly, to call foul names, to pour out a torrent of invective upon some devoted head. For success in this line, the best requisite is undoubtedly a heart overflowing with gall: then let some man of exalted rank be fastened upon—no matter whether he be a thoroughly bad man or not—he has com-

mitted some faults, he has had the honesty to be sometimes inconsistent, he is not free from the errors of fallible man. But it is necessary for the views of a party that he should be crushed, and strong must he be in the consciousness of integrity, and fearless of results, who is able to bide the "pelting of the storm" which is made to break upon him. Thus it is that the Catholic priesthood and the Catholic religion in Ireland have been always treated; thus it is that the champion of both has fared, through the forty eventful years, during which he has served his country. From the ponderous *Times* down to the small village paper, what crimes have not been imputed to him and them! what abuse has not been discharged, from year to year, from week to week, from day to day! And if, in his turn, *he* does not adopt soft and silken phrases—if he did, he would be as much an object of our contempt as he is now of our love and veneration—he is, forsooth, so vulgar and unmannerly; and this, too, in speaking of men who avow their undying hostility to his country and his creed, of men whom their own friends would not dream of accusing of any prejudice in favour of liberty, or toleration, or mercy. Having to deal with a people among the most excitable in the world, and wielding a power over their passions immeasurably greater than that exercised by the Athenian orator, when his appeal was answered by the universal cry, "Let us go, let us march against Philip," he has used his influence only to urge them on in a bloodless struggle, to temper their indignation while he calls forth and combines their energies. He often lashes his country's foes,—not half so often nor half so fiercely as they deserve: but his language is never truculent, never breathing of the spirit that persecutes unto death, but only of that which struggles for justice and freedom, and then leaves the oppressor to the pity of man and the mercy of God; his face, like his eloquence, often lighting up with a ray of benignity and good-humour. This is thoroughly Irish. The people of Ireland are by no means good haters; a soft word, a kind promise, cool and disarm their rage at once. They are fond of fighting, no doubt, but only "for fun," and the former they can never separate from the latter. Hence it is that, as we have ourselves not seldom witnessed, the remonstrances of a hundred peacemakers will not effect half so much as a few humorous strokes, in settling a quarrel: hence it is that so many of their national ballads have a strange mixture of indignant patriotism and indescribable drollery.

Moore is in this respect just as national in his *Humorous Poems* as in his *Melodies*. For instance—

“When we see Churchmen, who, if ask’d
 ‘Must Ireland’s slaves be tith’d and task’d,
 And driven, like Negroes or Croats,
 That *you* may roll in wealth and bliss?’
 Look from beneath their shovel hats,
 With all due pomp, and answer ‘Yes!’
 But then, if questioned, ‘shall the brand
 Intolerance fling throughout the land,
 Betwixt her palaces and hovels
 Suffering nor peace nor love to grow,
 Be ever quenched?’—from the same shovels
 Look grandly forth, and answer ‘No.’”

Fables for the Holy Alliance.

Our readers cannot fail to notice in this extract the felicity of diction, the terseness, and the pregnant brevity, which give to wit both keenness and brilliancy, and without which, the most humorous thought is, like unwrought ore, good neither for use nor show. Those qualities of style which impart strength and simplicity, which render language a medium of thought, and not the chief object of attention, at the time of reading, are, in every sort of composition, to be more or less attended to: in the sublime and pathetic, they are essential; in the witty, they make not only an essential, but a principal, part. Hence it is that the best proverbs, and most popular sayings, are remarkable for the simplicity, the brevity, and the propriety of the expression. The critic’s remark upon the contrast of the famous *Quid times? Cæsarem vehis*, with Lucan’s declamatory paraphrase, is familiar to every one. A pointed thought, which requires to be explained or amplified in order to be understood, may contain a very wise maxim, but will never make a striking impression; the blow must tell at once: if it requires to be repeated, we would as soon listen to the sound of a cobbler’s hammer, or the striking of an old family clock. Moore is a perfect master of the copious style, and he employs it, with no small effect, when his object is not to surprise, but to detain and please, the imagination, as in the description of the caliph’s army in *Lalla Rookh*: nor is it a weak evidence of the versatility of his genius, as well as of the correctness of his judgment, that he has so far chastised his fancy upon occasions which required a different, we might say an opposite style. The ludicrous comparison in the following

extract illustrates the remark, that his language, even where most familiar, is never low.

“ Murtagh is come, the great Itinerant,
 And Tuesday, in the market-place,
 Intends, to every saint and sinner in't,
 To state what *he* calls Ireland's case ;
 Meaning thereby the case of *his* shop,—
 Of curate, vicar, rector, bishop,
 And all those other grades seraphic,
 Who make men's souls their special traffic,
 Though seldom minding much *which* way
 Th' erratic souls go, so they *pay*.—
 Just as some roguish country nurse,
 Who takes a foundling babe to suckle,
 First pops the payment in her purse,
 Then leaves poor dear to—suck its knuckle :
 Even so these reverend rigmaroles
 Pocket the money, starve the souls.”

Fudges in England.

Much in the same style is the following extract from

“ A CORRECTED REPORT OF SOME LATE SPEECHES.

“ Saint Sinclair rose and declared in sooth,
 That he wouldn't give sixpence to Maynooth ;
 He hated priests the whole of his life,
 For a priest was a man who had no wife,*
 And having no wife, the Church was his mother,
 The Church was his father, sister, and brother.
 This being the case, *he* was sorry to say,
 That a gulf 'twixt Papists and Protestants lay,†
 So deep and wide, scarce possible was it
 To say even ' how d'ye do ? ' across it ;” &c. &c.

Our limits are fast narrowing upon us ; but we *must* give the following lines : we cannot omit them, and we dare not mutilate them.

“ COLLEGE.—We announced in our last that Lefroy and Shaw were returned. They were chaired yesterday ; the students of the College.....harnessing themselves to the car, and the Masters of Arts,

* “ He objected to the maintenance and education of a clergy bound by the particular vows of celibacy, which, as it were, gave them the Church as their only family, making it fill the places of father and mother and brother.”—Debate on the Grant to Maynooth College, *The Times*, April 19. (Author's note.)

† “ It had always appeared to him that between the Catholic and Protestant a great gulf intervened, which rendered it impossible,” &c. (Author's note.)

bearing Orange flags and bludgeons, before, beside, and behind the car."—*Dublin Evening Post*, Dec. 20.

"Ay, yoke ye to the bigot's car,
 Ye chos'n of Alma Mater's scions ;—
 Fleet chargers drew the God of War,
 Great Cybele was drawn by lions,
 And sylvan Pan, as poets dream,
 Drove four young panthers in his team.
 Thus, classical L—fr—y, for once, is,
 Thus, studious of a like turnout,
 He harnesses young sucking dunces,
 To draw him, as their chief, about,
 And let the world a picture see
 Of Dulness yoked to bigotry :
 Showing us how young college hacks
 Can pace with bigots at their backs,
 As though the cubs were born to draw
 Such luggage as L—fr—y and Sh—w.
 Oh, shade of Goldsmith, shade of Swift,
 Bright spirits whom, in days of yore,
 This Queen of Dulness sent adrift,
 As aliens to her foggy shore ;—
 Shade of our glorious Grattan, too,
 Whose very name her shame recalls ;
 Whose effigy her bigot crew
 Revers'd upon their monkish walls,*—
 Bear witness (lest the world should doubt)
 'To your mute mother's dull renown,
 Once famous but for Wit turned out
 And Eloquence turned *upside down* ;
 But now ordained new wreaths to win,
 Beyond all fame of former days,
 By breaking thus young donkies in
 To draw M.P.'s, amid the brays
 Alike of donkies and M.A.'s ;
 Defying Oxford to surpass 'em
 In this new ' Gradus ad Parnassum.'"

All the extracts we have given have been long before the public eye. But, besides that we could not avoid selecting a few illustrations of our brief remarks, we have no doubt but that our readers will thank us for again presenting them with

* "In the year 1799, the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, thought proper, as a mode of expressing their disapprobation of Mr. Grattan's public conduct, to order his portrait, in the Great Hall of the University, to be turned upside down, and in this position it remained for some time." (*Author's note.*)

these exquisite specimens, which, though we have long had them by heart, have lost none of their freshness in our eyes : "though repeated a thousand times, they please." Of the rest of Mr. Moore's Poems we shall say nothing. Our observations upon the principal of them, *Lalla Rookh*, *The Loves of the Angels*, &c., would swell this article to an immoderate length : but we have other, and far stronger, reasons for stopping here ; and these we must leave our readers to guess. We proceed to offer one or two observations upon his talents as a writer of prose.

In the few specimens which we possess of Byron's prose,—admirable as they are for the purity and simplicity of diction and of style, and of the highest promise as to the eminence he would have attained as a prose writer,—we see little more of the distinguishing characteristics of his poetry, than its abruptness and earnestness. Of the splendid declamation, of the impetuous passion, of the bursting indignation and fierce scorn, which blaze forth in his verses, there are almost no traces. Not so with Mr. Moore. His prose style bears the peculiar impress of his mind—chastened, of course, and tempered down—but still *Moore's* prose, resplendent with the same imagination, charming by the same clearness, and simplicity, and sweetness. In his earlier prose writings, there was much feebleness, and not a little affectation : he was then practised in only one species of composition : he had not yet learned the important maxim, that what makes the best poetry often makes the worst prose ; or the still more important one, that a simile, or a metaphor, or an antithesis, prove nothing ; and that, while these, and other ornaments of language, make up the main materials of poetry, because they chiefly contribute to its *direct* end, which is to please, they form but a subordinate and instrumental part of prose (we speak not of novels, tales, and the like, which are poetry without metre), whose end is to teach, to prove, or to persuade. In his latter writings, he speaks the language of a full-grown man ; the language, not of one who has some fine images in his mind and is in search of a topic to embellish with them, but who has something to say, worth hearing for its own sake, and who wishes to speak it out. The improvement in his style has been in a remarkable manner progressive. From the prefaces and notes of his earlier poems, to the pamphlet on the Veto Question, and from this to other occasional pieces that appeared afterwards from time to time, there is a gradual ascent, a gradual increase of energy. But it was the publication of

that inimitable book, *The Memoirs of Captain Rock*, which placed him at once in the first rank of our prose writers. Here he had a subject to work upon, which gave the amplest scope to the display of his various powers; and nobly did he turn his opportunities to account. In this little volume, there is a combination of the gayest humour with the most pathetic eloquence; of deep and accurate knowledge, with an elasticity of mind which no weight of erudition would seem capable of breaking down: there is narrated a history of the same monotonous course of cruelty and suffering, protracted through many ages, with little interruption or variety, yet told in a manner so interesting, that we pursue the narrative to the close, with a sympathy and attention that never fail. *The Life of Sheridan* was, notwithstanding the subject, a further improvement. With all his eloquence, and all his wit, and, we are willing to believe, with all the natural goodness of his disposition, Sheridan, we cannot help thinking, exhibited in his life the worst of some of his countrymen's faults, as his biographer has exhibited some of the brightest of their virtues. Whatever may have been the cause, whether the weakness or wickedness of his heart, there can be no doubt but that he was a bad private character, and very far from being a good public one. The writer of such a man's life, if, through a feeling of friendship or humanity, or through an admiration of splendid talents, however misapplied, he would be disposed to represent his character in a better light than the world would be disposed to view it in, must feel himself straitened between the love of truth and affection for a departed friend, who could no longer vindicate himself, and whose faults, if they cannot—as assuredly they cannot—be excused, are at least palliated, by the difficulties and temptations that beset his path. *The History of Ireland*, of which the public are impatiently expecting the fourth and (we hope *not*) concluding volume, is, in our opinion, by far the best written of all his prose works. We could select passages from his other writings, single sentences or paragraphs, superior, perhaps, to any in the *History*. If we were disposed to speak in paradox, we should say that this is one of the grounds on which we give a preference to that work: but we reserve all we have to say on these inestimable volumes for a future occasion, as we mean to devote an article to this work exclusively, very soon.

The Travels of an Irish Gentleman, one of the most remarkable books of the age, we cannot pass over without special notice. That the work should be well written, that it

should abound in wit and eloquence, was to be expected as a matter of course; but that it should contain much solid argument, or many sober truths, and that it should be almost perfectly free from doctrinal inaccuracies, was not so surely to be hoped for, when we consider, on one hand, the subject—one of such vast extent, and demanding many long years of deep thought and reading—and, on the other, the risk which he who attempts to expound and defend Catholic truth, in a popular manner, runs of deviating from the form of sound words, as well as from the substance of sound doctrine, often separated but by a hair's breadth from error. Still more perilous was the risk of failure in Mr. Moore's case, from the very superficial acquaintance which it would be natural enough to suppose that he possessed with the thorny and dark ways of controversial divinity. With the romantic mythology of the east and of the west; with the poetry of many nations; with history and travels, and modern languages; with much other miscellaneous and "out of the way sort of learning," every one knew that his mind had been well stored: but, that the author of *Lalla Rookh* would have devoted himself to the study of religious controversy, in a very serious manner; and that he would have gathered much of the ecclesiastical lore of ancient and modern times; and that he would have written two volumes, embodying the result of his labours, in a very interesting and instructive form—who could have believed it? The citations from early writers, in the first volume, had been long ago collected and digested. There are, however, manifest evidences, even here, of sifting examination, and no ordinary research: while, in the rest, in the collection of Protestant opinions and testimonies, and in the truly learned and striking view of the spirit and progress of German rationalism, and of the fruits of an indiscriminate perusal of the scriptures, and, indeed, in the arrangement and moulding of the matter of the whole work, there are exhibited the workings of a mind eminently active, vigorous, and original.

These volumes, indeed, display a peculiarity of Mr. Moore's intellect, which is the more remarkable, and deserves to be the more emphatically pointed out, as we can hardly name another, in ancient or modern times, in whom this peculiarity exists in so eminent a degree. We allude to the acute and solid reasoning powers of one who has devoted his life to poetry, and become one of the "eminent masters of the art." Let us look to his contemporaries; the few specimens left of Byron's attempts at ratiocination, show an almost puerile degree of

mental weakness. Southey, with all his learning and imagination, his singular felicity in narrative, his exquisite purity and vivacity of style, when he attempts to reason, as in his *Book of the Church*, sinks into a driveller, and rants as incoherently as a Colquhoun or a Gregg. Sir W. Scott seldom attempts an argument, and, when he does, he is as unsuccessful as a writer, so intolerant in religion and politics, deserves to be. We have not space for further illustrations. If we look to other times, Milton was one of the most learned men of his own, or of any, age: nor was his early education, or the pursuits of his latter years, wanting in those exercises which sharpen and mature the reasoning faculty. He was versed in scholastic writings: he was half his life engaged in controversies, and wrote voluminous treatises on topics which gave the widest scope for argument, and could not be adequately discussed, except by argument. Yet, though "he crowded the page with figures, instances, and invectives, carrying away all objections by the force of his own consciousness of power, and the impetus it received from strong convictions, he rarely ventured on a definition or a syllogism . . . He furnished immense data for argument, but seldom argues himself, and never with precision."* We do not mean to say that in the *Travels* we may not sometimes meet an argument not altogether invulnerable. It is enough if Mr. Moore argues well, where his object is pure argument: the work is not written for scholastic divines, although, assuredly, there are very few such who would not read it with profit.† We have no objection to see the pillars of truth enwreathed with flowers of fancy, which adorn, without concealing their strength: at least, we are sure that the class of readers to whom Mr. Moore addressed himself, expected so much, and would not have been satisfied with less. We confess that, if we were to speak in reference to our own individual taste, we would prefer having argument, and nothing but argument, on questions wherein it alone can lead us to a correct decision; leaving to poetry and eloquence and fine writing, their proper places and their proper spheres, which are numerous and large enough: but we know that the bulk of men do not think, or feel, with us: we know, to bor-

* "Bell's Lives of the Poets," vol. i. p. 182.—An impartial and remarkably well-written work.

† Mr. M. is not perhaps aware that his work is referred to with praise, even in scientific treatises on theology, as (among others), several times in Dr. Kendrick's learned and very valuable "*Theologia Dogmatica*," 4 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1839-40.

row the words of an ingenious writer, that "the generality of minds are incapable of digesting and assimilating what is presented to them, however clearly, in a very small compass," and that "it is necessary that the attention should be detained for a certain time upon the subject." The case is different with regard to books written exclusively for the learned and studious by profession: their attention is habitually stimulated, and their appetite habitually whetted, for the reception of naked propositions and proofs. Add to this, the various influence which the different sorts and degrees of evidence have upon different minds, from the full and steady blaze of direct demonstration, to the feeble light of simple probability; and we shall at once see how exceedingly narrow-minded and erroneous are the views of a few persons (very few indeed), who foolishly think to hide the weakness and poverty of their own minds, and to gain for themselves a character for solidity of thought, to which they have not the slightest claims, by declaiming for ever against eloquence and imagination. Thus much, at least, is certain, that the greatest lights of religion, in every age, have thought, and spoken, and written, in a far different strain: let St. Augustine represent ancient, and Bossuet modern, times—two who possessed, if ever man possessed, the powers of solid reasoning, in the first degree; who knew how to surround with glory and with charms, while they displayed the strength of, saving truth. We may just remark, that we have never yet known one of those rabid declaimers against eloquence, who was not, when brought to the test, found as poor in argument as in oratory. The ground was essentially barren, and could as little produce the massive trunk, as the ripe fruit or the luxuriant foliage.

It needs hardly be added, that Mr. Moore has shown much good sense, in not having taken any serious notice of the several attacks and replies which the *Travels of an Irish Gentleman* called forth. It has become the fashion, rather more so of late, we believe, than formerly, with obscure or disreputable persons—small wits, who are desirous of being talked of, where they are not known, beyond the low haunts which they frequent, or the vile faction to which they belong—to single out some eminent character, or publication, as an object of virulent and incessant attack. A few facts are invented or distorted; a copious vocabulary of scurrilous epithets is collected; a furious zeal manifested for some popular measures, or some popular leaders; a supply of those phrases which embody much of the people's feelings and opinions, like Wilkes's cry of *Liberty*,

and which bad men, like Wilkes, use for the worst of purposes, and good men, like our O'Connell, use for the best: these are the materials, of which the individuals of this worthy tribe, without character, and generally without a name, expect to build their fame and their fortune. All they seek for is notoriety; and this, many of them would as soon acquire (but for the penalty), by burning the parliament house, or firing at the Queen. Let them be noticed by those against whom their libels are directed, and they rise at once to the wished-for level. Let the earth be stirred about their roots, and they shoot up rapidly: let them be neglected, and, as weeds are killed by the frost, they soon die, and rot back into their native obscurity. Mr. Moore has wisely left his work to its own merits; and the result is, that, though a great deal of clatter was kept up by the Orange-press for some time after the appearance of O'Sullivan's reply, the former is still read, and will continue to be read and admired by thousands,—the latter has long since sunk into utter oblivion. We are glad, however, that he *has* taken notice, not indeed of the reply, but of the replier; and of the pestilent tribe of "surpliced ruffians," who have been, for the last eight years, occupied in disseminating the most atrocious and demoralizing slanders, through the whole empire. We need not tell our readers who *they* are: we need not tell them of the *forgeries* and abominable calumnies which, in Exeter Hall and innumerable other places, have, year after year, issued from the lips of lay and reverend incendiaries, against the Church and priesthood of Ireland, and against Maynooth, the centre and stronghold of both, until the heart of Protestant England has been tainted, if possible, with a deeper corruption—until the minds of the Irish people are maddened by charges, as irritating as those heaped upon the early Christians, and as unfounded. Who could wonder, if, under the influence of such galling calumnies, our national spirit had, in a moment of excitement, risen beyond the controul of religious forbearance; and, in imitation of our northern sister, prostrated her Established Church? But, blessed be God! we have been better guided;—thanks to our much calumniated priests and patriots. Mr. Moore has very happily exposed the folly and the wickedness of the "reverend rigmaroles:" and those who may think that their mischievous freaks are not yet sufficiently injurious to public peace and public decency to demand a more substantial chastisement, will find abundant materials for ridicule in the *Fudges in England*.

We must here conclude for the present. We ought, perhaps, to apologize, both to Mr. Moore and to the public, for this hasty article. But we had too long neglected to notice this "Sweet Son of Song," the pride of Ireland, and the ornament of literature; and we thought it better to give expression to our feelings and opinions, however briefly and passingly, rather than defer any longer, in the hope of being able to present our readers with a more elaborate and lengthened criticism. After all, perhaps, the first warm thoughts, as they come directly from the writer's heart, may be surer to find a welcome in the reader's: if there be less of philosophy, there may be more of truth and sincerity.

As we close our little "labour of love," we cannot help asking ourselves, must it be that the people, who have produced such a man, their mind living, as it were, epitomized in his splendid effusions, are to remain for ever insulted and enslaved—for they are yet far from being free? Can it be that, while their genius is admired, while their public and domestic virtues cannot be denied, they must be still doomed to be treated as aliens in their own country, to be shut out from a participation of the rights they so earnestly sue for, and are so fitted to enjoy? Their lovely land is crowded with hovels, which give covering without shelter, and repose without comfort; they are starving in the midst of plenty; they are wretched in the midst of nature's richest gifts. Notwithstanding the degrading and demoralizing influence of the worst rulers, and the worst laws that ever scourged and disgraced this earth, their country presents, for the last few years, under a better-meaning government, a picture of moral grandeur to which history cannot furnish a parallel—factious feuds extinguished, intemperance banished, crime unknown, a steady spirit of peace pervading the whole length and breadth of the land, as though the voice of discord had never been heard there. Can it be, then, that such a people are to live on, as of old, slandered, mocked, oppressed, and plundered? It requires no deep foresight to see that this cannot, and will not, be. There is evidently a rapid and a mighty change in progress—ominous events crowding after each other, like clouds in a stormy sky. 'Tis in vain that the enemies of Ireland are gathering together like locusts: there is a vital sap in the new spirit, now budding forth, which they cannot destroy or injure. 'Tis in vain that the vilest press on earth vomits forth volume after volume, and sheet after sheet, of ribaldry and falsehood: 'tis in vain that a bigoted and blundering bishop lifts his feeble crosier against Catholicity in Ireland, or in

Canada: 'tis in vain that a stupid and fanatical Scotchman introduces into the House of Commons the cant of a puritan, the ferocity of an old covenanter. The time is passing away when such manœuvres would, with any effect, raise the war-whoop of the Orange faction. The captive hath outgrown his chains: the heart of Ireland is beating quick with life and vigour never yet felt; her arm is strengthening with a new strength she was never conscious of: and, under the guidance of the great chief who has made her what she is, we hope to live so long as yet to see her—and most fervently do we pray that it may be after a bloodless struggle—in the language of her own dear bard

“Great, glorious and free,
First flower of the earth, and first gem of the sea.”

ART. VII.—*Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, by HENRY HALLAM, F.R.A.S., Foreign Associate of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences in the French Institute. London: 1839.

THE very important nature of the above-named work, and the vast range of matter which it embraces, obliged us to divide our notice of it into at least two parts;* and in order to establish something which might approach to a logical division of the subject, we singled out as a point of separation, those important changes which resulted from the religious troubles of the sixteenth century, an event to which the ordinary language of history has given the name of the Protestant Reformation. We have already laid before the reader, in a few words, our opinion, as to the immediate influence of that event upon the progress of literature; and in stating that it was highly *unfavourable*, we have merely repeated the sentiments of the author himself. But in asserting that the gradual development of the human intelligence was suddenly arrested by this event, we had no intention to imply that it was permanently arrested; for such was by no means the case. The admirable plans of Divine Providence, as regards the moral world (we might even also have added those which regard the physical world), may be interrupted, but cannot be frustrated. Out of disorder itself, Almighty beneficence draws forth an

* Ante, p. 93.

element of progress, and thus accomplishes the same ends, by other means. When, then, in a certain sense of the word, the Protestant Reformation is stated to have been ultimately favourable to the progress of letters, this assertion is not wholly, perhaps, devoid of a certain appearance of plausibility. That this progress would have been greater, by other means, we entertain not the slightest doubt; but it would be a fruitless loss of time to reason upon the influence of unknown contingencies. We shall remain, then, rigorously within the domain of facts, and in alluding to the grave inconvenience of those principles upon which the Reformation was based, as the opportunity presents itself of considering them in their practical consequences, we shall have ample opportunity of proving, that it was rather an apparent, than a real cause of progress. With regard to the efficiency of moral causes in general, when considered in their effects rather than in their own intrinsic value, we must at all times be particularly careful not to confound the "*post hoc*" and the "*propter hoc*;" no error is perhaps more common in the present day, both in moral and political science. This is one of the necessary consequences of an abuse of the experimental method of Lord Bacon, when applied to matters for which it was never destined; to experiment we are no doubt indebted for most of the magnificent discoveries of modern times, in the physical sciences; but we must not allow ourselves to be dazzled by success, for there are circumstances in which experiment can do nothing for us, but lead us into the most deplorable error. This is true not only as regards morals and metaphysics, but even as regards literature, considered as a theory, resting upon certain fixed principles.

Thus, to choose an example, the present state of literature in France may be regarded as the result of a series of experiments, in which all the long received axioms of good taste have been successively set at defiance; and we may triumphantly appeal to this state of things as an undeniable proof of the danger which results from setting oneself above the ancient traditions of art. The only possible excuse which can be offered in palliation of the excesses of the modern French press, is, that it is stark, staring, raving mad. We say that this is the only one which *can* be offered; and that we pretend to assume to ourselves the grave responsibility of offering such an excuse, because with the literary question is mixed up a much graver question of morals, the consideration of which would lead us too wide from our subject and at the same time expose us to make use of a studied severity of language, which might

wound the feelings of many. We shall therefore merely observe that the present school,* at the head of which may be reckoned Victor Hugo and Madame Du Devant (Georges Sand), as prose writers, and Lamartine as a poet, is in all probability the last phase of the progression of that spirit, which we pointed at, in a preceding article, as the basis of Protestantism, and which may be regarded as the legitimate, we had almost said the necessary consequence, of the principle upon which that opinion reposes. Victor Hugo opened the career, and his prose works, as well as his dramatic pieces, may be regarded as an eloquent *protestation* against the received opinions upon the beautiful and its antithesis; for him was reserved the melancholy celebrity of establishing the sublimity of vice. Other authors, before his time, had allowed themselves to introduce into their works of imagination, certain details of evil, by way of contrast, as the painter heightens his effects of light by the depth of his shadow; but in the works of the celebrated founder of the *romantic school*, to pursue our metaphor, there is a total absence of light; his element, is the element of darkness. The literary *Protestantism* of Madame Dudevant has something more personal in it. Her early works are merely a continuous apology in favour of adultery; or in other words, a protestation against the antiquated prejudices, which have hitherto reigned upon the subject of the duties of the married state. It is not here the place, nor indeed would it be gallant, to enquire, how far particular circumstances may have influenced this lady in the establishment of her new theory. The voice of public fame, the newspapers and the solemn decisions of the courts of justice, have, however, forced upon us the knowledge of one deplorable fact, which is her separation from her husband, accompanied by circumstances of the most scandalous nature. Lamartine, the admirable poet, the early efforts of whose muse were exclusively devoted to the interests of that religion from which he has not even now professedly separated himself, has allowed himself to be carried away by a phrase, which, like many other words, used as the rallying point of a new opinion, is possessed of that convenient vagueness, which communicates to it a sort of unlimited elasticity. It may be said to mean anything, or to mean nothing, which will be found to be much the same thing in such cases. M. Lamartine has conceived a new form of the epic, which in his hands is to become neither more nor less than a "*poème humanitaire*." Now, as

* See "Dublin Review," vol. ix. p. 362.

the human nature has certainly many elements which bear witness of its profound moral degradation, vice and misery are thus brought within the poet's legitimate domain; unfortunately these subjects, and that violent and absorbing passion which naturally darkens the understanding, are the sole materials which he thinks necessary to employ. Love particularly, in its inferior forms, appears to constitute the poet's favourite theme. He can conceive no motive of action paramount to the voluptuous incitements of sensuality, and his elaborate descriptions of certain scenes must cover with a blush of indignation the most shameless cheek.

Such have been the momentary consequences of literary Protestantism in France. The inconveniences are manifest, but amidst the general disorder can we discover no element of progress? To assert the contrary would be to close our eyes upon an evilent truth. It would perhaps be unfair to establish a comparison between the present state of literature in France and the more remote periods of her ancient glory, such as the age of Louis the Fourteenth, for instance; because we should thereby leave out of the calculation that long period of languor and decay which had succeeded it. The literary form which the present school overthrew, was the literature of the imperial period; without contestation the phase the most empty and the most vapid in the whole range of her literary history. The question therefore does not appear to be, whether the best prose writers have polished and improved the language of Bossuet and of Fenelon, (the affirmative of which many persons are prepared to maintain), but whether the present school has not rendered an important service to literature, in discarding the more recent and dull traditions of the empire? We think there can be no doubt, if we isolate the question of *form*, that the progress is unquestionable, both as regards prose and verse. The best prose writers of the present day (amongst whom must be included, in addition to those already mentioned, the unfortunate De Lamennais), have communicated to language a certain concentration and energy which are not to be met with in former writers; moreover, the introduction of new words, and of old words in an extended sense, however objectionable when carried to an excess, indicates a certain progression in the human mind. As far as poetry is concerned, without examining the very delicate questions of rhythm and metre, upon which as foreigners we plead our incompetence, we cannot take leave of the subject without alluding to the distinguishing characteris-

tic of the new school,—which is its admirable appreciation of the material world, and its profound sympathy with the mysteries of nature.

Were we to take a general view of the influence of the Protestant principle, or, in other words, of that unlimited spirit of enquiry which may be signalized as its distinguishing characteristic, we should without doubt discover similar inconveniences, and similar advantages, as regards general science, metaphysics, political economy, and even theology. Of course as regards this latter science, we allude only to the departments of criticism and philology, in which Protestant divines, notwithstanding certain inevitable prejudices, have rendered real service to divinity, as a science.

However, therefore, we may regret the religious convulsion of the sixteenth century, we are not prepared to assert that all its consequences were evil, any more than we are prepared to assert, that all its causes were futile. At that period there existed many most crying abuses, both in the Church and in the State; and had we existed in those days of peculation and disorder, it is hard to say how far that general indignation which appears at one moment to have taken possession of the public mind, might have carried us away; and how far we might have concurred in the adoption of those false measures, which, confounding questions of faith with those which related exclusively to ecclesiastical discipline and political institutions, led to a series of most important changes, the latter of which were perhaps far from the original intentions of those who were ultimately obliged to adopt them;—so true is it, that one false step necessarily leads to another.

We regret very much that the limits of the present article prevent our applying the above-mentioned principle to all the various interesting facts collected in the work before us. In order to establish something like a unity of conception in the following pages, we have been obliged to adopt some leading subject as our general matter; and although that circumstance will not prevent our promiscuous gleanings during a rapid progress through the three remaining volumes, we shall for the present principally direct the attention of our readers to what Mr. Hallam has himself termed, "*The arduous struggle between prescriptive obedience to the Church of Rome and rebellion against its authority.*" (vol. ii. p. 80.) We have in our preceding article set forth the very remarkable opinions of the author, as to the *causes* of the Reformation, and more particularly as to the instruments by which it was brought

about; we shall now proceed to examine his views as to its progress and its ultimate consequences.

At the very commencement of the second chapter of Vol. II, which is particularly devoted to the history of theological literature in Europe during the latter half of the sixteenth century, Mr. Hallam, in the following passage, establishes a remarkable reaction of the Catholic principle.

"This prodigious increase of the Protestant party in Europe after the middle of the century, did not continue more than a few years. It was checked and fell back, not quite so rapidly or so completely as it came on, but so as to leave the antagonist Church in perfect security. Though we must not tread closely on the ground of political history, nor discuss too minutely any revolutions of opinion which do not distinctly manifest themselves in literature, it seems not quite foreign to the general purpose of these volumes, or at least a pardonable digression, to dwell a little on this retrograde movement of Protestantism; a fact as deserving of explanation as the previous excitement of the Reformation itself, though from its more negative nature, it has not drawn so much of the attention of mankind. Those who behold the outbreaking of great revolutions in civil society or in religion, will not easily believe that the rush of waters can be stayed in its course, that a pause of indifference may come on, perhaps, very suddenly, or a reaction bring back nearly the same *prejudices* and *passions* as those which men had renounced. Yet this has occurred not very rarely, in the annals of mankind, and never on a larger scale than in the history of the Reformation."—vol. ii. p. 84.

The fact itself of the reaction of Catholicism, cannot for a moment be doubted by any one acquainted with the history of this period. When the first effervescence of enthusiasm had passed by; when the rude eloquence of those bold innovators who had disturbed the public peace had been silenced by death; and more particularly, when the followers of the new doctrines had discovered, that their effects in ameliorating the moral and political position of their votaries, had not at all kept pace with the magnificent promises of their apostles, they paused in their headlong course, and many of them rallied round the standard of that primitive Church, which, with its accustomed prudence and calm, had already entered on several great measures of reform, which a certain relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline and the exigency of the times required. We have looked in vain through the succeeding pages, for an explanation of the words *prejudices* and *passions*, the presence of which in the above extract excited our surprise; because Mr. Hallam is not at all in the habit of treating the traditions

of the Catholic Church as prejudices. As to the passions which had been renounced at the Reformation, and which a return to Catholic unity had again let loose upon the world, we avow that we are completely in the dark. We therefore beg leave most respectfully to enter our humble protestation, although we are convinced that the author meant nothing offensive to the Church ; for on a future occasion he uses the word prejudice, in a sense most honourable for those to whom this epithet is applied. Moreover, in detailing the causes of this reaction, Mr. Hallam pays a high though implicit tribute of admiration to the means by which it was brought about.

As a Protestant, we must allow him to run a tilt at Philip the Second, whose impolitic measures in the Low Countries have certainly laid him open to the severe animadversions of men of all opinions; nor are we surprised to find *the Church of Rome* accused of adopting that line of conduct which formed the basis of his plan; viz. *the unremitting, uncompromising policy of subduing, instead of making terms with its enemies*. How far this reproach is merited, we leave each one conscientiously to determine, after a due examination of the various historical documents which relate to the question. The Church may indeed very justly be charged with an uncompromising policy, as far as regards any transaction with her enemies, and that for the very best of reasons; being according to the very principle of her constitution, the sole depository of divine truth, all compromise on matters of faith becomes impossible. With regard to any one of the isolated propositions which have been an object of discussion, it is either so—or not so—the Church affirms that such has been the doctrine universally taught since the time of the apostles; her enemies join issue and deny: all compromise thus becomes impossible, for in making the smallest concession the Church signs her own condemnation—she falls into a logical absurdity, asserting in one breath that the same proposition is at once true and false. The real difference between the policy of the Church and that of the monarch above alluded to, is, that instead of attempting to *subdue* her enemies (taking that word in its natural sense), she attempts to convince them of their errors.

The author in seeking out the causes of this powerful reaction, principally dwells upon two; the discipline of the clergy and the active influence of the order of St. Ignatius. We shall allow him to speak his own language on these two important topics; and in doing so, we shall adduce new proofs, that although his ordinary perspicuity, which is generally ac-

accompanied by a spirit of stern independence, leads him frequently to hold up to contempt the inconsistencies and the iniquities of Protestantism, he is, however, far from having shaken off all the prejudices of a Protestant education. And we are content, in a certain point of view, that such is the case; because he thereby renders his testimony to the Catholic cause beyond the reach of suspicion. No one can suspect Mr. Hallam of Catholic tendencies; he has merely subscribed to the spirit of the age in which he lives,—a spirit common to several of the most eminent Protestant writers of the day, both in this country and in Germany, the principal characteristic of which consists in a more correct and impartial appreciation of facts, and a more liberal application of general principles. This remarkable progress of the public mind is, however, far from being complete, although common to both Catholics and Protestants; we still, on both sides, remain *men*, that is to say, to a certain extent the slaves of our prejudices.

“The reaction could not, however, have been effected by any efforts of the princes against so preponderating a majority as the Protestant Churches had obtained, if the principles that originally actuated them had retained their animating influence, or had not been opposed by more efficacious resistance. Every method was adopted to revive an attachment to ancient religion, insuperable by the love of novelty or the force of argument. A stricter discipline and subordination was introduced among the clergy; they were early trained in seminaries apart from the sentiments and habits, the vices (*and virtues!*) of the world. The monastic orders resumed their rigid observances. The Capuchins, not introduced into France before 1570, spread over the realm within a few years, and were most active in getting up processions, and all that we call foolery, but which is not the less stimulating to the multitude for its folly.”—vol. ii. p. 86.

Whilst alluding to the same subject at a future page (p. 94), he readily acknowledges the prudence, firmness, and unity of purpose, that, for the most part, distinguished the court of Rome, the obedience of its hierarchy, &c.: the reader, however, in continuing the passage, will perceive that, as a good Protestant, Mr. Hallam has remembered to include amongst the causes of this reaction, the *severity of intolerant laws*, and the searching rigour of the Inquisition. Intolerant laws are, in our humble opinion, very bad things, but certainly by no means exclusively Catholic, as the pages of history most clearly demonstrate: as to the Holy Office, we have no mission to defend its excesses,—we therefore abandon them to their fate. Not-

withstanding, however, this outbreak of Protestantism, the author says in the very same page, speaking of the *Catholic faith*, "*It must be acknowledged that there was a principle of vitality in that religion independent of its external strength.*"

The other passage to which we alluded, and which relates to the Jesuits, is as follows.

"But far above all the rest, the Jesuits were the instruments of regaining France and Germany to the Church they served. And we are the more closely concerned with them here, that they are in this age among the links between religious opinion and literature. We have seen in the last chapter with what spirit they took the lead in polite letters and classical style; with what dexterity they made the brightest talents of the rising generation, which the Church had once dreaded and checked, her most willing and effective instruments. The whole course of liberal studies, however deeply grounded in erudition or embellished by eloquence, took one direction, one perpetual aim—the propagation of the Catholic faith. They availed themselves for this purpose of every resource which either human nature or prevalent opinion supplied. Did they find Latin versification highly prized?—their pupils wrote sacred poems. Did they observe the natural taste of mankind for dramatic representations, and the repute which that species of literature had obtained?—their walls resounded with sacred tragedies. Did they perceive an unjust prejudice against stipendiary instruction?—they gave it gratuitously. Their endowments left them in the decent poverty which their vows required, without the offensive mendicancy of the friars."—vol. ii. p. 88.

This powerful reaction then, according to our author's own showing, was brought about by the most legitimate and the most honourable means. The reform of the clergy, the establishment of a new religious order, in harmony with the progress of the age in which it was founded; and finally, by the assembly of a general council. Nor were the predisposing causes exclusively *Catholic*, for Mr. Hallam particularly cites another, which he terms "*the bigotry of the Protestant Churches.*"

"We ought," adds he, "to reckon among the principal causes of this change, those perpetual disputes, those irreconcilable animosities, that bigotry, above all, and persecuting spirit, which were exhibited in the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches. Each began with a common principle—the necessity of an orthodox faith. But this orthodoxy meant evidently nothing more than their own belief, as opposed to that of their adversaries; a belief acknowledged to be *fallible*, yet maintained as *certain*, rejecting authority in one breath, and appealing to it in the next, and claiming to rest on sure

proofs of reason and Scripture, which their opponents were ready with just as much confidence to invalidate."—vol. ii. p. 101.

The whole secret of Protestantism is laid open in the above passage, which sets it before us as a historical monstrosity and as a logical absurdity. What are we to think of those men, who, having shaken all existing institutions by their pretended right of discussion, now attempt to silence all further argument, by cramming their own crude opinions down other men's throats, with a degree of brutality which excites the highest indignation in an unprejudiced mind. Boundless and interminable discussion is the inherent privilege of Protestantism, and woe be to the leader who attempts to entrench himself in anything like a fixed opinion. It is not here the place to establish the necessary relation which subsists between certainty and infallibility. It appears to us, however, a sort of truism, that there can be no such thing as *certainly* as long as we are liable to be *mistaken*. The thing in itself is so glaringly evident, that the very statement of a doubt must appear to the reader as something nearly akin to a dull joke. Yet as soon as we admit a tribunal which is beyond the reach of that capital inconvenience, we place infallibility somewhere; either in the individual reason or in some constituted body, which in that case is bound to make good its claims.

Mr. Hallam speaks at some length of the Council of Trent. In his judgment of that important feature of ecclesiastical history, it is not to be expected that the author should have triumphed over all the early prejudices of his Protestant education. The Catholic reader will, however, be justly surprised to find, that moderation and impartiality generally predominate. In several instances he is the courageous vindicator of that most calumniated assembly. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of laying before the reader a few observations which he has embodied in the form of a note. It is in this note that Mr. Hallam uses the word *prejudice* in the extraordinary sense to which we have above alluded.

"A strange notion has been started of late years in England, that the Council of Trent made important innovations in the previously established doctrine of the Western Church; an hypothesis so paradoxical in respect to public opinion, and, it must be added, so prodigiously at variance with the known facts of ecclesiastical history, that we cannot but admire the facility with which it has been taken up. It will appear, by reading the accounts of the sessions of the council, either in Father Paul, or in any more favourable historian,

that even in certain points, such as justification, which had not been clearly laid down before, the Tridentine decrees were most conformable with the sense of the majority of those doctors who had obtained the highest reputation; and that upon what are more usually reckoned the distinctive characteristics of the Church of Rome, namely, transubstantiation, purgatory, and invocation of the Saints and the Virgin, they assert nothing but what has been so engrafted into the faith of this part of Europe, as to have been rejected by no one without suspicion or imputation of heresy. Perhaps Erasmus would not have acquiesced with goodwill in *all* the decrees of the council; but was Erasmus deemed orthodox? It is not impossible that the great hurry with which some controversies of considerable importance were dispatched in the last sessions, may have had as much to do with the short and vague phrases employed in respect to them, as the prudence I have attributed to the fathers; but the facts will remain the same on either supposition.

"No council ever contained so many persons of eminent learning and ability as that of Trent; nor is there ground for believing that any other ever investigated the questions before it with so much patience, acuteness, temper, and desire of truth. The early councils, unless they are greatly belied, would not bear comparison in these characteristics. Impartiality and freedom from prejudice no Protestant will attribute to the fathers of Trent; but where will he produce these qualities in an ecclesiastical synod? But it may be said that they had only one leading *prejudice (!)* *that of determining theological faith according to the tradition of the Catholic Church as handed down to their own age.* This one point of authority conceded, I am not aware that they can be proved to have decided wrong, or at least against all reasonable evidence. Let those who have imbibed a different opinion, ask themselves, whether they have read Sarpi through with any attention, especially as to those sessions of the Tridentine council which preceded its suspension in 1547."—vol. ii. p. 98.

No Catholic writer would make a more splendid eulogium of the Council of Trent. As for that particular species of prejudice which consists in the fixing of theological faith, by which Mr. Hallam evidently means the grand fundamental dogmas of revealed religion, according to the universal traditions of the Catholic Church, we are proud to say that we not only admire it, but that we are moreover prepared to justify it, as a philosophical necessity, since it is evidently the only possible means of arriving at that unity, which is the very essence of truth. Such was, according to our views, the particular mission of the Tridentine fathers, who were called together from all the Christian Churches to determine what was the particular tradition of each with regard to the matters at issue.

But already, in these early days of Protestantism, the author points out a new difficulty, which is as it were one of its natural consequences, namely, the rapid increase of Deism. The great variety of conflicting opinions which were stoutly maintained by men of uncontested talent, induced a certain class of thinkers to look for some general principle which might put an end to the dispute, by superseding the necessity of revealed religion. Publications of this nature are indeed rare in the seventeenth century, because the civil law visited with prompt and severe punishment those who attacked revealed religion, which, in some form or other, was universally regarded as the only solid basis of social order; but the opinion itself began to gain ground. Infidelity was the only method of cutting the Gordian knot; and many men whose minds were completely wearied out, by the attentive consideration of all those subtle distinctions which theological disputes necessarily involve, caught with avidity at any proposition which afforded a pretext of repose; some from a natural indolence of the mind, others in order to pursue at their ease, those seductive pleasures which the austere morality of the Christian religion condemns.

We could have wished to have followed the Protestant principle of *unlimited enquiry*, in its influence upon speculative, and moral and political philosophy, which form the subjects of two separate chapters in the present volume, inasmuch as those matters are most intimately connected with religion, but the very narrow limits of the present article render it impossible. We find ourselves already condemned to condense our ideas in a way which, we fear, must frequently diminish their perspicacity. We therefore abandon to the reader the task of following that rapid progression of scepticism which produced the professed atheism of Jordano Bruno, the Pyrrhonism of Sanchez, and the brilliant epigrammatic style of Montaigne. Mr. Hallam dwells at some length upon the writings and character of this latter author, whose opinions appear to have exercised an extraordinary degree of influence, not only over the literature and opinions of his own times, but more particularly on those of the succeeding century. The first edition of his *Essays* appeared at Bordeaux in 1580. They constitute an important epoch in literature, and in the history of philopical opinions; not, as the author very justly remarks, on account of their real importance, or the novel truths which they contain, but rather from the influence

which they exercised, not only in France, but throughout Europe. They were, to use his own words,—

"The first *provocatio ad populum*, the first appeal from the porch and the academy, to the haunts of busy and idle men; the first book that taught the unlearned reader to observe and reflect for himself on questions of moral philosophy. In an age when every topic of this nature was treated systematically, and in a didactic form, he broke out without connexion of chapters, with all the digressions that levity and garrulous egotism could suggest, with a very delightful, but, at the same time, most unusual rapidity of transition from seriousness to gaiety."—vol. ii. p. 169.

What Luther had already done for religion, Montaigne undertook to do for philosophy, namely, to reduce its most subtle truths within the popular domain. In Germany, every cobbler and every tinker considered himself competent to decide those important questions which had many of them perplexed the most learned for centuries; in France, every private gentleman, educated or uneducated, was now furnished with a system of serio-comic philosophy, which if it failed to extend the domain of his intelligence, flattered his vanity, and enabled him to laugh at things he did not understand. The writings of Montaigne contain passages for every taste; there is in them a certain appearance of practical common-sense, accompanied not unfrequently with a sententiousness of style, which is particularly calculated to seduce the understanding. He appears to us a profound observer of men and things, and as one who rises above the prejudices of the age in which he lived. Thus many who had never reflected upon the real basis of philosophical opinion, adopted his book as a sort of *vade mecum*, thinking gaily to traverse the cruel vicissitudes of this nether world, by laughing at those who affected to be wiser than themselves. Notwithstanding the above remarks on the tendency of Montaigne as a writer, we are far from accusing him of a formal intention of attacking revealed religion; his Pyrrhonism was rather the result of a certain indifference of humour, and of a natural propensity to doubt. Instead of seeking the unity of the moral law there where alone it is to be found, he bewildered himself in comparing the various customs of different nations, in order to fix it upon some universal instinct, or to derive it from the necessary deductions of common reason.

With regard to moral philosophy, in its more special application to political institutions, we find several of the leading men of this period, amongst whom may be cited Hooker (who

was certainly a profound thinker), laying down those principles which have led to the questionable doctrine of the supremacy of the people. The theory of Hooker became the basis of Locke's celebrated *Essay on Government*, which in the hands of more recent commentators, has become a permanent source of social disorder, as calling in doubt the legitimacy of all power which cannot produce a certificate of popular consent; a thing in itself physically impossible.

We must, for the reason above alleged, pass over in silence the four remaining chapters of this volume, which complete the general views of the history of literature during the latter half of the sixteenth century—the very titles of which are sufficient to strike the critic with consternation. Such is that of chapter five, the history of poetry (throughout Europe); chapter six, the history of dramatic literature; the two remaining chapters being devoted to polite literature (in prose), and the history of the physical sciences, and of miscellaneous literature. The reader will here find something more than a barren nomenclature of contemporary writers—the author communicating the fruit of his extensive reading in the form of analytical criticisms of the principal works which he passes in review. This general notice of the most esteemed authors of this period, interspersed with occasional criticisms of works, the reputation of which, from fortuitous circumstances, has far surpassed their merits, constitutes a most valuable guide for the young scholar, and will spare him many of those tedious hours which are passed in wading through the dull columns of certain massive folios, where a little science is lost in a deluge of words.

The third volume opens the seventeenth century, during which many of the germs of the various conflicting principles which characterized that which preceded it, were brought to maturity. On the one hand, the decisions of the Council of Trent had for ever set at rest those angry discussions which divided men of various opinions, at least as far as regards the persons who remained within the pale of Catholic unity. The judicious reforms introduced by competent authority into the discipline of the Church, accompanied by the establishment of a new religious order, the indomitable and uncompromising enemy of heresy in all its Protean forms, had, as it were, instilled a new life throughout the whole. On the other hand, the Protestant party, tired out in the vain attempt to arrive at religious unity by means of discussions, which had for their sole basis the revealed word of God as contained in the Scrip-

tures, began to call into their aid the authority of tradition, under certain restrictions. Religious controversy, according to the expression of our author, became less reasoning, less scriptural, less general and popular, but far more *patristic*, (vol. iii. p. 50), that is to say, appealing to the testimonies of the fathers. The more enlightened advocates of Protestant opinions, saw the fatal consequences which were resulting from the exclusive adoption of the Scripture test, the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue being in the hands of every one. They, therefore, hoped to stem the current of popular controversy, by the admission of the authority of certain of the early fathers, both of the Greek and of the Latin Church, thereby creating a sort of controversial aristocracy, whilst at the same time they appeared to be carrying the war into the very camp of the Catholic theologians. Some amongst them were no doubt guided by a real respect for those learned and pious writers; but so long as they persisted in rejecting the just influence of a living authority, this modification of the forms of controversy, was only calculated to reduce it within a narrower limit; each writer choosing those passages which appeared to favour his own opinions, without paying any attention to the context, or the general character of the author. It cannot, however, be denied, that this change was on the whole highly favourable to Catholicity. The theologians of the Church had now to do with men who admitted the value of human learning, and the advantage of certain regular forms of discussion; the consequence was, that many of the most learned members of the Protestant party were convinced of the impossibility of maintaining their opinions by fair argument, and accordingly, like honest men, abandoned them. Others, amongst whom were two of the greatest men of their day, Grotius and Casaubon, if not exactly convinced, were at least so far embarrassed by the arguments of their adversaries, that they can no longer be termed *Protestants*, unless by a forced interpretation of that word; for, from protesting against the authority of the Church, they were led to *protest*, that it was wholly impossible to reconcile the tenets of the *Reformed* religion with the writings of the fathers. Mr. Hallam, in speaking of the latter, introduces, in the form of a note, some curious facts, which he comments upon according to his own particular opinions; the facts are nevertheless there, and the very words of Casaubon himself; amongst others, those which were written to an eminent Protestant friend, in speaking of Cardinal Peron, himself a convert, and a man of great learning. He writes:

"His arguments, which I am unable to answer, have been to me the cause of many scruples. I am sorry to make such an avowal, at which I blush. The door by which I escape is this: I cannot answer your arguments, but I will consider them." Such of our readers as may wish to see the original French, which Mr. Hallam has not translated, will find it at page 54. Casaubon was one of the umpires in the celebrated public discussion, which took place in the presence of Henry the Fourth, between Du Plessis Mornay, and Perron, in which the Protestant champion was most shamefully worsted. We attach, we avow, very little importance to this fact, as a proof of the truth of Catholic doctrines; being the professed enemies of all such conflicts, in which an unskilful combatant brings disgrace upon a good cause, allowing the honours of the day to be carried off not unfrequently by the force of his antagonist's lungs. We merely allude to the circumstance, in order to prove, that in the seclusion of the cabinet, Casaubon was still unable to answer the arguments which had perplexed his friend. The gradual progression of the opinions of Grotius, towards Catholic truth, is set forth in a very long note, in which are embodied a series of extracts from his writings, and a considerable number of references to other passages not cited. Mr. Hallam avows, that he was wholly averse to the Reformation, (page 61), and that, *until he moved on further*. he was a great admirer of the Anglican Church, which had preserved certain fragments of those ancient forms, which the other Protestant Churches had allowed to perish; such as episcopacy, and the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Whilst at Paris, where he passed most of his latter years, as ambassador from the court of Sweden, he thought it a matter of boast that he did not live as a Protestant; and the Huguenot ministers of Charenton, having requested to have an interview with him, he declined it. There is one short passage in this note, which, for several reasons, we desire to give in its original form. In speaking of the long-cherished design of Grotius to effect an union of all the Protestant Churches the author observes:

"But he could not be long in perceiving that this union of Protestant Churches was impossible, from the very independence of their original constitution. He saw that there could be no practicable reunion except with Rome itself, nor that except on an acknowledgment of her superiority. From the year 1640 his letters are full of sanguine hopes that this delusive vision would be realised. He still expected some concession on the other side; but, as usual,

would have lowered his terms according to the pertinacity of his adversaries, if indeed they were still to be called his adversaries. He now published his famous annotations on *Cassander*, and the other tracts, mentioned in the text, to which they gave rise. In these he defends almost everything we deem popery, such as transubstantiation (*Opera Theologica*, iv. 619), stooping to all the nonsensical evasions of a spiritual mutation of substance and the like; the authority of the pope (p. 642), the celibacy of the clergy (p. 645), the communion in one kind (*ibid.*), and in fact is less a Protestant than *Cassander*. In his epistles he declares himself positively in favour of purgatory, as at least a probable doctrine. (p. 930)."—vol. iii. p. 60.

It is the opinion of the author, an opinion which we think must be adopted by every one who attentively considers the acts and writings of Grotius, that he would have publicly submitted to that authority, the necessity of which he had so frequently asserted, had he not been prevented by an untimely death. He died whilst travelling in a Protestant country, deprived of that aid of which he had so long neglected to avail himself; and his unexpected death is a solemn lesson to all those who neglect to carry out into practice those principles which have triumphed over the prejudices of their early education.

These were by no means isolated examples of the return of public opinion towards Catholicism at this period, particularly amongst men of high standing in the learned world; the Church of England itself, as a body, has frequently been *accused* of that tendency. It is certain that most of her eminent divines at the commencement of the seventeenth century, belonged to what Mr. Hallam terms the *patristic* school; and if reasoning alone could ever lead men to truth in matters of faith, from the premises adopted, the Anglican Church must have logically returned into the fold of Catholic unity. But what took place at that period, as well as what is taking place at the present moment in one of our universities, proves to the attentive observer, that certain errors having once taken possession of the mind, no series of arguments, however unobjectionable, can triumph over the *will*, however they may convince the *understanding*. In fact, Christianity would no longer be Christianity, if it could be established upon any other basis than humility, and that teachableness of spirit which distinguished its earliest professors. In the important process of the research of religious truth, men generally persist in making an exclusive use of the understanding instead of employing the heart, notwithstanding the express assertion of the great

Doctor of the Gentiles (who was both a learned man and a philosopher): "*that with the heart men believe unto righteousness.*"

Before we take leave of the subject of those ineffectual attempts which were made both by Grotius and by Casaubon, to re-establish the unity of all the Churches, we beg leave to protest against the author's very illiberal interpretation of both their acts and writings, as respects that important object. It is impossible that such men, who had looked deeply into the nature of things, would have ever contented themselves with an exterior union, based upon that despicable give-and-take system, which has lately presided over certain arrangements between the Protestant communions of Prussia. Grotius was certainly for leaving the utmost latitude to private opinions, but we have no right to conclude, that he would have left to such opinions a latitude inconsistent with truth. Such, indeed, is the principle which has ever guided men of liberal minds, who appreciate the almost infinite variety of the human mind; no two men, perhaps, taking exactly the same view of any given subject. Real unity, like belief, is an affair of the heart, rather than of the head. The Church herself, notwithstanding her special mission of preserving in its pristine purity that faith which was delivered to the apostles, enters into the same spirit, and only exerts her repressive authority, when private opinions, by a series of particular definitions, place truth itself in jeopardy, and by their pertinacity disturb the general peace; an example of which we shall shortly have occasion to allude to in the rise and progress of Jansenism.

Mr. Hallam gives us rather a repulsive sketch of the *High Church party* (page 70), as compared with the more convenient elasticity of principles, which he attributes to Grotius and some of his contemporaries. He considers, however, their general opinions as but slightly different. Both Laud and Andrews, for instance, maintained the doctrine of the real presence, and many other writers of this period show a decided tendency towards the ancient order of things, on questions relating to Church discipline, and to the correction of the Liturgy, as also with regard to episcopacy and the apostolic succession.

But as the history of religious opinions, as of all opinions in general, both political as well as philosophical, offers an irregular succession of action and reaction, we must be prepared for the rise of a new class of writers, who were destined to stem this increasing current, which was hurrying men back to Catholic unity. How far this succession of hostile causes is

to be attributed to the conflict of those opposite principles of good and evil which preside over human actions, we shall not stop to examine; we think, however, that any theory in which those conflicting principles which constantly solicit the human will, should be left out of the question, cannot fail to lead us far from the truth. That in the present order of things there are tares mixed with the wheat, no one can deny; and the highest authority assures us, "*that an enemy hath done this.*" Why upon certain occasions these noxious weeds spring up with increased exuberance, is not for us to determine; it is sufficient to indicate the fact, without stopping to seek for the law upon which it depends.

In the year 1628, Daillé, a French Protestant, opened a most violent attack upon the authority of the fathers, in a treaty, *ex professo*, which was to teach the Christian world the real use of their writings. The object of this work may perhaps be discovered in the paragraph by which it was introduced to the attention of the reader. "It was justly alarming," says Mr. Hallam, "to sincere Protestants, that so many brilliant ornaments of their party,* should either desert to the hostile side, or do their own so much injury by taking up *untenable* ground." The Protestant party were evidently beaten out of the field, by the close argument and by the erudition of their adversaries, the moment they admitted the authority of the fathers; yet, on the other hand, the absurdity of wholly denying the personal influence of those holy and learned men who were the glory of the primitive Church, was too palpable to be overlooked by any, but such as were blinded by prejudice and passion. Nevertheless, in the eyes of Daillé and his followers, the danger was too imminent to admit of a moment's delay. "Nothing," continues Mr. Hallam (as it appears to us, in a spirit of the most biting irony), "nothing, it appeared to reflecting men, could be trusted to the argument from antiquity; whatever was gained in the controversy on a few points, was lost upon those of the first importance." The whole weight of antiquity was against that spirit of innovation which had lately broke forth in the Church! Its partizans, therefore, convinced, moreover, of the endless disorders, both civil and religious, to which it had given rise, were then at length prepared to submit, by a disavowal of their errors? Not

* In a former part of his work (p. 45) when speaking of the conversion of Perron, we find the following remarkable words, "He had been educated as a Protestant, but, like half the learned of that religion, went over, from some motive or other, to the victorious side."

in the least; "the only *secure*" course, continues our sarcastic author, "was to overshadow the tribunal by which they were condemned."

This Dallié accordingly undertook to do in the elaborate work to which we have alluded. In England he was shortly followed by Chillingworth and Hales, by whose efforts we were brought back to the very point from which we had started in the happy days of Luther; and every man, with his bible in his hand, was admitted as the paramount authority from which there was no appeal. The arrant nonsense which Chillingworth upon this occasion employs as argument, is an additional proof (if indeed any such proof were wanting), that men of considerable intellect and of very extensive acquirements, when they once lose sight of the principles of common-sense, are hurried forward from folly to folly in endless succession. Whilst on the one hand he formally advocates the doctrine of the supremacy of the individual reason in matters of faith, leaving every man to put his own interpretation upon these various passages of holy writ which have given rise to interminable discussion, amongst such as reject the intervention of a living authority; on the other, he indulges a sort of visionary hope of establishing a sort of worship which might satisfy the various exigencies of all parties: or in his own words, "such an ordering of the public service of God, that all who believe the Scripture and live according to it, might, without scruple or hypocrisy, or protestation, join in it." Just as if all the various sects which had arisen out of the religious troubles of the sixteenth century, did not, each and every one of them, believe the Scripture and live according to it, to the best of their knowledge! In other passages he lays down principles which render any form of public worship impossible, unless we are prepared to give that name to the reading aloud of the Scriptures, without comment; since he inveighs most loudly against those who presume to put a *particular* sense upon the *general* words of God; *as if one could speak of the things of God better than in the words of God!* "Take away," continues he, "this persecuting, burning, cursing, damning of men for not subscribing the words of men as the words of God; require of Christians only to believe Christ, and to call no man master but him only," and much other stuff in the same strain, turning continually in one vicious circle, in which he begins by supposing as proved the very matter at issue, namely, what is the real doctrine of Christ, and

what is the real meaning of that written word which he has left us for our guide.

Such was the style of argument employed by the great champions of Protestantism at this period, Hales following closely the footsteps of Chillingworth, but as is usual in such cases, out-heroding Herod, upon the very delicate question of Church authority, in his tract on schism.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that the doctrines of such writers should have prepared that most extraordinary episode in the history of religious extravagance, the crusade of the Puritans against all authority, both religious and civil. We beg upon the present occasion to be allowed to separate the religious question from the political one. How far the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of Charles the First may have justified that opposition which led to so unhappy an end, we shall not attempt to examine; certain it is that in its progress, it overstepped the limits both of law and of justice, and there can be no doubt that the bloody tragedy of the King's death, arose out of a rigid application of the Protestant principle of the *permanent supremacy of the people*.

But puritanism considered as a comico-religious extravaganza, is certainly the richest thing in point of humour which is to be found in the annals of human folly. Those raw-boned lank-visaged men, of whom *Hudibras* has immortalized the type, preaching the reign of the saints and the holy league and covenant, in sermons which lasted for hours, and which were divided into a hundred and fifty heads, throw completely into the shade the most brilliant efforts of modern Methodism. We have ourselves had the pleasure of hearing an itinerant preacher of that society, hold forth at length and with considerable energy against the iniquities of the scarlet (abomination) of Babylon (the Church of Rome), naming her by a still more unseemly name; yet this is not to be compared to the stentorian efforts of the doughty covenanter, armed cap-à-pie, surrounded by a set of hard-featured men, each of whom had a sword by his side, ready to be drawn in support of the nicest abstractions. An Episcopalian presumed to doubt of the efficacy of faith without works; there were a hundred ruffians ready to cut his throat. During this fever of religious enthusiasm, the wily used the simple as the stepping-stones of their ambition, and he who rose to the supreme power of the state, by means of this party, was the first to laugh at their uncouth jargon, when he felt himself firmly seated on the throne of the man he had superseded. The sudden return to

arbitrary measures after so severe a lesson, proves that tyranny is the necessary consequence of anarchy. Charles refused to assemble the Parliament ! Cromwell, when assembled, kicked them down stairs and put the key of the house in his pocket ! So much for the progress of constitutional liberty, when all means are considered good to attain a certain end.

There can however be no doubt that puritanism, like many other of the endless sects of Protestantism, took its rise from the ill-directed efforts of pious, well-meaning men, to return to what they considered as the primitive simplicity of Christian institutions ; so true is it that when we once lose sight of that living authority which Christ himself established for the wisest purposes, there is no saying how far we may be led away in the labyrinth of error.

The question of Church authority, and the necessity of primitive tradition, were not the only questions which agitated the learned world at this period. The famous dispute about grace and free-will, which one would have thought for ever settled by the treatise of St. Augustine, broke out with fresh intensity and with exactly the same exaggeration, which characterised it in his day. Men taking a partial view of any subject, are necessarily led to state only one-half of the question ; and upon these false premises, they build a system equally false, because it is exclusive. Placed at the extremities of the two conflicting opinions, they become exceedingly angry with each other, and in the heat of their dispute never think of looking for truth, where alone it is to be found, in the golden mean. We are surprised to find Mr. Hallam repeating a puerile accusation, which has been occasionally brought against the Church of Rome, we presume for the sake of the joke ; namely, that of condemning both sides. We are not aware that such in fact has ever been the case, but in many disputes, for the reasons above alluded to, both sides have richly deserved it. One side was very deservedly condemned for destroying the doctrine of human liberty, without which, moral responsibility is a mere farce ; while the other was silenced, and if it had not desisted might very properly have been condemned also, for attributing to the free-will an efficacy, which in its present degraded state, it no longer possesses. St. Augustin clearly sums up the real state of the question, by asserting, that man can do nothing for his own salvation without the aid of divine grace ; and on the other hand, that God can do nothing for the same end, without man's consent and co-operation. "*He has created you, says he,*

without your consent, but he cannot save you without it." The dispute, we had almost said the brawl, about grace and free-will, is one of words rather than of things: to render it more perplexing, the disputants have mixed up with it the metaphysical question of divine prescience, in its relations with individual liberty; forming a sort of logical dilemma which, we acknowledge, is well calculated to perplex the reason.

Another question which led the Protestant divines into considerable perplexities, and even into the most palpable contradictions, was the definition of that controlling power without which it was generally admitted not only no Church, but no state, could subsist. Such men as Hooker, Grotius, and Jeremy Taylor, saw at once the impossibility of allowing the public mind to be continually agitated by the renewed discussion of those theories which called in question the fundamental principles of all law, both social and religious, the authenticity of Christianity and the very existence of the Deity. But where was this moderating power to be placed, so as to leave intact the new doctrine of free inquiry? Under the reign of Catholicity there were authorised tribunals which indicated to the civil power those doctrines which were opposed to civil order and to religious truth; leaving, however, to polemical discussion an arena sufficiently vast, which was regarded as neutral ground, as the history of religious opinion amply testifies. The very eminent men above-mentioned, as they could not, being Protestants, admit the supremacy of any human tribunal, are necessarily conducted to the dangerous expedient of leaving the civil power in possession not only of the power of repressing, but also of the much more delicate functions of judging and of condemning; an absurdity which no severity of language can too forcibly reprobate. Jeremy Taylor, in his celebrated book on the liberty of prophesying, is extremely liberal so long as the particular interests of the Church to which he belonged were not at stake; but when he comes to examine what sects ought to be tolerated, and to what extent, he is decidedly an advocate for putting an end to the prophesying of all the prophets who do not prophesy according to the particular doctrines of the Church of which he was a member (v. chap. 17). He has, moreover, a chapter on the toleration of Popery, which may be considered as liberal, for the age in which he lived. Taylor was, on the whole, a very liberal-minded man, though his liberality appears to us to savour of indifference and of doubt. Chapter 17 evidently came from his head rather than from his heart; as a church-

man he could not possibly admit a state of things in which every man was permitted to set up a public opposition to the state establishment ; a result, however, which the progress of modern improvement has realized, but not without undermining its very foundations.

A subject more strictly within the limits of literary criticism, is the pulpit eloquence of this period. This particular species of literature, according to Mr. Hallam, dates only from the Reformation ; the general character of that which preceded this epoch, being little better than *buffoonery*. This is indeed rather sweeping work. We do not presume to deny that the learned author may in the course of his extensive reading, have met with more than one collection of sermons which, like those of Maillard and Rollin (of whom, however, he says nothing), abound with certain familiar allusions, which the habits of the times alone can justify. It would, however, lead us far from the truth were we to judge those productions with our present notions, and it is, moreover, more than probable that these sermons were never preached, in the form in which they now exist : we deny, however, that such was ever the general character of the Catholic pulpit, at any period. These exceptions to its usual gravity and elevated style of thought, are the result of the particular turn of mind of the preacher, who has permitted his own individuality to modify his subject. Were we disposed to seek out examples of the same defect amongst Protestant divines, we need not exercise much research ; the great parent of Protestantism would afford us buffoonery enough, heightened by its usual accompaniment, the lowest vulgarity.

The effects, however, of the Reformation on pulpit eloquence must have been but slow in their operation, for England is the only country which produced a series of eminent preachers during the first half of the seventeenth century, many of whom, according to our author, merit distinction : but from this crowd of eminent Protestant divines who have illustrated this period, our author selects for citation and especial criticism two only—Jeremy Taylor and Donne. Of the former we have already spoken sufficiently ; of the latter the particular criticism appears but in feeble harmony with the general praise ; and what is our author's measure of that praise ? He admits with regard to his sermons, that out of the two volumes in folio of which they consist, some favourable specimens may be supplied ; but " in their general character, they will not appear," continues he, " much worthy of being rescued from oblivion." The

following passage was for us a most unexpected falling off in the praise of a writer who had merited the honour of being cited amongst the principal ornaments of the Protestant pulpit.

"The subtlety of Donne, and his fondness for such inconclusive reasoning as a subtle disputant is apt to fall into, runs through all of these sermons at which I have looked. His learning he seems to have perverted in order to cull every impertinence of the fathers and schoolmen, their remote analogies, their strained allegories, their technical distinctions; and to these he has added much of a similar kind from his own fanciful understanding."—vol. iii. p. 124.

Donne was, however, notwithstanding his popish propensities to dulness and verbosity, one of the most redoubtable adversaries of Rome, being in the judgment of the author, particularly, or rather *conspicuously*, learned in that controversy; "and though he talks with great respect of antiquity," continues Mr. Hallam, "is not induced by it, like some of his Anglican contemporaries, to make any concession to the adversary;"—a circumstance which proves beyond all doubt that he was either extremely clever or extremely obtuse. We leave it, then, to his admirers to determine, whether he misunderstood the writings of the fathers, or whether he possessed sufficient ingenuity to pervert their meaning, and to employ them in his own cause. The moral value of this clever sophist is determined by a circumstance which furnishes the subject of a short note. It appears, that at his death he left amongst his papers the manuscript of a book, entitled *Biathanatos*, and which is in fact a vindication of *suicide*; a subject which could not be appropriately introduced into either of the two bulky folios to which we have alluded. As this is one of the very rare occasions on which our author allows himself to be facetious, the reader will permit us to use his own words in pronouncing a judgment on this posthumous essay.

"It is a very dull and pedantic performance, without the ingenuity and acuteness of paradox: distinctions, objections, and quotations from the rabble of bad authors whom he used to read fill up the whole of it. It is impossible to find a less clear statement of argument on either side. No one would be induced to kill himself by reading such a book, unless he were threatened with another volume."—vol. iii. p. 125.

His judgment on the whole is scarcely more favourable to the other person selected, as he accuses Taylor of making up his sermons from the shreds and patches of ancient authors

(p. 125), and in the following page we read of the "*circuity of his pleonastic language*," of his "*sentences of endless length*," not altogether *unmusical*, but what is still much more grave, in the writings of a scholar the principal ornament of the age in which he lived, *not always reducible to grammar*! Mr. Hallam however persists, "he is still the greatest ornament of the English pulpit up to the middle of the seventeenth century," which, after all he has said, is but small praise.

Such being then the state of the question, according to the admission of a learned and intelligent Protestant, who must be admitted to be a competent judge of the matter, we may legitimately question the influence of the Protestant Reformation upon pulpit eloquence as an element of progress; and the more particularly so, as those who, at a later period, rose to the highest excellence in pulpit eloquence were Catholics. The eminent superiority of Bossuet, Massillon, Bourdaloue, Fléchier, and other eminent theologians of the same age—a superiority which has never been disputed by any one—proves, that in order to touch the human heart, and to triumph over the prejudices of vice, it is by no means necessary to quit the ancient faith.

Mr. Hallam completes his notice of the history of the theological literature of this period by a few succinct remarks upon the principal ascetic writers both Catholic and Protestant. He avows that the bare nomenclature of all the works of Catholic authors belonging to this class, would swell the pages of his book beyond its due limits, even if he confined himself to those which, by their popularity and their merit, had a right to be mentioned in a regular history of theological literature. The few words which he says with regard to St. Francis de Sales and St. Teresa prove that he did well to pass the matter over in silence. In fact, the *literary* merit of works of this nature is a question of secondary importance, in which the real merit is apt to be lost sight of. Writings like those of St. Teresa are addressed to the favoured few; their pages are sealed for those who have not prepared their hearts by a course of discipline which has severed them for ever from the spirit and maxims of the world.

Our regret at not being able to follow our author through the interesting pages of the ensuing chapter, which is devoted to the history of speculative philosophy, is great; the more particularly so, as the progress of philosophical opinion during the first half of the seventeenth century, would have afforded us an admirable opportunity of watching the operation of that

spirit of enquiry, the abuse of which constitutes the principal characteristic of Protestantism. This chapter, then, would have afforded us the means of elucidating both the good and the evil which resulted from the religious convulsions of the preceding century, as far as regards speculative science. We should have had an opportunity of paying a just tribute of admiration to the important labours of Lord Bacon, of whose philosophy Mr. Hallam speaks at considerable length; and we should at the same time have been able to point out the fatal influence of the method which he adopted, when applied to matters for which it was never destined. We should, we doubt not, in that philosophy, have discovered the origin of a desire which was daily gaining strength, and which Descartes first attempted to satisfy, namely, the edification of the whole superstructure of human knowledge upon the sole basis of induction. Descartes was born a mathematician, but his remarkable aptitude for the physical sciences, in which the method of Lord Bacon is alone useful, led him to follow to a certain extent his illustrious predecessor. Descartes, we are convinced, never for a moment indulged the slightest intention of undermining the truth of divine revelation. His sole intention was to raise a collateral superstructure, the chief corner-stone of which was the human reason; not reflecting, we should rather say not sufficiently cautioning his readers, that that which is finite cannot be, in fact, separated from that which is infinite; and that as created substance in the material world, depends upon that uncreated substance in which the primitive forms of all things subsist, so the human reason is necessarily dependent upon the divine reason in the very nature of things; revelation, written and traditional, being as necessary to the intelligence as light is to the eye. Various experiments have placed beyond the reach of doubt a fact which confirms this important truth; man, notwithstanding his admirable organization, when brought up apart from his kind, remains upon a level with the brute; so far from having any idea of truth in its absolute form, he is deprived even of those elementary notions which *language* can alone develope. The isolated man possesses no language; for language, which is the life of the soul, must be transmitted, like physical life, by some one possessed both of the will and of the power to do so, and when once transmitted, the inherent vivifying power of which it is possessed animates the human soul, enlightens it and conducts it to truth. It is therefore in this sense that the divine reason (the *Logos*) in the Christian

philosophy is termed indifferently the *way*, the *truth*, and the *life*; the *light* which enlightens every man coming into the world.

It is therefore easily understood how the philosophical doubts of Descartes, in the hands of a close reasoner like Hobbes, who, being a Protestant, admitted neither the necessity of tradition, nor the authority of that tribunal which alone can decide in matters of faith, led by a short and direct road to atheism. The powerful influence of the material philosophy of Hobbes upon later times is not sufficiently attended to. This tendency may be traced upwards to Lord Bacon himself, though perhaps without any direct fault of his. Hobbes, it is well known, was employed by Lord Bacon to translate certain portions of his works into Latin. This alone would be sufficient to account for his exclusive admiration of the inductive process. In tracing the tendency of his philosophy, which may be qualified as a compound of *materialism* and *scepticism*, through its various phases down to our own time, we would not lose sight of the circumstance that Locke, who was not a man of extensive reading, has evidently studied Hobbes; and Locke, who, as well as Lord Bacon and Descartes, professed the highest veneration for revealed truth, is the very man who furnished the arms by which the small philosophers of the last century assaulted the ancient fabric of social and religious order, and by which they succeeded, in a neighbouring country, in sweeping away in one common destruction all the institutions both of the Church and of the State.

Chapter iv. of this volume, which treats of the history of moral and political philosophy and of jurisprudence, is most intimately connected with that which precedes it. The necessity to which we submit in passing it by in silence, is therefore accompanied by a similar regret. We merely allude to it for the purpose of offering an observation upon the matter which stands at its head, *casuistry* and the *Jesuits*, in their relation to the important institution of Confession. We use the word institution, because we cannot of course expect Mr. Hallam to enter into the virtue of confession as a sacrament. Our author, then, even with his necessarily limited views, admits that the vital discipline of the Church, and the power of the priesthood, are both dependent upon it. We are aware that this latter word *power*, as applied to priests, is frequently used as the synonyme of tyranny by certain writers, but we acquit Mr. Hallam of all such intention. "In the confessional, continues he, most of the good (and evil, of course) which is to be

attributed to the ministers of religion, has its source." And he thus concludes: "No Church that has relinquished this prerogative can ever establish a permanent dominion over mankind; none that retains it in effective use can lose the hope or the prospect of being their ruler." We will not turn this assertion into a syllogism, and conclude, that, no Church without the institution of confession being able to exercise a permanent influence, the Church of England, having neglected that institution, is of course incapable of such influence; nor will we follow it out into its corollary: that the Church of Rome having retained it in effective use, is destined to re-establish her authority throughout the world; such, however (implicitly, at least), is evidently the opinion of the author. —

In speaking of such matters, it was not to be expected that Mr. Hallam, who after all is a zealous Protestant, and who quotes Bayle, should have steered clear of that celebrated common-place charge against the Jesuits, which accuses them of frittering down the stern precepts of the Christian morality, to suit the exigencies of worldly man. It is true that he rises above the vulgarity of insinuating that they did so from any feeling of private interest; their sole end, he nobly avows, was the good of mankind and the glory of the Catholic Church, which was, according to their views, one and the same thing. In this cause, he adds, they embraced a life of toil and of danger; for this they were dauntless in death and in torture. Men who are ever ready to seal their doctrines with their blood, merit at least the praise of sincerity. But after all, we are in justice bound to admit, that certain casuists of this order have maintained propositions, which, not unnaturally gave rise to discussions and differences of opinion. This is not the place for examining those differences; but at all events the author is not justified in charging upon the whole body the opinions of some only of its members. As far as they are concerned, as a body, they have ever been eminently orthodox; their theology has indeed been generally imbued with that spirit of mercy which particularly characterized the founder of our holy religion, who himself tells us that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. This indefatigable long suffering, which induced them to pardon the repentant sinner, not only seven times, but seventy times seven, disturbed the spiritual bile of their most inveterate enemies of Port Royal, who, like the Pharisees of old, stood aloof from the miseries of human frailty, thanking God that they were not as other men; it was the Jansenists who first raised their eloquence against the

Jesuits, which, with innumerable sectarian and infidel commentaries, has been handed down to our times, and which still passes current with those who are satisfied to live upon other men's opinions.

The concluding volume brings us down to the end of the seventeenth century, where the work terminates. This period is one of great interest, inasmuch as it corresponds with the last grand compact Catholic reaction in philosophy and literature. The magnificent patronage of Louis the Fourteenth had rendered Paris the real centre both of letters and of art, so that to France all eyes were directed, and in France were mooted all those grand questions which separated the learned of this age. We shall pass over in silence that literary reaction of which Boileau may be considered as the legislator, and Corneille and Racine the champions, in the department of poetry; and Bossuët, Fenelon, and Massillon, the champions in prose. We shall confine ourselves exclusively to the progress of religious and philosophical opinions, and thus complete our very hasty view of the consequences of Protestantism; tracing those consequences down to their last effect, the grand social and religious cataclysm of 1798.

We avow candidly that in speaking of the history of philosophical and religious opinions, in their relation to the Protestant principle of unlimited enquiry, we are obliged to keep our eye attentively fixed upon the history of the *Church*. Because, according to our point of view, the Catholic faith is the only test of religious truth, and it exercises at the same time an important influence over philosophy; since it is utterly impossible to exercise the intellectual faculties without the intervention of language, and it is equally impossible to separate language and tradition. Every man, at the moment when he begins his philosophical system, has already assented to some portion of Divine truth; this he can only demolish legitimately by insurmountable arguments. But what is the ordinary method adopted by those who doubt. Do they batter in ruin the edifice of their supposed prejudices one by one? By no means; they pretend to demolish the whole fabric of their religious belief, and then to re-edify it upon a more certain foundation. We say they *pretend* to do so; for, as to really doing so, the thing is in itself absolutely impossible; man, by the very constitution of his intellectual nature, being bound to believe what is in itself credible. It by no means depends upon ourselves whether we choose to believe, or not to believe, that such places as Constantinople and Amsterdam

really exists; no man ever doubted their existence, because no man ever had a sufficient interest in their non-existence to make it worth his while to darken his mind by a chain of clever sophisms, by means of which he might perhaps have arrived at doubt, if not *actual*, at least *philosophical*. No man ever doubted the existence of Julius Cæsar, for the same reason. But how many have doubted, or pretended to doubt, of the existence of the invisible world, of the divine founder of the Christian religion, and of many in the series of that succession of holy men, who, without interruption, have handed down to the present day the apostolic tradition? facts which repose upon evidence much more imposing than those which we have chosen at hazard, as *incontestable*, as long as people remain in their senses.

It is not our intention, however, to trespass on the domain of ecclesiastical history; the facts to which we may think it necessary to allude, will be examined in their principles rather than in their details.

In speaking of the first portion of the seventeenth century, we had an opportunity of remarking the increased respect which many Protestant divines shewed for the writings of the fathers, and the traditions of the primitive Church; but unfortunately for the speedy and happy adjustment of the matter at issue, there is a certain indefinite vagueness in written language which enables clever men to keep up endless disputes, in admitting the authenticity of the same texts. No subject furnishes a more remarkable proof of this fact than the interminable discussion of that fundamental doctrine of the Catholic Church—the real presence. Nicole and Arnauld, both men of learning and close reasoners, opened the controversial campaign by a treatise on this important subject, entitled, *La perpétuité de la foi de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie*. This work, notwithstanding its incontestable merit, left the controversy exactly where it found it; because Nicole, to whom it was particularly addressed, in admitting the veracity of the passages cited as proofs, denied the sense which those theologians ascribed to them; one side insisting upon a literal, and the other upon a figurative, interpretation.

Bossuet, feeling himself called upon to interfere in the Protestant controversy, took up a new ground. He took upon himself to prove the authority of the Church. Thus, the divine institution of a *visible* authority being once satisfactorily established, the controversy was at an end. How far he suc-

ceeded each one must conscientiously determine, after an attentive consideration of the arguments which he produces. These arguments are of two kinds, positive and negative. He supports Catholic authority by tracing its uninterrupted transmission through the three separate dispensations in which the Divine will has been manifested to mankind,—the patriarchal, Jewish, and the Christian. He shows the intimate harmony which pervades the whole, and how the same idea, the reintegration of the human race by a vicarious sacrifice, is gradually developed and ultimately accomplished. He then attacks the Protestant principle, by demonstrating the irreconcilable variations of opinion to which it has given rise. His system is completed by the celebrated principle of objective certainty, of which Mr. Hallam runs foul in a most extraordinary way. Bossuet, in many parts of his works, in a manner more or less explicit, very justly attacks the opposite principle of subjective certainty. His writings, in all probability, furnished the Abbé de Lammenais with the first idea of his philosophical theory of the supremacy of common-sense, which was destined to make so much noise in the world by the extravagant conclusions which he deduced from it. Bossuet's principle was identical in its fundamental idea with that which had been put forth by St. Vincentius Lirinensis in the fifth century, and which has been adopted by all the most eminent Catholic theologians since his day. Mr. Hallam is pleased to call this a *sophism*, and becomes really angry upon the occasion, a circumstance which we are bound to avow is uncommon with him; for coolness and comparative impartiality are qualities for which he is eminently distinguished.

The passage to which Mr. Hallam so violently objects, is brought forward in alluding to Bossuet's celebrated *Conference with Claude*, in which the Bishop of Meaux, refusing to quit the strong ground of "*Church authority*," the disputants joined issue upon that capital question. Mr. Hallam rather sneers at Bossuet's triumph, because he relates it himself. But did Claude do the same thing? Was there a double victory? Not at all. Claude, if he was not convinced, was at least silenced. In his account of this conference, Bossuet says, "I urged in a few words what presumption it was to believe that we can better understand the Word of God than all the rest of the Church, and that there would be nothing on this theory to prevent there being as many religions as persons." (*Œuvres*, xxiii. 290.) This is what Mr. Hallam is pleased to term a *sophism*, and which, in fact, he very satisfac-

torily proves to be one (at least in his way); that is by entangling it in half a dozen of his own. Mr. Hallam appears to admit the fact of the legitimate influence of personal authority, but strangely denies that the general consent of all the learned members of the universal Church is of any weight.

"There can be no presumption in supposing that we may understand anything better than *one* who has never examined it at all; and if this *rest of the Church*, so magnificently brought forward, have commonly acted on Bossuet's principle, and thought it presumptuous to judge for themselves; if out of many millions of persons a few only have deliberately reasoned on religion, and the rest have been, like true zeros, nothing in themselves, but much in sequence; if also, as is most frequently the case, this presumptuousness is not the assertion of a paradox or novelty, but the preference of one denomination of Christians, or of one tenet maintained by respectable authority, to another, *we can only scorn the emptiness as well as resent the effrontery of this common-place that rings so often in our ears.*"—vol. iv. p. 132.

Notwithstanding the lofty tone of the concluding sentence, we shall not retort the angry epithets which it contains. We must, however, take the liberty of saying, at the risk even of being charged with *emptiness* and *effrontery*, that this playing upon words appears to us wholly unfit for the occasion, and equally unworthy of the gravity of the author. We beg leave to ask what is meant by the collective epithet *one*, at the commencement of this passage? This unity, which Mr. Hallam appears to reduce to *zero*, is no other than the Catholic Church! The Catholic Church then has never examined the questions which she has so solemnly decided? She possesses neither the authority nor the means of doing so! Again, he tells us that these differences of private opinion do not manifest themselves in the assertion of *paradoxes* or of *novelties*, but in the preference of one amongst many conflicting doctrines, all equally probable or *respectable*. Has Mr. Hallam lost sight of the moment when all these opinions, if not *paradoxes*, were most certainly *novelties*? When the man who first broached them stood alone, and set up his judgment against the judgment of thousands equally wise and equally pious? How does he reconcile that fact with his own admission, "that certainly reason is so far from condemning a deference to the judgment of the wise and good, that nothing is more irrational than to neglect it." This is establishing the doctrine of *authority* upon a philosophical basis. It is physically impossible that any man should examine all the

opinions which he adopts; and such is the constitution of the human mind, and of society itself, that deference to the opinions of the wise, and of those who are invested with a certain authority, is a moral and social necessity. Amongst the thousands of Protestants who at the present day zealously defend their opinions, how many of that number have *examined* the principles upon which those opinions repose? One adopts the opinions of Luther, another the opinions of Calvin, a third the opinions of Socinus! But the opinions of these doctors have been carefully examined by the competent authority, and condemned as erroneous. Why did they not then submit to that authority, the legitimacy of which all men admitted, even themselves? Because they reasoned as Mr. Hallam reasons, in the concluding [sentence of the passage before us—

“But when this [authority] is claimed for those whom we need not believe to have been wiser and better than ourselves [in the case of Luther, this despised fragment of humanity comprised nearly all the doctors of the Catholic Church]; who,” continues he, “we may sometimes without vain glory esteem less, and that so as to set aside the real authority of the most philosophical, unbiassed, and judicious of mankind [in the case of Luther, all the heretics and infidels who had preceded him, and, mark well the fact, these alone]; it is not then either pride or presumption, but ‘*a sober use of our faculties*,’ to reject the jurisdiction of authority.”

This is indeed a melancholy example of the influence of early prejudice upon a mind naturally elevated and impartial. But it is in the very nature of things, that when a man has once thrown off the salutary restraint of authority, he necessarily regards it, viewing it merely in the abstract, as an intellectual yoke not to be supported. He rejects it in principle, but he is obliged to admit it in practice. In religious matters, the man who *protests* against the authority of general councils, admits, without contestation, the authority of the minister to whose chapel he subscribes! Such is human nature, and so easily are men caught with words.

The high tone which Bossuet assumed in his correspondence with Leibnitz and Molanus appears to us a natural consequence of his position, and not at all to be attributed to characteristic haughtiness. There was in his time a great desire amongst the most intellectual men in Germany to return into the bosom of Catholic unity. Bossuet, however he might be disposed to conciliate, could not compromise truth; he made no concessions, because he had none to make. In speaking of this state of public opinion, Mr. Hallam indulges in a very

sharp epigram on the house of Hanover, many members of whom were known to partake in it. Their wavering faith was, however, *settled*, says he, by the Act of Settlement!—which, as the reader is aware, excludes *Catholics* from the succession of the throne.*

Mr. Hallam's opinion of Bossuet's celebrated work on the variations of the Protestant Churches, will astonish more than one of our readers. We shall not here discuss the *learning* of Bossuet, although we avow we have always been in the habit of regarding it as very respectable. We doubt not that had he thought the thing advisable, he could have looked up the passages of the fathers as well as another, and, if he chose a more comprehensive method than this discussion of ancient texts, it was, we think, because such discussions had hitherto led to no useful result. But the peculiarity lies not here; Mr. Hallam admits that, in choosing the subject, it would have been impossible to find one *more fit* to display the characteristic impetuosity and the cutting sarcasm of his genius. "The weaknesses, the inconsistent evasions, the extravagancies, of Luther, Zuingle, Calvin, and Beza, pass, one after another, before us, till these great Reformers seem, like victim prisoners, to be hewn down by the indignant prophet." (Vol. iv. 185.) The fact of the interminable variations of the Protestant Churches is proved beyond the reach of doubt. But where then has Bossuet failed? He has failed, Mr. Hallam tells us, in proving that this variation was a just subject of reproach! On the contrary, the real subject of reproach, in his opinion, was that they had not varied enough! The author thinks, "*that a little more of this censure would have been well incurred.*" Because, as soon as you admit anything which the Church of Rome admits, the close reasoning of her theologians take advantage of it; whereas, "*successive variations are only analogous to the necessary course of human reason on all other subjects.*" (p. 186.) This view of the subject appears to us essentially *new*; but we doubt very much whether it will meet with the general approbation of the Protestant public.

All the reasoning at this period was not, however, on the same side; the Anglican divines stood forth with increased energy, and their eloquence and learning are not to be called in doubt. Like men, who attempt a last desperate effort upon some stronghold which has hitherto resisted the most vigorous efforts of all its assailants, they make use of everything which

* See ant. Art. V.

is capable of being converted into a weapon of offence. Good arguments, bad arguments, and, according to Mr. Hallam, even false arguments, backed by false citations. In speaking of Taylor's *Dissuaves from Popery*, the main tendency of which is, he says, "*to excite a sceptical feeling as to all except the PRIMARY doctrines of religion*," a just tribute is paid to the extensive learning of this writer; but he at the same time acknowledges, that in its application he is neither scrupulous nor exact. In a note at the foot of page 137, we find Taylor himself maintaining the right of using arguments, and even *authorities*, in controversy, which we do not believe to be valid.

It is not therefore to be wondered at, that, with such principles, Protestant controversy should have made little progress, notwithstanding the talents of Barrow, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, and Wake. A circumstance no less remarkable is, that the writings of these authors are little employed in the controversy of the present day. They have, however, had no successors worthy of their fame: this period closes the list of great controversial writers, both in France and in this country; for now the controversial question again shifted its ground, with the progress of the Protestant principle; and the question was now no longer as to which of the particular dogmas of the various Christian communities should be received, but whether Christianity itself, as based upon a special revelation, was worthy of credit.

This important question was the principal object of controversy during the ensuing century, to which Mr. Hallam's work does not extend, and more particularly so towards its close. The voluminous writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Diderot, and other writers of this school, gave the last blow to the existence of all authority, civil as well as religious, and prepared that political, social and religious cataclysm which will constitute the astonishment of future ages.

But as religious, as well as philosophical, opinions, like many other things, move in a circle, when a nation, or an epoch, have traversed the whole line, they are led back to the point from which they started. A modern author,* in treating of the history of philosophy, has particularly attached himself to the observation of the gradual progression of doubt, and its uniform consequences on public opinion, not only amongst the Hindoos and in ancient Greece, but in our own days; and,

* Cousin, "Cours de l'Histoire de la Philosophie."

from this uniform result, he appears to conclude, that there exists a law of the mind, by which man, when once by his own act he separates himself from the dogmatism of authority, after having been tossed for a certain time upon the sea of doubt, forcibly seeks refuge in that port from which he started, or in the no less positive dogmatism of his own imagination. He thus takes upon himself the task of pointing out the constant succession of four distinct forms of philosophy; namely, the dogmatical philosophy, the critical philosophy, the sceptical philosophy, and the mystical philosophy.

We shall not attempt to do the same thing for the history of religious opinions, although we are intimately persuaded that such is the natural order of progress in the mind of individuals; and if that progress is not exactly realized in the history of any particular society, it is because, in religious matters, there are too many passions brought into play, and too many subsidiary causes, which modify the general laws. Moreover religious opinion exists in every possible variety as to its degree of separation from truth.

M. Cousin, of course, considers mysticism as the natural ally of superstition; and it is to this species of mysticism that we exclusively refer at the present moment. We beg, however, to protest against the conclusion, that there exists any necessary connexion between superstition and mysticism, using that word (and we believe we have no other), as the equivalent of private or individual inspiration;—a very delicate matter, upon which we are not called to enter. The mystics to whom we are about to refer were, perhaps, inspired, but it was certainly not by the spirit of light.

Our sole object in the foregoing observations is to establish the real state of the Protestant controversy at the present moment. We sincerely believe that doubt, carried to a certain unlawful extent, opens the door to scepticism, as a system, which then in its turn becomes dogmatic and exclusive; and that this scepticism, when men adopt it as a rule of action, leads them into a labyrinth of perplexity and misery. That the mind, enervated by its own excesses, and still agitated by that invincible necessity of belief, which forms, as it were, its essential characteristic (belief being the condition *sine quâ non* of all moral and intellectual life), catches at the first empty probability which presents itself, as drowning men catch at straws. Then rises, upon a false foundation, a rapid superstructure of error, the perishable nature of which is only perceived when its unfortunate architect is buried in its ruins.

As far, then, as regards the question of submission to authority, in some form or other, such men, turning in a circle, finish by arriving at the very point from which they started ; and thus the Protestant controversy itself may be regarded as a vast circle, the various points of which are occupied by different persons in different ages, or by different persons in the same age, accordingly as they may have advanced in the logical progression of doubt, or have thrown themselves headlong into one of the many forms of false mysticism.

Our own days, and the country in which we live, have offered two very remarkable instances of this false mysticism. The first, and the most extravagant, was that to which Joanna Southcote gave her name. This preposterous folly is far from being at an end, notwithstanding the death of the *Prophetess*. We are perfectly aware that well-educated Protestants affect to treat this grotesque episode in the history of religious opinions as a thing exclusively confined to the vulgar ; but such is by no means the fact : many men of education, and occupying highly-respectable situations in society, having submitted to the operation of being *sealed*, and what is still more conclusive, having paid for it.

With regard to the other instance, which was the celebrated affair of the "*unknown tongues*," we can speak from personal observation. Mr. Irving, who was the great apostle of this novelty, was a man inferior to no one in intellectual powers. The person who could fix the attention of crowded assemblies, in which were to be found many of the principal ornaments of the bar and of the senate, and that for many months, could have been no common man : this was undoubtedly the case, and to a degree that the interference of the police became necessary to maintain order in the dense crowd of men, and of equipages, which besieged the doors of the Scotch Church. We have more than once attentively listened to the arguments by which Mr. Irving justified the *inspiration* of the persons who vomited forth this execrable gibberish ; and we hasten to avow it as our sincere opinion, that few men, separated from that authority which is alone invested with the power of *judging spirits* ; few men, we say, of a noble and generous nature, and capable of following, with attention, a series of logical deductions, could have resisted his moving eloquence, and his close reasoning. Yet this fine intelligence fell a prey to the fatal illusion which took possession of it ; and Irving, one of the most accomplished orators, and one of the profoundest thinkers of his time, is now, by those who never knew him, confounded

with the vulgar herd of fanatics, who from time to time arise for the punishment, and for the amusement, of humanity.

The Protestant controversy has then, according to our views, passed through all its phases, and, henceforth, nothing remains but to say over again what has been already said, and to do over again what has been already done. All that remains for the conscientious Catholic, is, to determine at what particular point of the circumference his opponent has taken his stand,—whether he objects to the authority of the Catholic hierarchy, to the authority of him by whom it was founded, or whether, advancing a step further, he puts in question the interference in human affairs of Him by whom the founder of our holy religion was sent; or, finally, whether admitting His existence, and His active influence, he considers himself specially inspired by His spirit; for all these errors, and for all their intermediate shades, the arguments by which they have been a thousand times refuted are in our hands; but, in order to use them, one preliminary condition is required—a sincere desire of truth in those to whom they are addressed. Arguments we can give, and arguments in abundance; but this spirit of docility is the exclusive gift of Him who rules the heart, and is to be obtained by prayer alone.

The unusual length of the present article must be our excuse for passing over unnoticed several matters in the present chapter intimately connected with the progress of religious opinion; as also in the two following, which are devoted to the proximate subjects of speculative and moral philosophy. Such as the gradual progress of Arminianism, out of which arose that spirit of Jansenism which so long agitated the Church of France; as also the writings and errors of Fenelon, who exercised so great an influence upon the age in which he lived. We must likewise pass by the long struggle of the Jesuits, with that outpouring of spiritual pride, the principal centre of which was Port-Royal, and one of the principal champions of which was Pascal, who, in his celebrated *Lettres Provinciales*, struck a heavy blow at that order, the spirit of which he did not understand. Time alone—Time, the destroyer and the avenger, has for ever put an end to this violent controversy; the Jansenists are now an obsolete sect, whilst the Jesuits, reestablished by the competent authority, still exert their salutary influence throughout the universal Church.

We think it unnecessary to make any apology to our readers for the limited view which we have taken of the interesting work before us. Obligated, by the very character of the work

itself, to adopt some special limit, we thought that no subject was more in harmony with the spirit that directs our labours, than a rapid sketch of the progress of that principle which establishes the right of unlimited discussion, and which, after many ineffectual efforts, ultimately triumphed in the religious troubles of the sixteenth century. In a former article we spoke at some length as to the author's appreciation of the men by whom this religious revolution was effected; in the present, we have attached ourselves more particularly to the consequences—moral, social, and literary—which have resulted from it: in the course of these two articles we have quoted many passages in which the author treats both the *Reformers* and the *Reformation* with considerable severity; we have principally confined ourselves to such, and, we think, very legitimately; for whatever a man once admits, becomes a fair weapon in the hands of his adversary. It is, moreover, very rare that the author ever defends either the one or the other; his historical impartiality, and his natural good sense, generally triumph over the early prejudices of his education. No one, therefore, can accuse us of partiality in our quotations, since we professedly defend a certain principle, which has been clearly laid down; how far we have succeeded we leave the impartial reader to decide.

Art. VIII.—*First Report of the Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland.* Dublin: 1841.

PROSPECTS of real practical improvements, are at last, we feel most happy to say, opening upon the long-neglected territory and people of Ireland. Various societies holding in view especially the cultivation of her soil, and the importation of superior races of cattle, sheep, and swine, have been during several years past established, which undoubtedly accomplished, while they existed, a very considerable amount of good. The association of Ballinasloe, in the county of Galway, under the spirited guidance of Lord Clancarty, and with the liberal assistance of the gentlemen of his neighbourhood, has tended chiefly to render the great animal fair of that town, one of the most celebrated marts for the sale of sheep that are now known in Europe. Other institutions upon a similar plan have been from time to time established in other counties. They have all, more or less, been exceed-

ingly useful in their way. They have shown, in many instances, how much of improvement may be effected by the aid of implements not previously used in Ireland, by attention to the species of crops which ought necessarily to occupy her arable land, and by introducing from England and the Netherlands better breeds of the animals destined for human subsistence.

But few, however, of these local bodies enjoyed a prolonged existence. The want of a general solid institution, sustained partly by voluntary contributions from all parts of the country, and partly assisted by regular grants from parliament, was felt at a very early period. In the year 1800, a general farming society was instituted upon this principle in Dublin, which during its continuance (*viz.* twenty-eight years), conferred upon the country many advantages. Persons well acquainted with its operations, have stated, that in order to estimate its labours, we need only select the worst farming in the least improved district of the island at the present day, and suppose *that* kind of agriculture, if agriculture it ought to be called, spread, before the society was established, over the entire surface of our soil. The ordinary implements of husbandry were of the rudest and most defective construction. The ploughs, such as they were, were drawn by miserable half-starved horses. The halter, the collar, the back-band, were ropes of twisted straw. In remote parts of Ireland, it was then no rare spectacle to see a harrow drawn by two colts yoked to it by the tails. Sometimes a sowing of flax was harrowed in simply by an inverted turf-kish, drawn by a man, and pressed to the ground by a woman who followed!

The introduction of the best races of breeding stock, was one of the first objects successfully achieved by the Farming Society. Although the beneficial results were necessarily confined to those who had the means of purchasing and preparing food for such valuable stock, nevertheless it turned out to be a decidedly great benefit to the country, to attract the attention even of that class, however limited it may have been, to this most important department of husbandry improvement. Superior stock required fine feeding, beyond the ordinary pasturage even of our own "green isle," such as turnips, mangel-wurzel, and vetches of every kind. The growth of these productions superinduced the necessity of the best tillage, through the medium of skilfully directed labour, improved implements, and an abundance of judiciously selected manure.

Ploughing matches were next introduced, which have been

attended with great success in many parts of the country. On those occasions, prizes, consisting chiefly of the most perfect kinds of ploughs and other agricultural implements, and sometimes of money, were distributed. These matches were usually attended by great numbers of the peasantry; and we have been informed, upon good authority, that the spirit of competition created by these exhibitions, has very much tended to the removal from the minds of the country-people, of many deeply-rooted prejudices which had been previously opposed to agricultural machinery of almost every description.

As soon as it was seen that the old prejudices and superstitions of the peasantry upon these points began to be dispersed, the Farming Society presented in many instances Scotch iron ploughs to working farmers, whose industry and sobriety were duly certified. The result of these distributions has been described in the following humorous terms:—

“The small farmer, formerly content with the vile old plough and its miserable accompaniments, upon receiving one of iron, with a handsome set of painted swingletrees, thought it *too bad*, as he would express himself, to have it draw in *the ould way*; and in downright shame would strain a point to make a hempen back-band, horse-skin collar, and winkered bridle, supplant those articles in former use, of fragile and temporary manufacture. He would, moreover, try to *swap the ould mare* for one of a stronger cut; and gaining something *better* in the horse way, would perhaps be disposed, by a patch of clover or vetches, to provide something better for the animal's support.”

To the better order of farmers, ploughs, rollers, and harrows were given by the Society at reduced prices. For these and other agricultural implements a factory was established, which adopted the best models to be found in England and Scotland. Here also apprentices were received and journeymen instructed, for the purpose of conducting local factories throughout the country. Persons skilled in the use of the new implements, were employed by the Society, and sent free of cost, to all who made application for them. Some progress was also made under the auspices of the Society, in the material knowledge of draining, of using the drill machine, and in the management even of the Hainault scythe. The spread, however, of the latter, was limited, by its having been found “too expeditious” for the Irish labourer, as it tended to diminish the number of persons ordinarily deemed competent within a given time for the sickle-work of a certain proportion of land. This is a question of economy, upon which it is

extremely difficult to enlighten the minds of the industrious classes. They cannot be brought by any process of reasoning, to understand how the employer could be enabled actually to increase the number of his labourers by the aid of machinery; which is calculated to diminish his expenses, and, by consequence, to augment his capital, by which augmentation, his agricultural enterprises might be most beneficially extended.

The practical results of the Society's operations were particularly experienced in the county of Wicklow, which was within the immediate sphere of their influence. Its fertile valleys were cultivated by imported seed-corn, and the introduction of new implements. Its mountains were rapidly covered with improved flocks of sheep, substituted for a miserable race of animals extremely small, bearing very little flesh and no wool. The flock masters were enabled to boast of their mutton, which is still much sought after. Their fleeces were improved not only in quality but quantity; and the cloths manufactured from them were considered remarkable for their fineness and durability. The seed-corn introduced by the Society was pretty generally spread through the country, and the samples of its produce were allowed by the chief factors at Mark Lane, to equal any that had ever been exhibited for sale. The Society in question has been justly deemed instrumental in stimulating the general ameliorations in our native classes of sheep, of which from eighty to one hundred thousand have been annually produced for sale at the October fair of Ballinasloe. It is stated, also, that to the exertions of the Society, the country is much indebted for the improvements that have taken place in the old race of our swine, and which have enabled Ireland to supply England annually with a vast number of that most useful animal.

In consequence of some circumstances, however, which it is not necessary now to investigate, the parliamentary assistance previously given to the Farming Society was withdrawn, and the society itself dissolved in 1828. The yearly subscriptions promised to it by its members had fallen much into arrear, and although exertions were subsequently made by several spirited and patriotic individuals to revive it, their efforts altogether failed. Attempts have been more than once made since that period, to form a general agricultural society for Ireland, but no progress was effected until Mr. Purcell recently applied his experience, his great talents for business, and his strong mind, to the task; and we feel the greatest gratification in being enabled now to announce, that an institution for this

purpose has been organized, under the patronage of her Majesty, and the auspices of many of the most distinguished noblemen and gentlemen of the empire.

The first report of this most important association is now before us, from which it appears to have been founded principally upon the models of the agricultural societies of England and Scotland, modified by some suggestions found amongst the papers of the late Mr. Drummond, who, with that never-tiring zeal for the welfare of this country by which he was always animated, had contemplated the formation of a similar institution some years ago. The chief government of the society is vested in a council, not exceeding one hundred members, who are empowered to name sub-committees from themselves and the body of subscribers at large, for the purpose of attending to the correspondence and the financial duties of the society, and also for the improvement of agriculture, and with a particular attention to the condition of the labouring classes, and for such other matters as may seem necessary to the council. It is most wisely made a fundamental rule of the society, that no question shall be discussed at any of its meetings of a political tendency, or which shall refer to any matter to be brought forward or pending in either house of parliament.

The primary objects of the society are, of course, as its name implies, the encouragement of every practical means of improvement in husbandry. An agricultural museum is to be formed in Dublin, in the first instance, for the exhibition of the most approved implements, similar to that already existing in Scotland and many parts of England. Connected also with the society, but not at all dependent upon its funds, an Agricultural College is to be formed. This we take to be a project which promises, if carried successfully into execution, to be of vital importance to Ireland. Here the sons of farmers are to be instructed in all the different branches of husbandry, so as to qualify them hereafter as practical farmers, in different parts of the country. The students are to be occupied partly in the practical duties incidental to agricultural life, partly in learning the principles of surveying, engineering, mensuration, veterinary science, and everything relating to what may be called agricultural chemistry, such as the nature of manures, alkalis, and salts of different kinds, and their effects upon the soil and all vegetable productions.

It is proposed to confide to this college the duty of keeping accurate accounts of the expense by which different systems of

agriculture are attended, with a view to obtain a fixed authority upon this most important subject. The proceedings of this institution are to be carefully recorded, and published annually, with a view to exhibit the results of the different experiments made during the year. The students, it is intended, are to pay a certain amount for their board, and it is expected that the remaining expenses of the establishment will be fully provided for by the produce of their own industry. Should this plan succeed, it is to be afterwards extended to each of the provinces, according to circumstances.

With respect to the general finances of the society, it has been wisely arranged, that all gifts and donations are to be funded without any reserve. The necessity of this rule has been suggested by the well-known fact, that all societies previously established for agricultural purposes, have finally failed for the want of funds and annual contributions. It is intended, therefore, to create a large capital at the commencement, and to place it beyond ordinary control. Thus the confidence and future support of the public will be secured; and it is expected that the current expenditure of the society will be amply provided for by the interest of their capital, and the annual subscriptions of the members.

It is an essential portion of the plan, that local societies, for promoting all the objects of the institution, should be formed in all parts of the kingdom; that with these societies, as well as those already existing, constant intercourse should be preserved; and, that through their assistance, useful information should be collected, and diffused as widely as possible. These local societies, however, are not to be branches of, or dependent upon, the general institution. Each is to act for itself in its own sphere. But assistance is to be given to the district society in this way:—supposing that such a society should have arranged an annual exhibition, and that a fixed sum should have been collected for the purpose, then the Dublin institution will offer to give certain prizes to be contended for at such exhibition, and those prizes will be paid by that institution alone, when claimed by the party certified to be duly entitled.

By these means it is proposed to afford all possible encouragement to every branch of husbandry, the draining of marshy countries, the irrigation of dry and hilly soils; the introduction of the best qualities of cattle and sheep into the grazing districts; the growth of flax; the culture of turnips in particular, and of such other green crops as are found essential in the rearing and feeding of cattle. Measures, moreover, are

to be adopted for instructing the small holders of land how to apply their labour, and to turn even the minutest portion of their tenements to advantage. Useful practical knowledge is to be diffused amongst them through the medium of cheap publications; and a sub-committee is to be appointed for the purpose of carrying this most important object into effect.

We wish to invite particular attention to one of the concluding paragraph of the Report, which is framed in these terms:—

“ Your Committee cannot conclude their Report, without expressing their strong conviction that the improvement of the *social* condition of the agricultural labourers and small farmers of Ireland by practical and effective means, should form the most prominent object of the Society. They are, therefore, firmly persuaded, that no measures can be adopted for permanently and effectually promoting the agricultural interests in Ireland, which do not tend to advance the moral and social condition of the labouring population, and to elevate them in society, so that by improving their habits by example and encouragement—increasing their comforts by sympathy and attention, they may learn to feel that the interests of all classes are identified; and making agriculture as it were a neutral ground, to merge all differences in the common good.”

We have now laid before the reader the outlines of the plan of this new institution, and we are happy to perceive that it has already met with very liberal pecuniary support from the public. Indeed, so far as the financial prospects of the society are concerned, they appear to afford to it every hope of durability. The objects embraced in the general scheme—objects not merely confined to improvements in husbandry, but extending also to the moral and social condition of the peasantry throughout the country, contemplate a real revolution in the whole frame of society in Ireland—a revolution from which, if it be conducted by master hands, the most happy consequences must ensue. Party animosities will be reconciled—sectarian prejudices will be dispelled—industry will be generously fostered—employment will be afforded to great numbers of persons hitherto pauperised by the want of sufficient occupation, and the whole face of the land will undergo a most auspicious change.

We cannot, however, conceal from ourselves the fears we entertain as to the mode in which the knowledge they so much want is to be conveyed to the habitation and mind of the poorer classes of the tenantry throughout the country. Publications of a scientific nature—even though that science be of

the utmost importance to the poor husbandman—will not reach him in the ordinary way. Even if they do, how is he to understand them—how is he to be enabled to appreciate and carry into effect the suggestions they may contain? These are questions most essential to be solved, and as we have given much consideration to the subject, we shall take the liberty to offer such observations relative to them as have occurred to us.

We take it for granted, in the first place, that a number of experienced practical agriculturists will be appointed to visit periodically all parts of the country, whose business it will be to awaken the attention of the people to the new improvements that have taken place in husbandry, and to point out to them the modes by which, with very little expense, their cottages may be rendered infinitely more cleanly, more healthy, and more comfortable than they now generally are. The removal of the dung-heap from before the cabin-door—the deposit of their collections of manure in pits instead of upon heaps already accumulated—the erection of a shed for the pig—the filling up of the stagnant ponds so usually found near the miserable hut—the addition of a good chimney—the formation of a dry floor—the insertion in the walls of metallic windows, well glazed, capable of being easily opened, and so situated as to afford the means of thorough ventilation. These and other obvious improvements of a similar description, if explained in simple language to the occupying tenantry, would of themselves, if attained, be productive of the greatest benefit. It is not improbable that local societies may be speedily created, where they do not already exist, which might contribute to the necessary expenses of these improvements. The landlords too, and their agents, would not, we hope, be appealed to in vain, if called upon to assist in these primary alterations.

Give the peasant, in the first instance, the clean and cheerful hearth, the roof well thatched and secured from the winds and rains of winter, the neat dry-sanded floor, the wooden bench to rest him from the labours of the day, and the warm bed whereupon he might enjoy undisturbed “great nature’s sweet restorer, balmy sleep,” and soon other wants will begin to attract his attention, which may be supplied upon very economical terms.

The publication of the transactions of the general and local societies may be highly useful in their way. But the instruction they will afford, so long as it is retained in expensive volumes, and conveyed in language of a technical and scien-

tific description, can never benefit the cottager, however acceptable it may prove to the higher classes of society. Indeed, even in this elevated sphere we have observed that publications of this description are very seldom read to any considerable extent. The volumes are received,—they remain uncut, and they are eventually thrown by as so much lumber. Nor are we at all surprised at this result: such compilations are generally made up of papers transmitted to the society. The papers are for the most part, with some very brilliant exceptions we admit, written very inartificially, and in a dry uninteresting style, calculated to repel rather than to invite attention.

We are of opinion that, as a general rule, well-written abridgements only, of papers forwarded to the society, should be committed to the press. Let the original document be carefully preserved in manuscript amongst the archives of the society, and, if necessary, transcripts of it be given at their own expense to those members who may choose to have them; but let not the printed transactions be inundated with the ill-written and crude communications of persons who are ambitious to see themselves in print.

Nor should such abstracts be published in a separate form. They should be appended to a quarterly journal, which, if properly conducted, might be rendered quite as popular as the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*. This journal should contain judicious reviews of all new works connected with astronomy, meteorology, geology, mineralogy, electricity, and chemistry, as well as with husbandry, for all these sciences are connected, more or less, with the improvement of agriculture. Probably a monthly, or a two-monthly publication of this description might be found still more useful than a journal which should appear only four times in the year. This is a question for consideration.

But the power of the society to diffuse information would be still extremely limited, if it were confined to periodicals of any of the three classes which we have mentioned. Let us contemplate the actual state of the great mass of the Irish people at the present moment. They are for the most part deficient in the habits necessary for acquiring accurate and useful knowledge. But it must be taken into consideration, that even if the contrary were the fact, they do not possess the means of improving their minds, nor the leisure necessary for that purpose, nor the power, very generally, of reading any publication suited to their capacity which might be placed

within their reach. They eagerly listen to any person who can read for them a newspaper containing exciting speeches connected with the leading political topics of the day. It may be observed also, from the avidity with which ballads are bought up at the markets and fairs, that compositions of this description are very much diffused amongst them; and we fear that in too many cases the faculty of reading acquired by the rising generations is devoted infinitely more to the doggrel ballad, and the most violent of the political periodicals of our day, than to any works which might tend to their economical and social improvement.

It is, nevertheless, of great importance to know that even for such productions as these an appetite does exist. It will be one of the noblest duties of the new institution to wean their attention gradually from compositions of this kind, and to direct it to higher pursuits. A very feasible mode for effecting this object, as it appears to us, is this. The society should publish a weekly journal, very much upon the plan of the *London Penny Magazine*, containing illustrations chiefly connected with agricultural subjects; such as sketches of neat cottages, implements of husbandry, of the best breeds of the horse, of cattle and sheep, and wood-cuts representing flowers, and illustrative of subjects connected with astronomy, meteorology, &c., might be occasionally introduced with great advantage. The letter-press of the magazine should also be dedicated chiefly to matters of the kind just mentioned. But topics of a miscellaneous nature should be by no means excluded. For every class of readers there should be something interesting in the magazine, with a view not only to the agricultural amelioration of the country, but also to the instruction of the people generally in such topics as would tend to their moral and social improvement. Politics should of course be most carefully banished from the magazine, and great care should be taken to avoid the possibility of its being made the instrument of any sectarian doctrines. But the omnipresence of the Deity in his works should be most diligently inculcated: the tone of the compositions should be cheerful, cordial, and winning; and the writers engaged in preparing the articles should always recollect that they are addressing the mind of a people particularly susceptible on every point relating to national position and character.

The magazine, thus constructed and published, should be transmitted to the local agricultural societies, and also to depots prepared for them in every part of the country—to the

shops of booksellers and circulating libraries, wherever such establishments are to be found, and where no such establishments exist, to the post-office and the national schools throughout Ireland. In no case should the journal be given gratis. It is observable that tracts distributed gratuitously are never read to any considerable extent; for things which cost nothing seem always of little or no value. But the publication which is bought at its full price will be carefully treated, and the peasant who may be induced to purchase it will take pains to read or to have it read to him. In order to facilitate the circulation of the magazine, the boys who upon competition are found to be the best readers in their classes, should be selected to go about amongst the families of districts assigned to them, and to read for such families, not only the magazine, but also portions of any other journal which the society may publish. One copy of the quarterly journal should be deposited in every national school, and it should be lent out, through the agency of the readers, to any family who would subscribe some small sum, weekly, for the use of that publication.

Into other details connected with these publications we need not enter. Of course they should be illustrated in the best style of art, and printed on the most improved system of typography. The society would do well to consider whether they ought not to have a printing establishment of their own, and also mills for the manufacture of paper. It would be a project coming legitimately within their general plans for the improvement of the country, to introduce into Ireland foundries for casting type, and for stereotyping such of their publications as might be required to pass through several editions. By manufacturing their own paper also, they would be enabled to afford a better material for their works than they could purchase elsewhere.

The machinery for the circulation of the society's journals which we have ventured to suggest, might perhaps be rendered still more effective, through the agency of the constabulary stations and officers, and also by the officers connected with the administration of the poor-law. But in all cases the readers, where they are required, should be chosen by competition from amongst the boys educated in the national schools. A small salary should be assigned to these readers. The reward, however trifling, would have the good effect of inspiring emulation amongst the boys themselves; and the practice of reading the society's publications would in time produce a useful effect upon the minds of these youths, by

cultivating in them a knowledge of the best systems of agriculture. Thus the seeds of practical instruction would at once be sown over the greater part of the kingdom, and in due time they would ripen into an intellectual harvest of the most abundant and the most admirable description. It is truly delightful to know, that never was an opportunity more favourable for the commencement of these great national improvements than that which we now enjoy; we have a population which we can truly designate as the most temperate of all the communities upon earth, whether savage or civilized; and it is universally admitted, that in point of intelligence, the Irish have no superiors, even amongst the most cultivated nations.

In propagating the great blessing of useful knowledge, sure we are that our Catholic prelates and clergy, and we hope the ministers of every denomination, will lend all possible assistance. We well know how intensely occupied our own clergy are at all times in the duties of their sacred office, but we cannot doubt that they will find time to give the good work a helping hand, and that they will universally encourage the circulation amongst their flocks of the productions issued by the society.

We are happy to see passing through Parliament at this moment a new drainage bill, which if carried into a law, must tend most materially to advance the agricultural objects of the institution. The principal purpose of this bill is to enable any person interested in a particular tract of land, liable to be flooded, to present a memorial to the Commissioners of Public Works, praying that the same may be drained under the provisions of the act. Should any river, capable of being made navigable, run through or near such land, the parties may also memorialize the commissioners with a view to attain this object. The sums necessary to defray preliminary expenses must, however, be deposited by the memorialists with the commissioners, in case that upon inspection of the locality the project should be not approved of by their surveyors.

With respect to the latter condition, we confess that we should like to see the memorialists entitled to appeal to some other tribunal,—the chairman of the quarter sessions for instance,—should the application be negatived by the commissioners. The creation of the provincial councils, which we ventured to suggest in the last number of this journal,* would certainly remove many difficulties from this subject; but

* "Dublin Review," No. XIX. p. 230.

until some measure of that kind be adopted, we are much disposed to think, that the chairman of the quarter-sessions, or the judge of assize, aided perhaps by a jury summoned for the express purpose, should have some control in the matter, capable of being applied to the assistance of the memorialist, should they consider him entitled to it, whenever his application is rejected by the commissioners.

It would be desirable undoubtedly, that in all cases of extensive drainage, the assent of a majority, perhaps even of two-thirds of the proprietors of the land, should be previously obtained. Not only the extent, however, of their possessions should be taken into estimation, but also the fair value of those possessions. We are glad to see power given in this bill to remove all impediments to drainage and navigation which arise from watermills. Of course, in all such cases just compensation should be afforded where the constructions are of a certain number of years standing. The advances necessary for the execution of the works are to be made by the Board of Works, and to be secured upon the lands. The bill, as it now stands, does certainly give to the board very extensive control over the property of the parties pledged to the repayment of all such advances. The time for such repayment ought, we think, to be enlarged, and the extreme powers granted to the commissioners for the recovery of the sums advanced, ought perhaps to be somewhat curtailed. The terms of repayment and interest as they now stand, are such, we fear, as to deter parties from making applications under the act. It is one of the peculiar misfortunes of Ireland that its land proprietors are, to a great extent, absentees; to this evil no remedy can at present be applied, and therefore it would be expedient that the legislature should step a little out of its way in fixing the powers of the commissioners, and consider more the general improvement of the country, than the strict and quick return of every sixpence expended upon it.

The importance of this bill to the interests of Ireland can scarcely be appreciated by persons ignorant of the geological character of this country. We find it stated in the first "Bog Report," that:

"A portion of Ireland, of little more than one-fourth of its entire superficial extent, and, included between a line drawn from Wicklow Head to Galway, and another drawn from Howth Head to Sligo, comprises within it about six-sevenths of the bogs in the island, exclusive of mere mountain bogs, and bogs of less extent than five-hundred acres, in its form resembling a broad belt drawn across the

centre of Ireland, with its narrowest end nearest to the capital, and gradually extending in breadth as it approaches the Western Ocean. This great division of the island extending from east to west, is traversed by the Shannon from north to south, and is then divided into two parts; of these the division to the west of the river contains more than double the extent of the bogs which are to be found in the division to the eastward; so that if we suppose the whole bogs of Ireland (exclusive of mere mountain bogs and bogs under five-hundred acres), to be divided into twenty parts, we shall find about seventeen of them comprised within the great division we have now described,—twelve to the westward and five to the eastward of the Shannon; and of the remaining three parts, about two are to the south, and one to the north of this division. We are led to believe, from various communications with our engineer, that the bogs in the eastern division of the great district above described, amount to about two hundred and sixty thousand English acres, which, on the proportion already mentioned, would give rather more than one million of English acres as the total contents of the bogs of Ireland, excluding, however, from consideration, mere mountain bogs and also all bogs of less extent than five hundred acres, of each of which description the amount is very considerable. Of the extent of the latter, some idea may be formed, from the fact which we have learned from Mr. Larkin, that in the single county of Cavan, which he has surveyed, there are about ninety bogs, no one of which exceeds five hundred Irish acres, but which taken collectively, contain above eleven thousand Irish, which is equivalent to above seventeen thousand six hundred English acres, besides many smaller bogs varying in size from five to twenty acres.

“Most of the bogs which lie to the eastward of the Shannon, and which occupy a considerable portion of the King's County, and county of Kildare, are generally known by the name of the Bog of Allen; it must not, however, be supposed that this name is applied to any one great morass; on the contrary, the bogs to which it is applied, are perfectly distinct from each other, often separated by high ridges of dry country, and inclining towards different rivers, as their natural direction for drainage, so intersected by dry and cultivated land, that it may be affirmed generally, that there is no spot of these bogs (to the eastward of the Shannon), so much as two Irish miles distant from the upland and cultivated districts.”—*Bog Report*, No. i. p. 4.

Many persons believe the bogs of Ireland to be low and marshy tracts of country, not very dissimilar in their composition from the fens of Lincolnshire; others, aware that the substance of which they are formed, greatly differs from that of the fen districts, attribute nevertheless the origin of both to pretty nearly the same causes; while an opinion more prevalent, and, perhaps, not less erroneous than either, attributes their formation to fallen forests, which are supposed at some

former period to have covered these districts, and to have been destroyed either by the effects of time, or by hostile armies in the early wars of Ireland.

In point of fact, however, we have ourselves traversed many bogs in Ireland, which occupy the summits and sides of mountains. There are hills near Darrynane, covered with bogs, upon which we have had the pleasure of hunting with Mr. O'Connell, and his noble set of beagles. Most of the bogs surveyed by Mr. Griffith are in elevated situations. As to the instrumentality of trees in the formation of bogs, it may be affirmed that trees are found buried at the edges of bogs, and are very rarely found in the interior parts.

The bog seems to be a mass of the peculiar substance called peat, of the average thickness of twenty-five feet—nowhere less than twelve, nor found to exceed forty-two. It varies in appearance and properties in proportion to the depth at which it lies. On the upper surface it is covered with moss of various species, and to the depth of about ten feet, composed of a mass of the fibres of similar vegetables in different stages of decomposition, proportioned to their depths from the surface; generally, however, too open in their texture to be applied to the purposes of fuel: below this, usually, lies a light blackish-brown turf, containing the fibres of the mass still visible, though not perfect, and extending to a further depth of perhaps ten feet under this. At a greater depth, the fibres of vegetable matter cease to be visible—the colour of the turf becomes blacker, and the substance much more compact. Its properties as fuel then become much more valuable: in proportion to its depth and compactness, that value increases; when dug out and dried it bears a strong resemblance to bituminous coal; it produces a beautiful clear gas, and yields a black shining lustre, capable of being improved into a high polish. Beneath the lowest stratum of turf there is generally found a thin stratum of yellow or blue clay, varying in thickness from one to six feet. In some places the peat rests on a thin stratum of yellowish-white marl, containing on an average about sixty per cent. of a calcareous matter. Sometimes this marl is found appended as it were to lumps of dry peat, which easily crumble when pressed in the hand. Thin veins, also, of the same material we have seen in several bogs. It is of a soapy texture, and forms an excellent manure. Below the stratum of marl is often found a solid mass of clay and limestone gravel mixed together, descending to depths not yet explored.

In its general nature, especially near the surface, the peat

mass partakes of the property of sponge, completely saturated with water, and giving rise to different streams and rivers for the discharge of the surplus waters which it receives from rain or snow. Channels are thus frequently worn through the substance of the bog down to the clay or limestone gravel underneath, dividing the bog into distinct masses, and presenting in themselves the most proper situations for the main drains, and which, with the assistance of art, might be rendered effectual for that purpose.

These facts show how easily, and at what a comparatively small expense, a very great proportion of the bogs of Ireland might be converted into arable land and pasturage, and into soil fit for the plantation of trees of every description. Moreover, when viewed externally, they present surfaces by no means level, but with planes of inclination amply sufficient for their drainage. It has been ascertained that a very great proportion of the bogs of Ireland are full two hundred feet above the level of the sea. The probability seems to be, that there are very few parts of those bogs from which the water may not be discharged into rivers in their immediate vicinity, and with falls adequate to their complete drainage, and this, too, at an expense, which in a few years would be much more than covered by the profits derivable from the reclaimed territory. Nor need any fear be entertained as to a supply of fuel after the completion of the drainage operations. On the contrary, the quality of the turf would be much improved by those operations,—care being of course taken to reserve a sufficient portion of the bog in every district to meet its consumption for thousands of years to come. Large as the population of Ireland is, and has been, and numerous as the centuries are during which the bogs have yielded fuel to the inhabitants, the reduction of bogs in depth or extent seems as yet scarcely noticeable.

If besides the bogs, the morasses were also drained, and the overflow of the natural lakes drawn off by outlets to the sea, it is not to be doubted that the excessive moisture of our atmosphere would be corrected to a very considerable extent. If ever that result should take place, Ireland would be justly considered as the most salubrious portion of the whole British empire, whether at home or abroad. Even as it now stands, it presents perhaps a greater number of persons whose individual ages exceed seventy years, than any other country. It is no uncommon thing to hear in Ireland of women of fourscore, and of men of ninety and even a hundred years old.

Generally speaking, the winters are mild, and the heats of summer are seldom extreme. The pasturage and meadow fields exhibit carpets of emerald verdure through all the seasons. Even in the depth of winter, banks of the most fragrant violets may be discovered in sunny spots, and before the snow-drop and the crocus have disappeared in England, not only the hedge sides, but the uplands and valleys of Ireland may be seen profusely decorated with the primrose.

Take it all in all, with its now truly temperate men, its comely, chaste, and sprightly women, its rising generation of hardy, courageous, intelligent and educated youths, its admirable capabilities for the railway and the steam-boat, its wonderful natural fertility, the opulence of its sea borders in every species of the finest fish, its numerous harbours which scarcely require the improving hand of art, its internal communications by rivers and lovely lakes without number, its superb estuaries, unrivalled scenery, and, above all, its admirable geographical position for speedy communication with the old world and the new, there is certainly no territory like it to be seen under the sun.

Delightful, truly Godlike, therefore, will be the duties of the association that has at last sprung forth to break the manacles by which the destinies of Ireland have been hitherto bound down. It has appeared amidst a galaxy of circumstances, all of the most propitious nature that have ever yet been assembled together, to light industry on her way to wealth and renown. Before it have already vanished party and sectarian feuds. Men, long estranged from each other by religious and political contentions, meet in the chambers of the new Institution, animated only by one glorious hope and thought, the regeneration of their native land, and her promotion, by her own energies, to at least a level with her sister nation—the mistress of the world.

And let it not be forgotten, that the gracious and beloved sovereign who holds our imperial sceptre, has come to foster this institution by her influence, and thus to give a new pledge of her true affection for her Irish people. She has seen that the objects it proposes to effect are mainly directed to the advancement of the moral and social condition of the labouring population, to elevate them in society, and to bless them with comfort and happiness. Thus aided by her Majesty, her excellent representative in this country, our long-admired chief secretary, and the other able officers around him,—guided and liberally sustained by the Leinsters, the Charlemonts, the

Fingals, the Cloneurrys, and the most patriotic and high-minded of our gentry, the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society can hardly fail to triumph over every obstacle that may appear to stand in its way. *Perpetua esto!*

ART. IX.—*Lives of the Queens of England.* By Agnes Strickland. Second Edition. 1841.

THIS elegant and useful work has, we rejoice to find, reached a second and much improved edition; and if in the continuation of it, which we are promised, the same spirit of research be brought to bear upon more ample materials, and the same dispassionate and graceful spirit preserved in treating of nearer and more exciting times, we think that Miss Strickland will have established for herself the character of one of the most useful and pleasing writers of the present day. Independently of the execution, we consider the idea of the work to be very valuable, and that it may tend to introduce a new description of biographies, more generally useful, and more calculated to throw light upon domestic history than any we as yet possess. There is certainly nothing new in the practice of elucidating obscure points in history by the private records of the individuals chiefly concerned in them, nor any dearth of materials for doing so. Memoirs, diaries, biographies, and autobiographies, histories of detached periods, letters and correspondence of all ranks and times, and all degrees of value, are abundant, especially in our own and the French language; and few styles of reading are more agreeable or more popular. These are, however, but fragments in the history of the manners and social progress of nations, too deeply tinged by the peculiar views and circumstances of the subjects of them to be used as safe guides;—too voluminous to be in general circulation;—too disconnected and various to give a clear and single impression upon those subjects as to which they would most generally be referred to. They are in short the rich materials from which may be drawn all those details of the manners and modes of thinking and expression of the period, which are so valuable that they have often been held to counterbalance the disadvantages of the historical novel with all its inaccuracies. The most advantageous method of conveying this information is certainly by a series of lives, to form (with all the accessories that may be

grouped around them) a kind of running commentary upon the changes which time brings with it; and the picture must obviously be more faithful, according as the characters selected move in the same sphere. They should not be unconnected with history, to which, in this use of it, biography would truly be a handmaid; nor yet should they be so overloaded by its important public facts, as to make the introduction of hundreds of minor and domestic matters irrelevant. How much interesting information, for instance, might be conveyed in a history of the Lord Mayors of London, supposing there existed materials for such a history, and patience to work them out!

Under this view, Miss Strickland's subject is most promising; for the Queens of England are closely intertwined with the domestic history of their country. One is surprised indeed when presented with a connected view of the whole series, to see how much this is the case; and for the most part how worthy they were of the influence which they possessed, by their talents or virtues, and frequently by both. It is true of women in particular, as of human beings in general, "they are what you believe them to be." What trace is there of the trifling slave of the harem, or the monster of profligacy described by Juvenal, in the noble women of the middle ages? Take, for instance, the majestic wife of the Conqueror—the devoted Matilda; or Stephen's queen; or the fair Adelicia, who crowned a life of blameless excellence by devoting herself soul and body to her Creator.

If, in the days of chivalry, women were idolized, it is worth while to observe what pains were taken to fit them for this affectionate homage. The earlier queens of England were "carefully educated," solidly grounded "in all the learning of the time;" their accomplishments and relaxations were of a grandeur befitting their station; they delighted in architecture; the arts found in them munificent patrons: even the needlework, in which they greatly excelled, partook of this lofty character. The Bayeux tapestry, worked by the wife of the Conqueror, was an epic poem done in needlework; being a complete representation of all the incidents of her husband's conquest of England.

"It is a piece of canvass, about nineteen inches in breadth, but upwards of sixty-seven yards in length, on which is embroidered the history of the Conquest of England by William of Normandy, commencing with the visit of Harold to the Norman Court, and ending with his death at the Battle of Hastings, 1066.

"The leading transactions of these eventful years, the death of Edward the Confessor, and the coronation of Harold, in the chamber of the royal dead, are represented in the clearest and most regular order in this piece of needlework, which contains many hundred figures of men, horses, birds, beasts, trees, houses, castles, and churches, all executed in their proper colours, with names and inscriptions over them to elucidate the story."—vol. i. p. 57.

Their charities were upon a scale of munificence—their devotions frequent and continual. Even the "fair Provençal queens" (as our authoress in her somewhat flowery style delights to designate them), if they in the commencement of their career showed somewhat plainly the influence of a softening education and climate, yet proved that they had that innate vigour of mind which can extract the "precious uses" of adversity.

We see with great pleasure some of these illustrious ladies vindicated from the calumnies of the writers of fiction, who as Celia says, "simply misused" the sex in their versions of history. We cannot imagine why Sir Walter Scott in the *Crusaders*, has chosen to represent the wife of King Richard as a silly, trifling girl, and Edith, of whose connexion with Richard he seems not well aware, as a haughty, pedantic shrew. Above all, why he should have devoted many of his most lively passages to a description of the petty quarrels between the relatives. Now, Berengaria was no longer a girl when Richard married her; of a noble character and style of beauty (if we may trust the accuracy of her portrait), and between her and the Princess Joanna, Richard's sister, there existed a steady and tender friendship worthy the exalted character of both. Here, then, is a sad sacrifice of real beauty to effect, easily produced by bringing together all the violent contrasts that can be crowded on to the scene. There is more of truth in his delineation of Margaret of Anjou; but he has given a character of selfishness in her, and of weakness in the old saint-like king, her father, in the negotiations for the cession of Provence, by no means warranted by history, disagreeable in themselves, and of no use to the story, except to introduce those farcical scenes between Margaret and her father, by which Scott has in fact destroyed the poetry of as interesting a passage as can be found in history,—the retirement of the heroic and unfortunate queen to the father, whose love for her was expressed not only by his actions but by his tender sympathy. "My child," he writes, "may God help thee with his counsels, for rarely is the aid of man tendered in such reverse of

fortune. When you can spare a thought from your own sufferings, think of mine—they are great, my daughter, yet would I console thee.”—(Vol. iii. p. 854.)

Indeed, Queen Margaret has especial reason to complain of the treatment she has received from posterity; since even Shakspeare, usually so alive to moral beauty, destroys the only excuse that could have been offered for Queen Margaret's cruelties—her devoted affection for her helpless husband and her infant son—by representing her as the paramour of Suffolk, who was in truth an attached husband, and a grey-headed soldier, old enough almost to have been the grandfather of the innocent girl of fifteen whom he brought over to her husband. The unhappy Anne of Warwick has been even more grossly and more unaccountably traduced; but we have not space to point out the many instances in which truth is more beautiful, more poetical, than fiction.

It is much to be lamented that Miss Strickland is not a Catholic,—we say this not in reproach—for in touching upon religious subjects she shows a gentle, and in general, a liberal spirit: but had she been a Catholic, how admirably might she have availed herself of the opportunity afforded by her subject for tracing the influence of the Catholic faith upon the minds and manners of the age,—and there could not be a better one than is offered by this domestic history; for in the middle ages men were certainly an “out-spoken race;” their crimes and their virtues were all strongly and boldly defined; it needed no deceptious investigation of hidden motives to enable us to assign them their true character. Of these heroic heroes and heroines, we may truly say that there was no ambiguity, and just as little secrecy; the principle of concealment, which under different names and forms has so long chilled modern society, did not exist. The kings of England with their courts appear to have lived in public—the blended humility and magnificence of their devotions, their loves and their quarrels and fierce revenges, their joys and sorrows, were all shared and sympathised in by their subjects. The barons of Edward II “sat on the green hill side to ransack the baggage of the luckless Gaveston, where they found many of the crown jewels, some articles of gold and silver plate belonging to the king, and a great number of precious ornaments which had been presented to the king by Queen Isabella, his married sisters, and other persons of high rank.”—(Vol. ii. p. 220.)

The particulars of the king's property they were doubtless well acquainted with, all the wants of the royal household being

propounded to them with perfect explicitness. The following passage is but one instance out of many.

“Edward, by the grace of God, &c.

“We command that ye provide sixteen pieces of cloth for the apparelling of ourselves and our dear companion; also furs against the next feast of Christmas, and thirteen pieces of cloth for corsets for our said companion and her damsels, with naping linen, and other things of which we stand in need against the said feast; requiring you to assign to William Cassonces, the clerk of our wardrobe, 115*l.* in such manner as may obtain prompt payment of the same for this purpose.”—vol. ii. p. 234.

Some of the entries were marvellously unedifying, as, for instance,

“Robert de Vaux gave five of his best palfreys, that the king (John) might hold his tongue about Henry Pinel’s wife.”—vol. ii. p. 54.

The virtue of silence was profitable in those days.

“To the Bishop of Winchester is given one tun of good wine, for *not* putting the king in mind to give a girdle to the Countess of Albemarle.”—*Ibid.*

The record of their charities was kept with a like simplicity, and a voluminous one it seems to have been. How much of their lives too was spent in public, and with what boldness did they admit the merest populace as spectators of their vengeance!

“King John insulted Count Hugh, the unfortunate lover of his queen, with every species of personal indignity, carrying him and the insurgent barons of Poitou after him wherever he went, ‘chained hand and foot, in tumbril carts, drawn by oxen, a mode of travelling,’ says the Provençal chronicler very pathetically, ‘to which they were not accustomed.’ In this manner he dragged them after him, till they all embarked with him for England.”—vol. ii. p. 46.

“The ‘she-wolf of France’ caused Sir Hugh Despencer to be fastened on the poorest and smallest horse that could be found, clothed with a tabard, such as he was accustomed to wear, that is with his arms, and the arms of Clare of Gloucester, in right of his wife, emblazoned on his surcoat, or dress of state. Thus was he led in derision in the suite of the queen, through all the towns they passed, where he was announced by trumpets and cymbals, by way of greater mockery, till they reached Hereford.”—vol. ii. p. 264.

And, more deplorable still, many of the bitterest insults to the unhappy King Edward were offered “in the open fields.” To counterbalance these odious exhibitions, their progresses, tournaments, festivals, pilgrimages, all were public, and were shared with the people. We cannot but think that much of

the loyalty of those days, and of the patience with which a warlike, and not very enduring race of men put up with freaks which appear to us downright insupportable, must have arisen from the hearty frankness with which their feelings, good or bad, were appealed to.

The disputes between the people and their princes have all the air of family quarrels, and amidst wrangling and something very like downright mutual abuse, occur reconciliations quite as hearty and sincere. Eleanor (the Queen of Henry III) was perpetually disputing with the citizens of London,—her incessant demands for money exceeding all their patience and liberality; but this wrangling did not hinder her from keeping her festivals in great state and gaiety amongst them, and even making them pay for her unwonted fits of economy, by inviting herself and her friends to dine with the rich citizens. At last the good citizens became so tired, that they pelted the queen down the river and out of the town; for which civility her gallant son, Edward I, afterwards made them pay a pelting fine. Upon the whole the lady had the best of the battle; however, in their last dispute with the queen (who had obtained the custody of London bridge), King Edward took their part in the quarrel, and upon receiving their complaint, that “the said lady queen taketh all the tolls, and careth not how the bridge is kept” (vol. ii. p. 187), put a stop to his mother’s rapacious proceedings. We suspect that the joy of the triumph would incline them to forgive her, in true John Bull fashion, her many offences; if not then, at least their resentment would be forgotten when shortly afterwards the gay queen laid aside her faults, and follies, and luxurious tastes, to embrace a holy religious life in a convent, where she died, impressing with her last breath lessons of pardon and peace upon her son. One account of a reconciliation between Richard II and his good citizens of London, is so amusing and characteristic, that we must be pardoned for extracting the whole of it.

“The Queen’s good offices as a mediator were required in the year 1392 to compose a serious difference between Richard II and the city of London. Richard had asked a loan of a thousand pounds from the citizens, which they peremptorily refused. An Italian merchant offered the King the sum required, upon which the citizens raised a tumult, and tore the unfortunate loan-lender to pieces. This outrage being followed by a riot attended with bloodshed, Richard declared ‘that as the city did not keep his peace, he should resume her charters,’ and actually removed the courts of law to

York. In distress, the city applied to Queen Anne to mediate for them. Fortunately, Richard had no other favourite at that time than his peace-loving queen, 'who was,' say the ancient historians, 'very precious to the nation, being continually doing some good to the people; and she deserved a much larger dower than the sum settled upon her, which only amounted to four thousand five hundred pounds per annum.'

"The manner in which Queen Anne pacified Richard, is preserved in a Latin chronicle poem, written by Richard Maydeston, an eye-witness of the scene; he was a priest attached to the court, and in favour with Richard and the Queen.

"Through the private intercession of the Queen, the King consented to pass through the city on his way from Shene to Westminster palace, on the 29th of August.

"When they arrived at Southwark the Queen assumed her crown, which she wore during the whole procession through London: it was blazing with various gems of the choicest kinds; her dress was likewise studded with precious stones, and she wore a rick carcanet about her neck; she appeared, according to the taste of Maydeston, 'fairest among the fair,' and from the benign humility of her gracious countenance, the anxious citizens gathered hopes that she would succeed in pacifying the King. During the entry of the royal pair into the city, they rode at some distance from each other. At the first bridge-tower the King and Queen were met by the Lord Mayor and other authorities, followed by a vast concourse of men, women, and children, every artificer bearing some symbol of his craft. Before the Southwark bridge-gate the King was presented with a pair of fair white steeds, trapped with gold cloth, figured with red and white, and hung full of silver bells. 'Steeds such as Cæsar might have been pleased to yoke to his car.'

"Queen Anne then arrived with her train, when the Lord Mayor Venner presented her with a small white palfrey, exquisitely trained for her own riding. The Lord Mayor commenced a long speech with these words:

"'O generous offspring of imperial blood, whom God hath destined worthily to sway the sceptre as consort of our King,'

"He then proceeds to hint that mercy and not rigour best become the queenly station, and that gentle ladies had great influence with their loving lords; then entering into the merits of the palfrey, he commended its beauty, its docility, and the convenience of its ambling paces, and the magnificence of its purple housings. After the animal had been graciously accepted by the Queen, she passed over the bridge and came to the bridge-portal on the city side; but some of her maids of honour, who were following her in two wagons or charrettes, were not so fortunate in their progress over the bridge.

"Old London bridge was, in the fourteenth century and for some ages after, no such easy defile for a large influx of people to pass through: though not then encroached upon by houses and shops,

it was encumbered by fortifications and barricades, which guarded the drawbridge towers in the centre, and the bridge-gate towers at each end. In this instance the multitudes pouring out of the city to get a view of the Queen and her train, meeting the crowds following the royal procession, the throngs pressed on each other so tumultuously, that one of the charrettes containing the Queen's ladies was overturned,—lady rolled upon lady, all being sadly discomposed in the upset; and, what was worse, nothing could restrain the laughter of the rude plebeian artificers; at last the equipage was righted, the discomfited damsels replaced, and their charrette resumed its place in the procession. But such a reverse of horned caps did not happen without serious inconveniences to the wearers, as Maydeston very minutely particularises.

"As the King and Queen passed through the city, the principal thoroughfares were hung with gold cloth and silver tissue, and tapestry of silk and gold. When they approached the conduit in Cheapside, red and white wine played from the spouts of a tower erected against it; the royal pair were served 'with rosy wine smiling in golden cups,' and an angel flew down in a cloud and presented to the King, and then to the Queen, rich gold circlets worth several hundred pounds. Another conduit of wine played at St. Paul's eastern gate, where was stationed a band of antique musical instruments, whose names alone would astound modern musical ears. There were persons playing on tympanies, mono-chords, cymbals, psalteries, and lyres; zambucas, citherns, situlas, horns, and viols. Our learned Latinist dwells with much unction on the symphonous chords produced by these instruments, which, he says, 'wrapt all hearers in a kind of stupor.' No wonder!

"At the monastery of St. Paul's the King and Queen alighted from their steeds, and passed through the cathedral on foot, in order to pay their offerings at the holy sepulchre of St. Erkenwald. At the western gate they remounted their horses, and proceeded to the Ludgate. There, just above the river bridge (which river, we beg to remind our readers, was that delicious stream, now called Fleet ditch), was perched a celestial band of spirits, who saluted the royal personages, at they passed the Flete Bridge, with enchanting singing and sweet psalmody, making withal a pleasant fume by swinging incense pots; they likewise scattered fragrant flowers on the King and Queen as they severally passed the bridge.

"And if the odours of that civic stream the Flete at that time, by any means rivalled those which pertained to it at present, every one must own that a fumigation was appointed there with great judgment.

"At the Temple barrier above the gate was the representation of a desert, inhabited by all manner of animals, mixed with reptiles and monstrous worms, or, at least, by their resemblances; in the background was a forest; amidst the concourse of beasts, was seated the holy Baptist John, pointing with his finger to an *Agnus Dei*.

After the King had halted to view this scene, his attention was struck by the figure of St. John, for whom he had a peculiar devotion, when an angel descended from above the wilderness, bearing in his hands a splendid gift, which was a tablet studded with gems fit for any altar, with the crucifixion embossed thereon. The King took it in his hand and said, 'Peace to this city; for the sake of Christ, his mother, and my patron St. John, I forgive every offence.'

"Then the King continued his progress towards his palace, and the Queen arrived opposite to the desert and St. John, when Lord Mayor Venner presented her with another tablet, likewise representing the crucifixion. He commenced his speech with these words:

"'Illustrious daughter of imperial parents, Anne (a name in Hebrew signifying grace, and which was borne by her who was the mother of Christ), mindful of your race and name, intercede for us to the King; and as often as you see this tablet think of our city and speak in our favour.'

"Upon which the Queen graciously accepted the dutiful offering of the city, saying, with the emphatic brevity of a good wife who knew her influence, 'Leave all to me.'

"By this time the King had arrived at his palace at Westminster, the great hall of which was ornamented with hangings more splendid than the pen can describe. Richard's throne was prepared upon the King's Bench, which royal tribunal he ascended, sceptre in hand, and sat in great Majesty, when the Queen and the rest of the procession entered the hall.

The Queen was followed by her maiden train. When she approached the King she knelt down at his feet, and so did all her ladies. The King hastened to raise her, asking,

"'What would Anna?—declare, and your request shall be granted.'

"The Queen's answer is perhaps a fair specimen of the way in which she obtained her empire over the weak but affectionate mind of Richard; more honeyed words than the following, female blandishment could scarcely devise.

"'Sweet,' she replied, 'my king, my spouse, my light, my life! Sweet love, without whose life mine would be but death! Be pleased to govern your citizens as a gracious lord. Consider, even to-day, how munificent their treatment! What worship, what honour, what splendid public duty, have they at great cost paid to thee, revered King! Like us, they are but mortal, and liable to frailty. Far from thy memory, my King, my sweet love, be their offences, and for their pardon I supplicate, kneeling thus lowly on the ground.'

"Then, after some mention of Brutus and Arthur, ancient Kings of Britain, which no doubt are interpolated flourishes of good Master Maydeston, the Queen concludes her supplication by requesting 'that the King would please to restore to these worthy and penitent plebeians their ancient charters and liberties.'

"'Be satisfied, dearest wife,' the King answered, 'loth should we

be to deny thee any reasonable request of thine! Meantime ascend and sit beside me on my throne, while I speak a few words to my people.'

"He seated the gentle Queen beside him on the throne. The King then spoke, and all listened in silence, both high and low. He addressed the Lord Mayor:

" 'I will restore to you my royal favour as in former days, for I duly prize the expense which you have incurred, the presents you have made me, and the prayers of the Queen. Do you henceforward avoid offence to your sovereign and disrespect to his nobles. Preserve the ancient faith; despise the new doctrines unknown to your fathers; defend the Catholic Church, the whole Church, for there is no order of men in it that is not dedicated to the worship of God. Take back the key and sword; keep my peace in your city, rule its inhabitants as formerly, and be among them my representative.'—vol. ii. 373-9.

In this, as in a hundred other such anecdotes, it will be a great delight to a Catholic to trace the control held by the Church over the rough, free manners of our ancestors, mingling with every incident of their lives and deaths. She surrounded them with her ameliorative influence, and laid in wait to catch, at their rebound, the passionate and powerful beings that must otherwise have been wholly lost by their self-will. It is a curious study, too, to mark how exquisitely (humanly speaking) the Catholic Church was fitted for such a mission,—a study fraught with encouragement to every Catholic, and which may teach us faith in the resources of our Church, in her struggle with the varying evils of human society in this as in each successive age. In the work before us, there are ample materials for such a study; it is full of curious and useful information, and delightfully entertaining. Miss Strickland tells us in her preface, that "the personal histories of the Anglo-Norman, and several of the Plantagenet Queens, are involved in such great obscurity, that it has cost years of patient research among English and foreign chronicles, ancient records, antiquarian literature, and collateral sources of information of various kinds, to trace out the events of their lives from the cradle to the grave."—vol. i. p. 12. She acknowledges her obligations to "the courteous attention" of various heralds, and a long list of noble and learned friends to whose libraries and MSS. she has had access. To Mr. Howard of Corby and his son, whose ancestress Queen Adelicia, is one of the most beautiful and perfect lives in the series, she is especially indebted; and her thanks for assistance received in searching the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Royale, the

Augmentation Record Office, and the documents of the Camden Society, show the various and copious sources from which she has derived her information; of the variety and extent of which we can give no idea. Upon her London readers she has conferred obligation by connecting many fine old stories and scenes with the seldom-visited monuments of their city.

How many of them are aware that such beautiful remnants of domestic antiquity exist as these which the authoress tells us she was admitted to view, by "the courteous permission of the Rev. Henry Milman."

"The apartments of the abbot of Westminster are nearly in the same state, at the present hour, as when they received Elizabeth and her train of young princesses. The noble stone-hall, now used as a dining-room by the students of Westminster school, was, doubtless, the place where Elizabeth seated herself in her despair '*alow* on the rushes, all desolate and dismayed.' Still may be seen the circular hearth in the midst of the hall, and the remains of a *louvre* in the roof, at which such portions of smoke as chose to leave the room departed. But the merry month of May was entered when Elizabeth took refuge there, and round about the hearth were arranged branches and flowers, while the stone floor was strewn with green rushes. At the end of the hall is oak panelling latticed at top, with doors leading by winding stone stairs to the most curious nests of little rooms that the eye of antiquarian ever looked upon. These were, and still are, the private apartments of the dignitaries of the abbey, where all offices of buttry, kitchen, and laundry, are performed under many a quaint gothic arch, in some places even at present rich with antique corbel and foliage. This range, so interesting as a specimen of the domestic usages of the middle ages, terminates in the abbot's own sanctum or private sitting-room, which still looks down on his lovely quiet flower-garden. Nor must the passage be forgotten, leading from this room to the corridor, furnished with lattices, now remaining, where the abbot might, unseen, be witness of the conduct of his monks in the great hall below. Communicating with these are the state apartments of the royal abbey, larger in dimensions and more costly in ornament, richly dight with painted glass and fluted oak panelling. Among these may be noted especially the organ room, and the antechamber to the great Jerusalem-chamber,—which last was the abbot's state reception-room, and retains to this day its gothic window of painted glass of exquisite workmanship, its curious tapestry, and fine original oil portrait of Richard II."—vol. iii. p. 409-10.

The same accuracy with which Miss Strickland has verified the scenes of the incidents she records, she has carried into the narrative itself. Minute particulars, fragments of verses, letters, &c., are preserved, which are beautiful in themselves,

and carry the mind back forcibly to those ancient times. Some of the verses are most grotesque, others very elegant, especially the following nearly literal translation (in which the authoress acknowledges her obligation to Mr. P. H. Howard) of a hymn to King Henry VI, which has much of the force and fervour of our finest church compositions.

“ ‘SALVE, MILES PRECIOSE.

“ ‘Hail, Henry, soldier of the Lord !
In whom all precious gifts accord,
Branch of the heavenly vine ;
Rooted in charity and love ;
Serenely blooming as above,
The saints angelic shine.

“ ‘Hail, flower of true nobility !
Honour, and praise, and dignity,
Adorn thy diadem ;
Meek father of the fatherless,
Thy people's succour in distress ;
The church's strength and gem.

“ ‘Hail, pious king, in whom we see
The graces of humility
With spotless goodness crown'd ;
By sorrow stricken and oppress'd ;
To those who vainly sigh for rest,
Mirror of patience found.

“ ‘Hail, beacon of celestial light,
Whose beams may guide our steps aright,
Thy blessed course to trace ;
In virtue's paths for ever seen,
Mild, and ineffably serene,
Radiant with every grace.

“ ‘Hail, whom the King of endless time
Hath called to angel choirs sublime,
In realms for ever blessed ;
May we, who now admiring raise
These all-unworthy notes of praise,
Share in thy glorious rest.’ ”—vol. iii. p. 351-2.

Miss Strickland's style of writing is most agreeable: it is graceful, occasionally arch, but has at all times a warmth and earnestness which shows the authoress to be fully impressed with the noble character of the work she has undertaken.

“ ‘Facts, not opinions,’ should be the motto of every candid historian ; and it is a sacred duty to assert nothing lightly, or without good evidence, of those who can no longer answer for themselves. I have borne in mind the charge which prefates the juryman's oath,

—it runs as follows:—‘ You shall truly and justly try this cause; you shall present no one from malice; you shall excuse no one from favour,’ &c. &c.

“Feeling myself thus charged, by each and every one of the buried Queens of England whose actions, *from the cradle to the tomb*, I was about to lay before the public, I considered the responsibility of the task, rather than the necessity of expediting the publication of the work. The number of authorities required, some of which could not be obtained in England, and the deep research among the Norman, Provençal, French and monastic Latin chroniclers, that was indispensably necessary, made it impossible to hurry out a work which I hoped to render permanently useful.”—vol. i. p. x.

Unhappily, in the second series, she will have quitted the sphere of the “Norman, Provençal, French, and monastic Latin chroniclers,” for the cold dry records of diplomacy and intrigue; already we feel that the age of poetry and chivalrous sentiments is passing away; we are aware beforehand of the influence of those cruel and convulsive times—times of evil men and evil passions, from which we are emerging after a mortal struggle. Yet this part of the work will possess an interest of its own: many minor historical points will, we doubt not, be cleared up; many characters placed in a truer light by Miss Strickland’s patient accuracy. Let her but preserve the same spirit of truthfulness, without fear or favour, and her work, while it will be eagerly read by all parties, will (we doubt not) afford to Catholics many an answer to old charges, many a solace for ungenerous calamities. That Miss Strickland, whatever be her peculiar views, is inclined to do strict justice, we need give no other proof than that she has submitted her work to the criticism of the most learned, impartial, and accurate historian of our own, or perhaps any other country; and has thus given a guaranty to the public which must raise her high in the rank of historians.

ART. X.—*The Quarterly Review for Dec. 1840.*

OUR readers will recollect that in our previous article on this subject, in the last number of the *Dublin Review*,* we concluded our exposure of the shameless and almost incredible falsehoods, and self-contradictions, of the article called “Romanism in Ireland,” by citing a passage in which the writer of that article declared (p. 165 of the *Quarterly Review*) that, “in the kindness of the Irish landlords, much *abused* and

* Ante, p. 184.

calumniated as they were, there was *every thing to keep the peasantry quiet!*" The reader will also recollect, that in answer to a falsehood so flagrant and so foolish, we adduced the authority of Mr. John Wilson Croker, of the *Times* newspaper, and of Mr. Sadler of Leeds, to show that such misery as was inflicted by the Irish landlords upon the peasantry of that country was unprecedented upon the face of the earth, in degree and amount; and that we finally wound up this part of the case by shewing that the *Quarterly Review* itself, in another place, charged these identical Irish landlords—not those of a bye-gone, but those of the present generation—with "**EXTORTING unheard-of pecuniary rents from a destitute tenantry**—rents which were only paid by the exportation of the *great bulk of the food* raised in the country, leaving to the *actual cultivator* a bare subsistence upon potatoes, *eked out with weeds.*" The reader will also recollect that the passage in the *Quarterly Review* from which this last extract was taken, concluded by ridiculing the absurdity of expecting that the miserable population of Ireland should respect and obey a system of laws, which invested the landlords with the "**power of sweeping off, to other lands, the whole produce of the people's industry, and absolutely starving the wretched natives who produced it.**" It may appear to be a mere waste of time to bestow any further notice upon an article which seems to be a mere compost of malignity, imbecility, falsehood, fatuity, and the very dregs and lees of ignorance itself. Having, however, undertaken the task, we shall persevere in the disgusting occupation of presenting to the reader some more specimens of a composition, which, for the union of almost all descriptions of baseness, we believe to be unparalleled in any department of literature making any pretensions to any degree of respectability.

Such persons as have done us the honour to peruse our previous article upon this subject, will, no doubt, have been sufficiently astonished at the statements and inferences of the *Quarterly Review* for December 1840, upon the conduct and character of the landlords and peasantry of Ireland. Something even yet more extraordinary remains, however, to be told. In page 164, the reviewer expresses himself, upon the same subject, in the following words:—

"Patience under suffering, however acute, is a characteristic of the Irish peasantry. How, then, can the attribution of these outrages to disputes about land be reconciled with another fact so often, we *hope and believe!* so *calumniously* urged against the Irish landlords,

that they are ejecting their tenants by hundreds. If the peasantry are so ready to revenge such ejectments with blood, and can do it without fear of conviction, how is it that any of these landlords are still alive?"

When Lord Moira, in the Irish House of Lords, enumerated some of the horrible cruelties and oppressions which were inflicted upon the population, for the purpose of driving them into the rebellion, which afterwards resulted, a noble lord connected with the government attempted to throw discredit upon the statement, by saying that if it were true, the people would have resented and resisted. The "resentment," which always existed, was in due time followed by the "resistance," which was required by the minister for the satisfactory formation of his opinion, and for other purposes of greater importance. Upon the principle implied in this denial of the minister, the writer in the *Quarterly* must wait for an insurrection before he can be convinced of the reality of the occurrences, the actual existence of which there is no more reason for doubting than for doubting the wetness of the Atlantic Ocean. We must acknowledge that we ourselves were always as much astonished as the *Quarterly Reviewer* seems to be at the *small proportion* which the outrages committed by the peasantry of Ireland bore to the boundless extent and horrible character of the cruelties which had been continually inflicted upon them by the magistracy, the landlords, and, until a very recent period, by the government of that country. The *Quarterly Reviewer* intimates his opinion to be, that if the statements upon the subject of ejectment were true, all the guilty landlords would have been absolutely exterminated, as the appropriate consequence of "grinding the peasantry to powder," as they were charged with doing by Lord Clare to their own faces, in the Irish legislature. As it happens, however, that some of the landlords are "still alive," an event which, according to the reviewer, could not be the fact if the charges against them were true, he coolly infers that the charges are false and calumnious, and has the forehead to assert, in express terms, (p. 153) that "the landlords do not eject!" If the gentleman who makes this assertion had been alive at the period of the general deluge, he would not have made much ceremony about crying out Fire! whilst the world was drowning. The evidence which we have already adduced as to the causes of outrages in Ireland, is abundantly sufficient to show, in a general way, the extent to which the work of devastation by ejectment is carried, and has been since the close of the war. We shall, how-

ever, produce a few additional passages having an immediate connexion with this particular point. But as it would be an infinite labour to refute individually all the falsehoods which the article contains, and as many passages of the evidence which we have to produce contain each in itself an answer to several statements of the reviewer, it may be as well to insert in this place the following extract from the article, in which, taking the ejections for granted, after having denied their existence, he modulates the strain into another key.

"Are they" (the expelled tenantry) "provided with *other abodes*, with *pecuniary assistance*, or means of emigration? Is this a *remarkable branch* of those Irish *delusions* which some secret power is endeavouring to fasten on the English people, that their sympathies and energies may not be awakened towards the Protestants of Ireland until it is too late."—p. 153.

In answer to these enormous allegations, we cannot do better than copy the following passage from the *Monthly Chronicle* for Sept. 1840; as we can vouch for the perfect accuracy of all the statements which it contains.

"The process of extermination commenced after the conclusion of the war, but was infinitely aggravated by the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1829; after which 'the gentlemen began to CLEAR their estates of the forty-shilling freeholders, who had been "*done away with*" by the Act.* For notwithstanding the depression produced by the peace, and notwithstanding the theories of consolidation, increased produce, and surplus population, the wretched serfs who still possessed the power to vote according to the direction of their lords at a county election, were allowed to linger in possession of their little holdings, and the imagined loss which resulted from suspending the extermination system, was compensated by the patronage derived from political importance. The propagation of these poor creatures had, as every body in Ireland knows, been preternaturally stimulated from 1793 to 1815. 'All,' says Mr. Bicheno, 'that the landlord looks at in Ireland is the quantity of rent which he can abstract from the tenant.† He therefore encourages a redundant population *until the rents are no longer increased by competition*. Upon arriving at that point the rents are diminished, and then he has an inducement to 'clear the land and increase the extent of the holdings.‡ This consideration of increasing rent operated from 1793 to 1815, in conjunction with the political importance derived from the number of freeholders. But the population at the close of the war, had, in the opinion of the landlords, arrived at the point where the rents begin to diminish. The people were still, however, until 1829, worth keeping in existence for

* Evidence of Lord Donoughmore before the Roden Committee, No. 1277.

† Evidence, H. C. 1830. No. 4237,

‡ Ibid. 4240.

the purposes of the hustings; but as soon as they were deprived of the elective franchise, by the Emancipation Act, the only remaining barrier between them and destruction was removed, and they were swept out like vermin, with as little compunction and as extensive devastation.

"The only returns upon this subject to which we can conveniently refer at this instant, are those given in the Appendix H. to the Report on the Poor Inquiry, pp. 11, 12. From these it appears that in the six years previous to 1833, ejectment processes were entered in seventeen counties, against *thirty-one thousand and odd* defendants. If we assume that each of these defendants represented a family of six persons, making altogether *an hundred and eighty-six thousand*; and recollect that these counties, with the exception of the county of Cork, were *the smallest* counties in Ireland,—we shall have a tolerable notion of the extent to which this system of depopulation is carried. No returns had been made from Leitrim, Roscommon, Dublin, Kildare, Westmeath, Wexford, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary, Waterford, Antrim, Armagh, and Tyrone; and the number of defendants for Galway and Wicklow were not given. With regard, however, to the county of Tipperary, which forms so prominent an object in every inquiry of this nature, we have, from the testimony given before the Roden Committee, sufficient evidence to shew the real state of the case. When the Tipperary landlords requested Lord Mulgrave to favour them with larger means than they actually possessed for exterminating their own tenantry with less trouble and more security to the perpetrators, the Lord-Lieutenant directed Mr. Drummond to return that celebrated answer to which we have already adverted in our Number for July. The letter is in No. 12,027 of the original Evidence, and in page 86 of the Digested Abstract published by the Messrs. Longman. The letter alleged that the wholesale expulsion of cottier tenants in Tipperary, was the principal cause of the disturbances in that county. This proposition involves two statements: first, that there was a wholesale expulsion of tenants; and secondly, that such expulsion was the cause of the outrages which occurred. To disprove the statement of Mr. Drummond, Lord Donoughmore, the Lord-Lieutenant of the county, was called; and he, 'swearing by the card,' stated plumply that the assertion of Mr. Drummond concerning the *wholesale* expulsion was false. Mr. Howley, the chairman or assistant barrister of the county, was called to support the statement of Mr. Drummond; and he said, that *he was ready to mention the names of the persons* to whom the wholesale expulsion was attributed. The committee refused to hear the statement, and directed him to withdraw; and upon his return refused to allow the question to be repeated. In answer to other questions he says, (No. 9991-2), that 'from conferences which he had with the other assistant barristers, he found that ejectments at sessions were *more numerous in Tipperary than in any other county*, and that he himself has had *more than 150* of them at *one QUARTER sessions*:' the 160 defendants representing

about 900 individuals. He adds (9974), 'that a great many other ejectments were also brought before the superior courts,' but how many he does not seem to have known. Lord Donoughmore himself states (12,073, Abstract page 8), that '*many* landlords in Tipperary have been ejecting their tenants for the last nine or ten years;' and (ibid.) that '*the gentlemen began clearing their estates of the forty shilling freeholders when they had been done away with by the Emancipation Act.*' His Lordship denies in terms that the expulsion of the tenantry by the landlords was *wholesale*. We know not what meaning Mr. Drummond and Lord Donoughmore may have severally annexed in their own minds to this term, neither do we know, nor, as we believe, does any one else know very exactly, what precise meaning it *ought* to bear in the case. But even supposing that there is some inaccuracy in the use of the word, and that the Tipperary gentlemen are not rightly designated as 'wholesale' exterminators, we think that from the evidence of Lord Donoughmore himself, it is perfectly clear that they do a very considerable amount of business in the *retail* department. A tolerably accurate idea may be formed in other ways of the extent of the proceeding. Mr. William Kemmis is crown solicitor for the Leinster Circuit, which includes Tipperary. He is also crown solicitor for the County and City of Dublin. He is also the solicitor to the Treasury in Ireland. He has held all the offices for the same time, namely, eight-and-thirty years; and he succeeded his father, who was crown solicitor for all Ireland. He states that for these eight-and-thirty years he has not missed a circuit; and, from the circumstances above enumerated, we suppose it will be easily taken for granted that he is in principle a Conservative at the least, and can have no want of sympathy with the landlords of Tipperary. Now this gentleman states (Abstract, page 9), '*That three-fourths, or MORE, of the crimes committed in Tipperary are produced by the LANDLORDS TURNING THE TENANTS OUT OF POSSESSION.*' If there be any truth in the general accounts which we see and hear of the amount of crime in that county, we can easily judge of the extent of the cause from the extent of the effect—of the amount of the ejectments from the amount of the outrages.

"Lord Powerscourt gives us, in page 127 of his pamphlet (*The Merits of the Whigs*), the following extract of a speech delivered by the Very Reverend Mr. Laffan, at a dinner in Thurles, where Lord Lisimore presided, in November 1838:—

"'There is no man who abhors the crime of murder more than I do; but I know that those murders and outrages *are the offspring of oppression*. I can tell your lordship that there are savages in broad-cloth as well as in frieze. It may not be believed by men like your lordship, who have kindly hearts in their bosoms; but what would your lordship think of the man that would go to the cabin, and *turn out a woman who was ON THE EVE OF CHILDBIRTH, and who afterwards WAS DELIVERED IN THE OPEN AIR!* What, my

lord, must be the feelings of the husband of that poor woman? Such scenes, my lord, are NOT OF UNFREQUENT OCCURRENCE in this county.

"This statement was addressed at a public meeting in Tipperary to a landlord residing in that county, who must be taken to have assented to the truth of the assertion, and who probably had cognizance of the fact; whilst Lord Powerscourt himself does not go through even the form of expressing his own disbelief in the correctness of the statement.

"The following are a few instances of the cause and of the effect in other counties.

"The Rev. Michael Keogh states that 174 families were ejected by one landlord, *Mr. Cosby*.^{*} Mr. Cahill, civil engineer, mentions 1126 persons as being evicted in another place.[†] *A great many of them died of hunger.*[‡] 'On Mr. Cassan's estate a great many were ejected. On Mr. Johnson's estates thirty-four families. Dr. Doxay ejected a few. Mr. Roe ejected some, as did many others whom I don't recollect. They scattered themselves throughout the county, *carrying discontent wherever they went*. I am convinced that this was the cause of the disturbances. *They first began upon Mr. Cosby's estate.*'[§] We don't exactly know the situation of these properties—they probably were in the Queen's County. Of the disturbances in that county, Mr. Robert Cassidy says in his evidence,^{||} that '*they were caused by the ejection of tenants*, and the generally oppressive conduct of the persons to whom the labouring classes have been subject' &c. An operation of the same kind is described by Mr. Blackburne in the following words: 'Lord Stradbrook's agent, attended by the sheriff and several to assist him, went upon the lands and dispossessed this numerous body of occupants. *They prostrated the houses*. The number of persons thus deprived of their homes was *very large*. I am sure there were *above forty families*—persons of *all ages and sexes*, and in *particular*, a *WOMAN IN THE EXTREMITY OF DEATH*!'[¶] The agent here mentioned was the Mr. Blood who was subsequently murdered. We can go no farther in the production of individual instances of which the details are so horribly revolting. The extent to which the practice goes on at present, may, in the absence of returns, be inferred from the following extract of a speech delivered by Sir Robert Peel, in the House of Commons, in the very last session, upon the occasion of Mr. Smith O'Brien's motion for a grant of public money to assist the ejected tenantry to emigrate to other countries.

"'It might be correct, according to the principles of political economy, to remove the people from their small holdings, in order to throw their possessions into one large farm. *The giving notice to*

* Lewis, 80.

§ House of Commons, 1832.

|| Ibid. 83.

+ Lewis, 84.

Lewis, 80, 81.

¶ Ibid. 79.

‡ Ibid.

NINETY OR ONE HUNDRED FAMILIES to quit their possession, and then turning them loose upon the world, might be the means of insuring the better management of gentlemen's estates, and might be true according to the principles of political economy; but it was *not true according to the dictates of moral principle and Christian duty* THAT THE LANDLORDS WERE UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE A SETTLEMENT ELSEWHERE for those whom they had driven from their homes and thrust loose upon the world.*

"The committee of 1830 state in their First Report (p. 8.), that 'The condition of the tenantry who are ejected in order to promote the consolidation of farms is most deplorable. It would be IMPOSSIBLE FOR LANGUAGE TO CONVEY AN IDEA of the state of distress to which they have been reduced, or of the disease, misery, and vice, which they have propagated in the towns where they have settled. They are obliged to resort to theft and all manner of vice and iniquity to procure subsistence, and A VAST NUMBER OF THEM PERISH OF WANT' (H.C. 1830): after having 'undergone,' as is stated in the same Report (p. 4), 'misery and suffering such as no language can describe, and of which NO CONCEPTION can be formed without actually beholding it!'—misery and suffering the remembrance of which prevented Van Raumer from going to sleep, even after his departure from Ireland, and which compelled Mr. Curwen to declare that 'all the waters of oblivion could never wash out the traces which the scenes of woe that he had witnessed in Ireland had impressed upon his mind.†

"Such is the prospect which the Irish tenant has upon ejection. What then is he to do in so horrible a conjuncture? Let us hear the indignant eloquence of the late learned, upright, and independent Judge Fletcher, upon an occasion when one of those wretches was brought before him to be tried for some outrage committed in defence of his own and his family's lives:—

"'What,' exclaimed this noble-hearted patriot,—'what is the wretched peasant to do? Hunted from the spot where he had first drawn his breath—where he had first seen the light of heaven,—incapable of procuring any other means of subsistence,—can we be surprised that, being of unenlightened and uneducated habits, he should rush upon the perpetration of crimes followed by the punishment of the rope and the gibbet? Nothing remains for them THUS HARASSED, THUS DESTITUTE, BUT WITH A STRONG HAND TO DETER THE STRANGER from intruding upon their farms, and to extort from the weakness of their landlords—from whose GRATITUDE and GOOD FEELINGS THEY HAVE FAILED TO WIN IT—a sort of a preference for the ancient tenantry.' "‡

* "Morning Chronicle," June 16, 1840.

† Observations, vol. ii. p. 255.

‡ Charge delivered to the Grand Jury of the county of Wexford, July 1814, "Pamphleteer," vol. iv. p. 785.

“‘The principle of dispeopling estates,’” says Mr. Baron Foster,* “‘is going on in Ireland wherever it can be effected. If your Lordships should ask me *what becomes of the surplus stock of population, it is a matter upon which I have in my late journeys through Ireland ENDEAVoured TO FORM AN OPINION, and conceive that in many instances they wander about the country as mere mendicants; but that more frequently they betake themselves to the nearest large towns, and there occupy the most wretched hovels in the most miserable outlets, in the vain hope of getting occasionally a day’s work. Though this expectation too often is unfounded, it is the only course possible for them to take. Their resort to these towns produces such misery as it is impossible to describe.*”

“Was there ever in the world such a state of affairs? *The DISPEOPLING of estates is going on WHEREVER it can be effected! That is to say, the people, who have committed no offence except that of coming into existence at the command of nature, are put to death wherever it can be done,—obliged, in the language of a committee of the legislature, above quoted, ‘to die of want!’ And the functionary who makes this statement,—one of the Queen’s judges,—a man deeply imbued in the statistics of Ireland, who has been for the greatest part of his life employed in different public capacities, which afforded him the best means of becoming acquainted with the state of the population;—this man, so circumstanced, does not know HOW or WHERE the ejected population perishes. He has been endeavouring to form an opinion as to the situation of the national morgue; and at last he conceives that they perish principally in the towns, after having ‘suffered such misery as it is impossible to describe.’—Monthly Chron. No. xxxi. pp. 248-9.*

“The following statement is one of the latest which has been made upon the subject, and proceeds from Mr. Smith O’Brien; who, being a landlord and country gentleman himself, cannot be suspected of any want of sympathy with the order to which he belongs.

“‘We know also that, of late years, a very extensive system of ejectment has prevailed in Ireland, in order to effect the consolidation of farms, for the general improvement of estates. *In the great majority of cases, I fear that such ejectment has been WHOLLY UNACCOMPANIED BY ANY CONCURRENT PROVISION FOR THE EJECTED COTTIER. Nothing can be conceived more truly deplorable than the condition of a person so ejected. From having been the occupier of a few acres of land, for which he has often paid his rent with the utmost punctuality, he now becomes a forlorn outcast, unable even to procure employment, still less to regain the occupation of land. Is it surprising that a population in such a state should occasionally be tempted to commit acts of violence? What sympathy can they feel with the possessors of property? What, to them, are the ad-*

* Evid. before Lords’ Committee, 1825.

vantages of law and order? Accordingly, we find that they are often stimulated to do wrong by despair.*

"A Kerry newspaper, cited in the *Morning Chronicle* of Monday, August 31, 1840, states that *one landlord* in that county had 'thrown two hundred and thirty-three persons OUT UPON THE ROAD.' The *Dublin Evening Post*, cited in the *Times* of the same date, says that 'there never was greater suffering in that country than exists at present, and that the numbers and wretchedness of the unemployed and destitute were constantly augmenting.' The *Dublin Pilot*, quoted in the *Times* of the same day, says, 'Hunger, downright hunger, pervades the masses of the population, who are driven to the ditches to live upon WEEDS, or rather to die by feeding upon them.' Be these the consequences which flow from the 'exemplary performance of their duties by the landlords?' 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' 'A righteous man,' says the inspired writer, 'regards the life of even his beast.'† But the Irish landlords, in the language of Job, 'cause their naked tenantry to lodge without clothing, so that they have no covering in the cold, and that they are wet with the showers of the mountains, and embrace the rock for want of a shelter.'‡ 'They take away the sheaf from the hungry,—from those who make oil within their walls; and who tread their wine presses, but suffer thirst;§—who fatten their bullocks, but never taste beef; who tend their wheat crops, but never eat bread; who till their potatoes, and are themselves obliged to live upon weeds! Such are the landlords who are the objects of the *Quarterly's* panegyrics—landlords who now, as in the time of Swift, 'sacrifice their oldest tenants to gain a penny an acre,' and who, upon considerations of expediency and convenience to themselves, put the tenants even to death by thousands; who take advantage of the deplorable necessities of the population to extort from them a promise of rents which the whole produce of the land is frequently insufficient to pay; and who, after having, under so diabolical a contract, extracted the last farthing which was attainable by 'squeezing the cabins, clothes, blood, and vitals' of the tenantry, devote them by expulsion to starvation, with as little ceremony, and as little remorse, as a scullion experiences in hunting out a rambling rat."—*Monthly Chronicle*, No. xxxii, pp. 330, 331.

Such are the landlords who are the objects of the eulogy of a person, who, if he have the smallest pretensions to veracity, seems to know no more of Ireland than he does of the science of ethics: landlords who dismiss whole villages full of people at once, turning them adrift in a condition more destitute than that of the beasts of the field; expelling women sometimes *in the act of death*; and sometimes, to the unutterable shame of

* Speech, H. C. June 2, 1840.

† Job xxiv. 7, 8.

‡ Prov. xii. 10.

§ Ib. 10, 11.

humanity, *in the very act of PARTURITION!*—who burn the cottages of the labourers—who distrain even the very food* of the tenants—and who, in the exercise of uncontrollable despotism, have established the very head-quarters of hunger in a country which Bacon described as “endowed with all the dowries of nature.”

The following additional statements upon the conduct of the Irish landlords to the peasantry are extracted at hazard from the “Selections, published in 1835, from the parochial examinations which were made by the Commissioners for enquiring into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland.” They afford a truly Hibernian evidence of the “kindness” of the Irish landlords to the miserable population, whose very lives are at the disposal of their superiors.

“*The poor give ten times as much as the rich in comparison to their means.*’ (Dr Kelly.)

“*Persons renting only one acre, and even day-labourers, give relief to the beggar if they have it.*’ (Mr. St. George. Selection, p. 283.)

“*The poor farmer often relieves the beggar who has been turned away from the rich man’s door.*’ (p. 292.)

“*The witnesses agree that the relief of beggars falls principally upon the middle classes, shopkeepers, small farmers, and even labourers, the very wealthy classes being comparatively exempt.* The poor have free access to the former classes, their doors being always open. Mr. Collins says, *the wealthier country gentlemen are PECULIARLY exempt, being surrounded by walls and gates.*’ (p. 292.)

“*In proportion to their means the poor and working classes give THREE TIMES MORE than the rich.* Many of the gentry will not allow the poor to pass through their gates. Some of them will give some clothing in winter, but others will scarcely give anything. Charity is so universal amongst the poor themselves, that the farmers declare that *every man who has a potatoe will share it.*’ (p. 314.)

“*The relief of the poor falls principally upon the farmers in the country, and the shopkeepers in the town, they being the most easy of access. Even the labourers give.*’ (p. 319.)

“*The poorer classes give much to the beggars. Even the labourers give part of their meal and a night’s lodging.* Some farmers give to the extent of 40*l.* a year in food, money, and straw. *The rich have their gate-keepers, and the poor dare not go past them.*’ (p. 325.)

“*The witnesses agree that the chief burden of supporting the poor falls upon the class immediately above themselves. The gates,*

* “The food of the tenant is frequently distrained, and his ruin follows, the usual mode which landlords adopt in proceeding to recover their rent.”—Evidence of George Bennett, Esq., House of Commons, 1824. Lewis, p. 86. Mr. Bennett is a tory, a county judge, and brother-in-law to Mr. Baron Pennefather.

and sometimes the *dogs, of the wealthy secure them* against the intrusion of the beggar. 'I have seen a labourer,' says the Rev. Mr M'CLean, 'who was purchasing meal at a guinea a hundred-weight (eight stowe), give a handful of it to a beggar before it left the scale. (p. 336.)

"From the same evidence (page 337), it appears that numerous instances occur where parties in humble circumstances are so charitable, that the profusion of their alms in the beginning of the season obliges them to have recourse themselves to charity for their subsistence in the end.

"*On the farmers the support of the poor principally falls. Even the mere day-labourer, who has nothing but his cabin, contributes. In all cases the poor and working classes give more in proportion than the rich.*' (p. 347.)

"*The relief of the poor chiefly falls upon the farmers in the country, and upon the traders in the towns. Even the poorest labourers give something, and are in the habit of sharing their meals with the destitute.*' (p. 350.)

"*Without doubt the burden of the poor falls upon the small farmers, shopkeepers, and labourers, because that class are more numerous, and more in the way of being applied to. Even the labourers who have no ground, and are themselves obliged to buy their potatoes, never refuse alms.* (p. 365.)

"*The evidence is quite clear that the relief of the poor falls CHIEFLY on the middle classes. The struggling shopkeepers are most liberal, often to a degree beyond their means. The opulent classes DON'T GIVE IN PROPORTION.* (p. 379.)

"*The burthen of maintaining paupers falls most exclusively upon the farmers in general. That of maintaining strange paupers upon the small farmers particularly. The gentry by no means contribute in the same proportion. The Rev. Mr. Chute, a clergyman of the Establishment, expressly says that the entire onus of supporting the poor is borne by the occupiers of land and the shopkeepers.*' (p. 384.)

"*Small farmers and shopkeepers are constantly at home, and consequently more acquainted with the wants and destitution of the poor than the higher classes are. The labouring class give more in proportion to their means than any class.*' (p. 406.)

"*The relief of the destitute falls almost completely upon the shopkeepers and farmers, who are more exposed than the rich, and more charitably inclined. The gentlemen very seldom give halfpence. Some give nothing. Sir Robert gives three pence once a month to each person, and nothing else; the other gentlemen give a halfpenny every Monday. The farmers always give something. The cottiers fully as much. The labourers give freely. The poor three times as much as the rich.*' (p. 427.)

"*Those who would give from ostentation, the absentees, are not here to give.*' (p. 428.)

"*The resident gentry SCARCELY EVER subscribe regularly. Even*

in seasons of appalling distress, as in 1831 and 1832, there were individuals of large fortunes who DID NOT SUBSCRIBE ONE SHILLING.' (p. 134.)

"The burthen of supporting the destitute is thrown in times of distress by the affluent gentry upon their poorer but more benevolent neighbours.' (p. 134.)

"There is no regular subscription by the gentry, except in a season of great scarcity. All concur in stating that there are but two instances of non-residents who have ever subscribed.' (p. 144.)

"The gentry of the neighbourhood do not subscribe for the support of the poor, which is principally defrayed by the middle classes.' (p. 147.)

"One absentee draws 10,000*l.* a year from the county, and 7,000*l.* a year from the parish, without contributing a farthing to the support of the poor.' (p. 147.)

"In cases of peculiar distress the gentry subscribe. In some instances, absentees living in other parts of Ireland contribute, but absentees living abroad seldom contribute anything.' (p. 148.)

"There never has been any subscription among the upper classes, and they in no way contribute to the support of the destitute.' (p. 157.)

"The gentry of the neighbourhood don't subscribe for the relief of the aged and infirm.' (p. 157.)

"The gentry—residents—don't subscribe for the support of the poor. The absentees contribute nothing.' (p. 158.)

"The gentry assist the poor only through the Mendicity, and even in this way many refuse to do so, which gives rise to great complaints. In many instances those who subscribe the least are the best able.' (p. 160.)

"There is no such thing as a subscription among the gentry to support the infirm through age.' (p. 162.)

"Many of the gentry refuse to contribute even to the Mendicity, and thus throw the whole burthen upon their benevolent neighbours. Those that have least, subscribe most. Absentees give little. (p. 164.)

"The sick poor of these parishes are totally unprovided for. From their landlords they do not even obtain the assistance of a dispensary to supply them with medicine.' (p. 179.)

"The absentee landlords draw about 160,000*l.* a year from the neighbourhood of Tralee (county of Kerry), and of this sum NOT ONE SHILLING is spent in this impoverished neighbourhood.*

"In the calamitous summer of 1822, a subscription was made for the relief of the poor of a certain district. The absentee proprietors were applied to. Their incomes amounted to 83,000*l.* a year, and they subscribed altogether 83*l.*" (Sadler, p. 67.)

The preceding extracts are taken from a book which is ac-

* Drs. Barker and Cheyne's Account of the Fever of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 98-125.

tually placed by the writer in the *Quarterly*, at the head of an article in which he commends the kindness and generosity of the Irish landlords. The extracts abundantly prove the "quality of the mercy" shown by the proprietors to the peasantry in the rural parts of Ireland.

But although the truth upon this subject is now a matter of pretty general notoriety, it may not be superfluous to add in this place a few more extracts upon the conduct of the Irish landlords to the tenantry and peasantry, in order that the evidence upon the subject may be brought up to the latest possible period. In the late debate upon the subject of the Irish Registration Bills, February 23d, 1841, Lord Stanley observed that "persons having from fifteen to twenty acres of land are generally from April to September in a state of the greatest destitution, living upon potatoes without either milk or meat, and considering themselves very happy if they have dry potatoes enough—men who during a great part of the year lived upon dry potatoes—men whom the landlords *letting their land at a RACK-RENT, may upon ANY DAY, turn loose upon the world to STARVE in the LAST DEGREE OF MISERY.*" How say you, worthy Professor? Will you take Lord Stanley's word for the character and conduct of the Irish landlords? He is himself an Irish landlord to a large extent, and has a residence upon his estates in Tipperary, which he occupies, we believe, for some part of almost every year. He is therefore, perhaps, rather more favourably circumstanced for the attainment of correct information upon the subject, than a person who dwells in a back street in the city of Oxford. Yet Lord Stanley tells you that his brother landlords of Ireland extort such exorbitant rents from their tenants, that a man holding twenty acres of land is in a state of the greatest destitution for about six months in the year, and that the "kind" landlord so effectually "racks" the tenant, that he has it in his power upon *any day in the year* to turn him loose upon the world, and *leave him to STARVE in the LAST DEGREE OF MISERY.* Are these the fruits by which the "kindness" of a landlord is exemplified, and the "quietness" of the peasantry secured? If such be the consequences of "benevolence," we should be in a truly hopeful condition if any sentiments of inhumanity should ever unhappily intrude themselves into the gentle bosoms of the landlords of Ireland.

But upon this subject, as indeed upon almost every other part of the case, the completest refutation of the writer in the

Quarterly is presented by himself. In the very last number of that publication (for March 1841) he states of those Irish landlords, that they "encouraged the growth of a hostile religion in order to swell their VOTES and their RENTS."—p. 558. That is to say, that they encouraged the swarming growth of a pauper peasantry, in order that, to use the language of Swift, they may squeeze their enormous rents out of the clothes, cabins, blood, and vitals "of these miserable wretches, and drive them in herds to the hustings, as cattle are driven to a fair;" totally regardless of the "unutterable miseries," of the "innumerable calamities," which are the inevitable consequence to the population itself. It seems, however, according to the *Quarterly* (ibid.), that the landlords are "slowly and partially" becoming sensible of the "folly," as he delicately calls it, of such conduct, "with their eyes just *awakening*" to the real state of the case—the eye being "undoubtedly" used *per synecdochen* for the whole landlord himself. The result of this incipient expurgation is thus enunciated by the Professor himself in the same article, p. 593: "We have stated, and indeed *the fact is* NOTORIOUS, that the poor Irish cottier will give for land not only *the utmost penny of its value, but EVEN BEYOND IT*. The rate, therefore, is *no proof* nor measure of his *rent, much less* of his PROFIT. He may hold land rated at £5 on terms which make his bargain WORSE THAN NOTHING." This is certainly bad enough: but worse remains to be told, for we are informed in the following page, 594, that if the tenant should double the extent of his holding, he only increases a negative quantity, and that, whereas, under a £5. holding, he must be insolvent—the rent being higher than the produce—"he becomes even less independent by renting a £10 lot." Bishop Berkley stated that some of the Irish landlords in his time had "vulturine beaks with bowels of iron."* The academical advocate of the landlords of the present day seems inclined to deny the correctness of this description if applied to his own contemporaries, but has most abundantly shown in his little way that their title to the designation is at least as clear as any right which they may have to any other part of their inheritance.

With regard to the metropolis, we are informed (2 Rep. H. C. 1830, p. 61) "that only *one-seventh* of the rich pay to the support of the Mendicity Institution!" According to the same work (page 22) it appears that the Rev. Mortimer

* "Word to the Wise." Works, vol. iii. p. 126.

O'Sullivan, and another gentleman, attempted a collection in Merrion Square [the Belgrave Square of Dublin.] "*Those in the best circumstances of all gave NOTHING.* It would surprise the committee," says the witness, Mr. Pierce Mahony, "to see the *number* and *STATION* of the parties who do not contribute." From the succeeding passages, it appears that a noble lord, who is the owner of the greatest part of that parish, which includes, we believe, the three principal squares in Dublin, *gave nothing at all.* It may be thought that, for the sake of mere decency, they would exhibit some signs of common humanity, when the voluntary system of sustentation was coming to a close. It appears, however, that the Irish proprietor has, to the last moment, preserved the most complete consistency in his inhumanity.

"Duravit ad imum
Qualis ab incepto processerat et sibi constat."

For we find upon looking into the Appendix D, p. 166, of the Sixth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, laid upon the table of both houses of parliament in the last session, "that one ground upon which the imposition of a compulsory rate is viewed with satisfaction by the middle classes (who, up to that period had almost exclusively furnished the means of supporting the poor), was, that up to the very last moment, *all* attempts to obtain subscriptions from those who were not ordinary contributors, that is to say, from six-sevenths of the rich, were looked upon as utterly hopeless." The proprietors of the soil being in fact, generally speaking, the only portion of the community who contributed scarcely anything at all towards the alleviation of the mass of "unutterable misery" (Med. Gazette in the *Times* of Sept. 8, 1840) which they themselves had produced. We could adduce hundreds of other passages in support of the statements which we have made, as to the conduct of the Irish landlords. In fact, the whole of the *authentic* history of the disturbances and outrages in that country is exclusively made up of such materials.

Undismayed by this mass of testimony, which includes *even his own* evidence, the professor proceeds in his very rational attempts to discover the principles of Hibernian outrage amongst the archives of the Propaganda. Working out this very sapient solution, he inquires, page 166, "Are there any circumstances peculiar to Ireland which connect this agrarian movement against the *Sassenach* and the landlord, with the *Popish encroachments*?" and in page 158, we

are told that "the outrages are employed *as much* against *heresy* as against the *landlord*!" Those persons who are acquainted with the actual state of affairs in Ireland, may think it unnecessary to take any serious notice of such quintessential nonsense. Let us be excused for placing the authority of Mr. Baron Foster, as well as of a few other such persons, in opposition to that of the writer in the *Quarterly Review*. "The consideration of religion," says Mr. Baron Foster, "*does not enter at all* into the relation between landlord and tenant." (Lewis, 180.) The same learned judge declares, that "religious animosities have always been *LESS common* in the *disturbed districts* than in *other parts of Ireland*." (Lewis, 125.) And Mr. Blackburn declares that "the resistance made to landlords who wanted to dispossess their tenants is *not AT ALL influenced by the religion of the landlord*." (Lewis, 129.) Elsewhere Mr. Baron Foster says, "that the proximate cause of *all the disturbances* which have existed in Ireland of late years, has been the *extreme physical misery* of the *peasantry*, coupled with their being called upon to pay *different charges* (rent, tithes, &c.) *which* it was often *impossible* for them to meet."*

Mr. Francis Blackburne says, in his evidence before the House of Commons in 1824, that the disturbances of 1823, for the punishment of which he himself sat as judge under the Insurrection Act, were the consequence of the fact that "the *landlords and the clergy of the Establishment* continued to *exact in peace* the *rent and tithes* which had been *promised in war*;"† that being, we suppose, their version of the passage: "In pace uti sapiens parare idonea bello."

In the same report, pp. 5-6, he says, "The Insurrection of 1823 proceeded from *local causes*, and the *condition* of the *lower orders*, which is *more miserable than can be described*."

Major Willcox, Chief-Magistrate of Police, says, in his evidence before the House of Lords in 1824, page 56, "that he *never heard of any religious distinctions* among the *peasantry*."

Major Warburton says, "that the outrages were *equally levelled* against *Catholics and Protestants*."—*H. of Lords*, 1824, p. 78. Lewis, 133.

Mr. Serjeant Loyd, who administered the Insurrection Act in the county of Cork, says, "that he *never heard of any*

* Evidence, House of Lords, 1825, p. 53.

† Evidence, House of Commons, 1824, p. 58.

distinction between Protestants and Catholics in the commission of outrages."—*Ibid.* p. 112. *Lewis*, 188.

Colonel Rochford says, "that the attacks were made without any reference to the *religion* of the parties who were the objects of the attack."—*H. of Commons*, 1832, 1075-9. *Lewis*, 184.

Matthew Singleton, Esq. Chief-Magistrate of Police, says, "In the county of Galway, the *majority of attacks must have been made upon the ROMAN CATHOLICS, as they are the majority of the population, but no difference is made on account of religion.*"—*Ibid.* 4118-19. *Lewis*, 136.

Mr. Baron Foster says that "religious animosities have been always LESS COMMON in the disturbed districts than in the other parts of the country."—*Lewis*, 125.

Mr. Justice Day states, "that the recent disturbances in Ireland had *not anything to do with religion.*" (*Ibid.* 126.) The same learned judge says that "*religion is TOTALLY OUT OF THE CASE*; and that the outrages are committed with the most perfect impartiality, as they are perpetrated *by and upon the lower classes*, amongst whom, in the south of Ireland, *the Protestants are scarcely ONE IN A HUNDRED.*"—*Lewis*, 127.

The Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan says, in his evidence before the House of Commons in 1826, "the disturbances commenced in the struggles of poverty, and of course it was principally a war against property."—*Ibid.*

Major Powell, Inspector of Police for the province of Leinster, says "that in his experience the outrages were directed EXCLUSIVELY against the *Catholics*, as there were scarcely any Protestants, except of the higher classes, in the part of the county to which he referred."—*H. of Lords*, 1824, p. 101. *Lewis*, 180-1.

It is rather singular, however, that some of the witnesses, in slight opposition to the general tenor of the evidence, depose to the existence of some degree of *partiality* upon this subject. The partiality, however, is truly Irish, and operates in a direction which will probably surprise the English reader: thus Mr. Cahill (Crown Prosecutor for Tipperary) says that "there is not the slightest degree of a religious character about the outrages, *except that the Protestants in Tipperary are spared a good deal more than the Catholics.*"* Mr. John Bray says, "they visit the houses of the Protestants to take arms: but the *Catholics* are more exposed to personal outrages.

* House of Commons, 1832, Nos. 7441-44

Supposing a Protestant farmer (where such exist) and a Roman Catholic to violate the laws of Captain Rock, the Catholic is more likely to be punished than the Protestant.”*

The candid reader will perhaps think it quite superfluous to add anything to the preceding testimony. It will however be desirable to produce upon this point the evidence given before the committee of 1839, by the crown solicitors of the six circuits into which Ireland is divided. These gentlemen are Mr. Kemmis, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Barington, Mr. Geale, Mr. Hickman, and Mr. Tierney. Mr. Kemmis says that upon his (the Leinster) circuit, outrages are *never* committed upon account either of *religion* or *politics*. (Evid. Rod. Com. 6817-19.) Mr. Hamilton says, that upon his (the north-eastern) circuit, *no* outrages are ever committed against persons on account of their *religion* (9100.) Mr. Hickman says that in his (the Connaught) circuit, he never knew of late years a *single offence* committed against any one upon account of his *religion* (8404.) Mr. Piers Geale, of the home circuit, says that it scarcely ever happens that religion has *anything* to do with *outrages* upon that circuit; and Mr. Barington declares that he never knew upon his circuit of *any* outrage having been directed against *any* man on account of his *religion* (7435.) Mr. Tierney appears not to have had his attention expressly drawn to the subject of religion. He states, however, in answer to a question upon another subject, that the *prevailing cause of outrages* upon the north-western circuit is the letting and disposition of land, and the *dispossessing of tenantry and occupiers* (7728.) Of these gentlemen, Mr. Tierney has been in office about thirteen years, Mr. Hamilton about seventeen, Mr. Geale, Mr. Barington, and Mr. Hickman, each about twenty-six, whilst Mr. Kemmis' experience extends over a period of nearly forty years, during which, as he stated before the committee, he never missed a circuit. They are *all Protestants*, and all we believe, staunch conservatives, except one or two, who are moderate whigs. Yet each of these gentlemen affirms, concerning his own district, that the outrages therein committed were the result of *destitution and oppression*, and of causes *merely animal and territorial, without any admixture of religious or political inducements*. Nothing certainly was ever more true than the observation of Mr. Lewis, that “the absence of all religious hostility in the outrages committed by the Whiteboys is established by the most unvarying and unimpeachable testimony.”*

* House of Commons, 1632, 3501-2.

Notwithstanding all this evidence, the political Heereboord informs us (p. 158), "that the outrages are employed as much against heresy as against the landlords." We are told in page 165, that the Catholics are all taught, in their education, that the Protestants long to murder every Catholic. In page 163, we are told, that the landlords are for the most part Protestants, and that in consequence of this circumstance, "no beneficence of personal character is able to shield them from attacks." We are further informed, that the Catholic tenantry thirst so eagerly for the blood of their Protestant landlords, that "they are ready to spring upon them at a moment's warning (p. 165); and the very same writer who tells us all this informs us, in page 164, that these same Catholic tenants *have such an affection for their Protestant landlords*, that it is NOTORIOUSLY and GENERALLY the fact that *they prefer to live under them, rather than under Romanists*; and in a note to this passage we are told that the *whole Catholic tenantry* of one estate, which was then to be sold, went in a body to the *Protestant clergyman*, and entreated him to buy the estate, that they may *not be transferred to a Catholic landlord*. Whilst this identical writer tells us, in p. 123, that "religious dissension meets us at every step upon the very surface of Irish affairs, and that the *separation between landlord and tenant cannot be cured*, BECAUSE ONE IS A PROTESTANT AND THE OTHER A ROMANIST!"

Yet notwithstanding this *incurable* separation produced by the priest, upon the ground of religion, between the tenant and the landlord, the tenants "with a wonderful unanimity distrust the priest;" and invariably, and "as a matter of course," recur in all their difficulties to the Protestant landlord, from whom they are "incurably separated," but whom they "ordinarily" call upon to protect them against the frauds of the priest (*Quarterly*, March 1841, p. 558); but whom they murder upon receiving a hint to that effect from the priest. (*Ibid.* p. 567.) Concerning which priest, we are told (p. 580) that the peasantry are "disgusted with his curses, wearied with his extortions, smarting under his horsewhip! and under his fist!! and enraged by his interference between themselves and their landlord." But unto whom it seems they also recur invariably for protection against the landlord, and that for the good and sufficient reasons following, that is to say, because the priest "has access to their cabins at all hours, and mixes with them on terms of intimacy; is one of themselves, sprung from them, and bred up in the same feel-

ings, speaking the same language, and the first to undertake their cause, when a landlord is to be thwarted by them and a tenant kept in possession" (p. 560). The same philosopher who has enlightened us hitherto upon this subject, states (ibid. p. 563) that "popery in Ireland *is the worship of a priest*;" and that the people themselves when asked whom they worship (a very pertinent interrogatory) generally answer, "my priest is my God." Concerning the same peasantry, the very same philosopher tells us (p. 580), "that they are most anxious to read the Bible, contented to have their errors [in religion] pointed out to them, and wonderfully quick in abandoning the said errors; *naturally*! full of confidence in the Protestant landlords and clergy" [sucking in the confidence with their mother's milk, or having, perhaps, what are called innate or instinctive ideas in that direction]; "convinced of the superiority of Protestants; and dissatisfied with the darkness, *coldness*, and fearfulness of their own creed of purgatory and penances, and extreme unction and confession." Such are the persons who bestow exclusive worship on a priest with whose curses they are moreover disgusted, with "whose extortions they are fatigued; whilst they smart under the infliction of the whip and fist of this their divinity, and are ready to cast off his yoke."

Such a farrago of idiotical contradictions in so eminent a publication as the *Quarterly Review*, has really something of the appearance of a prodigy.

Before we pass from this part of the subject, we may as well mention that the principal parts of the article in the *Quarterly* have been purloined from the digest of Messrs. Phelan and O'Sullivan. That work is also one of the compositions whose titles are placed at the head of the article in the *Quarterly*, and is referred to by the reviewer as one of the principal authorities upon which he relies. Now any person who will take the trouble to look into the table of contents to part 1 of that work, will read, in page ix, the following words:—"Section I. chapter i. Condition of the Peasantry; *Excessive rents*; Peasantry grateful and charitable.—Chapter III. Disturbances; *Little disturbance where the peasantry are comfortable*.—Chapter IV. *Causes of the disturbances NOT RELIGIOUS*." Such are the sentiments of Mr. O'Sullivan *out of Exeter Hall*.

In page 129, the reviewer says that "Dr. Doyle confessed, before the House of Lords, that the Romish Church in Ireland is considered partly as *a mission*, and is therefore under the con-

trol of the Propaganda." The reader, after what he has already seen, will not be at all surprised to hear that the language of Dr. Doyle was *diametrically the reverse* of that which has been imputed to him by the reviewer, who, perhaps, expected to escape detection by fixing no reference to the passage which he professed to cite. The following are the words of Dr. Doyle upon the subject, taken from page 322 of "The Evidence given before the House of Lords and Commons in 1824-25." Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street. "The Church in Ireland is *not a mission*, but a regularly constituted hierarchy:—and there is *no reason* why it should be considered a mission, *except*, that *for the sake of convenience and dispatch*, the business is transacted through the Propaganda. *We do not therefore consider our country as a missionary country*, such, for instance, as England is, for we have a regularly constituted hierarchy." Dr. Doyle therefore states, that *except* the fact that the Irish Church, for the sake of convenience, transacts its business through the Propaganda, there is *no reason* for considering Ireland a missionary country: and "honest Iago" represents the Dr. as stating absolutely that Ireland is a mission, and that its business is *therefore* transacted through the Propaganda. Dr. Doyle's evidence upon this point is correctly copied into the digest of Messrs. Phelan and O'Sullivan, (Part xi. page 51.)

In page 126 he writes the following words. "Ask Dr. Doyle if any amelioration in the condition of the people can take place *until his Church has recovered its supremacy*, and he answers as he answered before the committee (Lords' Report, April 1826, p. 512), 'I think, before God, it is impossible.'" The reader will, of course, observe immediately, that the words which are printed in italics are the most important words in the passage. Now, those words have been *fabricated* by the author of the article called "Romanism in Ireland:"—we distinctly charge him with having *deliberately falsified* the evidence which he professes to cite. The evidence which he pretends to quote is to be found—not at page 512 of the Lords' Report (which contains the testimony of another person), but at page 316. It is copied from the digest of the Rev. Messrs. Phelan and O'Sullivan (part i. p. 361), and these gentlemen have, through mistake, referred to page 512, instead of page 316, of the original report. The Professor, who evidently read it in the digest, copied the wrong reference from Mr. Phelan, and falsified the passage upon his own account.

The extract in the digest is, however, correctly given, and is in the following words:—

“Right Rev. J. Doyle, D.D.

“You conceive the principal source of the amelioration of the condition of the poor in Ireland must be derived from increased habits of industry?”

“‘I think so.’

“‘Are you to be understood, that you conceive that this desirable result cannot be expected to take place, *unless what is generally called the Catholic question be settled?*’

“‘I think, before God, it is utterly impossible.’”

In professing to cite this evidence, the rev. reviewer has deliberately struck out the words “*unless what is generally called the Catholic question be settled;*” and deliberately falsified the passage by inserting in their place the words “*until his (i. e. the Roman Catholic) Church has recovered its supremacy.*” We ask any honourable person, what is the appropriate punishment of conduct so infamous? Such persons as are acquainted with the subject, are well aware that the sentiments expressed by Dr. Doyle, as well as by all the other ecclesiastics and laymen of Ireland, who were examined upon this point before the legislature, were diametrically opposite to those which have been falsely attributed to Dr. Doyle by the unprincipled writer of the *Quarterly Review*. In the very report to which that writer referred, Dr. Doyle expressly states, that he “never discovered in others, and *never entertained himself, any disposition whatever* to be put into possession of any part of the revenues or property belonging to the Established Church: that if it were offered to him, he would not accept it.” (Evidence before the Lords and Commons in 1824-5; published by John Murray, p. 562.) He stated at the same time, that, even if such a disposition existed on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, it would, unquestionably, not find any countenance or favour on the part of the laity of that communion, who would be, if possible, more averse to it than the clergy. (Ibid.) In page 323 he states that he would be averse to receiving any emolument or compensation whatever from the crown, and should prefer to receive the slender support which he received at present from the people whom he served: whilst in another place he states (Digest of Messrs. Phelan and O’Sullivan, part xi. p. 208) that he would consider the introduction of Roman Catholic bishops into the legislature of this country as destructive (to use no weaker

term): that it was a thing foreign from the thoughts of the clergy, and that he hoped God would prevent it from ever entering into the thoughts of others.

Of the same nature is the following attempt to fix a charge of murder, by an insinuation as false as it is horrible. "Is there generally, in parishes where the priests choose to employ it, a body of men who understand the hint given from the altar, and by whom it is executed? *Was Lord Norbury, for instance, denounced before he was murdered?*" (*Quart.* p. 169.) No sort of evidence, nor even any reference, is given in support of this "bloody and brutal" insinuation; but we suppose the writer to allude to a statement, made by Captain Vignolles before the Roden committee, and which statement was to the effect, that some two or three months before Lord Norbury's murder, a priest had from the altar denounced the conduct of two or three persons, *whose names he did not mention*, but one of whom he designated as a cunning man, another as an insinuating one, and another as something else. Of these persons one, according to the story, was supposed to be Lord Norbury. For the remainder of the story, Captain Vignolles' account of the transaction is (3062), that his information of the alleged oration of the priest was *from hearsay*; that (3689) his informant was a person who *had been* a magistrate, but had been *put out* of the commission; that (3691) this informant *knew nothing of it himself*, but had *his* information from *another* person; that (3706) Captain Vignolles did not know the name of the person who informed the person who informed Captain Vignolles; that Captain Vignolles (4675) did not know whether the parish in question was in the King's county or in Westmeath; that he (3695) did not know whether the priest in question was the parish priest or the curate, and did not even know the *name* of the priest; that (3676) the government, on receiving a statement from Captain Vignolles' informant upon the subject, made a reference to some persons in the county, whether Westmeath or the King's county, as to the truth of the story; and that (3693) the consequence of the reference was *that SIXTEEN AFFIDAVITS were made stating the story to be FALSE—NO AFFIDAVIT AT ALL having been made in support of it!* (3690.) It may be observed, in concluding this subject, that one of the persons who was said to be alluded to in the speech of the priest was Lord Charleville. Whether he was the "cunning" person, or the "insinuating" one, we know not. Whichever he was, he does not seem to have ever mentioned this subject, and although upon a very recent oc-

casion he advanced a complaint in the House of Lords against Lord Normanby, for the manner in which the enquiry about the death of Lord Norbury was conducted, he did not upon that occasion, nor, according to our knowledge, upon any other whatever, make the slightest allusion to the invention which was communicated through Captain Vignolles to the Roden committee; of which committee, it is moreover to be observed, that Lord Charleville was himself a most industrious member. It is a matter of notoriety, that the present Lord Rosse entered into a correspondence with the Marquis of Normanby, which was published in the *Times* of the 26th ult. upon the subject of the murder of Lord Norbury, who was a "friend and connexion" of Lord Rosse. In the course of this correspondence, Lord Rosse, though complaining of the conduct of the priests in other respects, makes no allusion whatever to the story of the denunciation; whilst Lord Normanby, in his answer to Lord Rosse, reminds his Lordship that immediately after the murder of Lord Norbury, the Earl of Charleville "paid a just tribute to the impressive address made to the people by the Catholic rector of the parish upon the character and conduct of the murdered nobleman."—Since the preceding observations were written, we find that in the *last* number of the *Quarterly* a reference is made in support of the statement about Lord Norbury's denunciation to No. 8671 to 8798, 6589 to 6558, 10155 and 14180 to 14192 of the evidence given before the Roden committee. The evidence from 8671 to 8703 is that of Captain Vignolles, of which the substance has been laid before the reader. The testimony from 6579 to 6558 is that of Mr. Uniacke, who was represented as the third person indicated in the imaginary denunciation of the priest. Mr. Uniacke's evidence is, that he knew nothing of it except from mere hearsay, and *did not even hear at what chapel it was supposed to have occurred*. He adds, that all the respectable Catholics in the neighbourhood felt horrified at the occurrence of the murder. Number 10155 is a question addressed to Mr. Howley, and enquiring whether he knew anything to justify such a denunciation "supposing that it had actually occurred?" Which question the learned gentleman very properly answered in the negative. The last evidence referred to is that of Mr. Drummond from 14180 to 14192, and the statement which he makes is, that he *never heard that such a fact had been communicated to the government at all*; that he had no recollection whatever of having ever received any such information; that if he had received any

such information he would, as a matter of course, have called the attention of the Inspector-General of Police to the subject. That, in fact, he did receive information of hostile intentions towards Mr. Garvey, Lord Norbury's agent, and had thereupon taken immediate steps to make him aware of his danger and secure him all possible protection, and that the government would have pursued the same course in Lord Norbury's case, if they had received the same intelligence, but that he did not recollect that any such intelligence had ever been communicated, either to himself or to any other member of the government.

The want of space prevents us from proceeding farther with the subject at present, and we must, therefore, defer the continuation of our anatomy to the next number of the *Dublin Review*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

White's Confutation of Church of Englandism, and correct Exposition of the Catholic Faith; translated from the original Latin by Edmond Wm. O'Mahoney, Esq. Dolman, 1841.

RESPECTING this learned and most useful work, we are inclined to adopt the opinion recorded on the blank page of the original, which appears to have been preserved by the noble family of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and is now in the hands of the translator:—

“Ex libris Gulielmi Talbot.

“This is the best refutation of the doctrine contained in the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England extant. It should be translated into the vernacular tongue of the nation whose creed it effectually overthrows.” (Signed) William Talbot. The pious wish has been fulfilled, and a translator has been found, who has put forth the work under such auspices as cannot fail to ensure it a wide circulation. The plan of the work is most appropriate for the present crisis. The Rev. Alexander White was a clergyman of the Anglican Church in the reign of Charles I, whose intimate friend he was, and to whom he sincerely looked up, as to the true head of the true Church. The events of the times awakened him roughly from his delusion. Abroad he could find no trace of that form of religion which he believed to be the only true one. At home, if indeed it was to be found, its state was such as to leave him no confidence in its usefulness or duration; yet he was firm in the faith that the Catholic Church could not perish, and he resolved to seek in the primitive ages of Christianity a clue by which to search for her. For

seven years he gave himself up to the study of the Latin and Greek fathers, giving the preference to those of the five first centuries. "He commenced," we are told, "a long and arduous course of study, during the progress of which he minutely searched, diligently compared, and carefully weighed, the texts of the Holy Scripture. He also read with the utmost attention the comments of the *early* fathers, doctors, and ecclesiastical historians, upon the sacred volumes—and he invariably noted down whatever appeared to him of importance, either in Scripture, the fathers, or in history."—(p. xi. pref.) With these invaluable notes we are now presented—the plan of the work is simply the confutation of the Articles of the Church of England, taken not *seriatim*, but according to the order of the subjects—and not only is the confutation irresistible in itself, but it has another value, as proving the sense put upon the articles in those earlier days; and how unavailing to the members of the community, or to herself as a Church, must be that occult meaning which some of the learned of our times would attribute to them, but which was undiscoverable by such a mind as that of our industrious and pious author. There is the same charity and depth in the execution as in the design of this book; we do not think it contains a harsh or an irrelevant expression, and the style of the translation, which is easy, flowing, and grave, completes the advantages of this valuable addition to Catholic controversy.

Catechetical Instructions on the Doctrines and Worship of the Catholic Church; by John Lingard, D.D. Second edition. Dolman, 1840.

We are not surprised that this little book has so soon reached a second edition, for it would be difficult to find in any other work so much information conveyed in so short, impressive, and useful a manner. It is offered by the learned author "to the young who are preparing themselves for their first communion, and to the more aged, who have been suffered to grow up to manhood without a competent knowledge of their religion;" and in his peculiarly terse and pointed style, he both explains the plan, and sums up the results of the work, as follows—

"What is the sum of the instruction contained in this book?"

"Part the first, explains the doctrines, which we must believe. 'Without faith it is impossible to please God.'"—(Heb. xi. 6.)

"Part the second explains the commandments which we must observe, 'If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments.'"—(Matt. xix. 9.)

"Part the third explains the manner in which we must worship God and apply to him for mercy and grace. 'The Lord thy God shalt thou worship, and him only shalt thou serve.'"—(Matt. iv. 10.)

The form of the work is a simple, but admirably arranged catechism, to which are appended explanatory notes, in which the results of Dr. Lingard's learning, piety, and thought, are so clearly and simply

given, that no class of readers can fail to comprehend or to be benefited by them; for there is a precision in Dr. Lingard's mode of stating his ideas, and a force in his style, calculated to make a strong and prompt impression upon the mind.

A Digest of the Penal Laws, passed against Catholics; with historical notes and illustrations; by the Rev. J. Waterworth. Dolman, 1841.

As much of horror and wickedness are comprised within the few pages of this little work as the mind can well fancy! Certainly the persecution of Catholics under Henry VIII and the succeeding monarchs, had a degree of atrocity, beyond any other that has taken place from the beginning of the world—the persecutions in the early ages (and the same may be said of that which formed the chief, if not the only blot on Mary's reign) were open and bold,—it was frequently forbidden to seek for or to denounce the Christians; and we find it continually mentioned in the ancient martyrologies, that they were warned not to criminate themselves, by judges who seemed touched with a desire to save them. When the noble constancy of the victims had (according to the notions of the times) violated the majesty of the law, and they were dragged to torture and death, they were permitted openly to glorify God by their heroism, and seldom denied the sympathy of friends. But the grinding tyranny of the *Reformation*, as base as it was cruel, wound itself into all the minutiae of private life, invaded the most sacred rights—profaned the most holy ties and duties—recognised no sanctity in any human connexions or feeling; every relation of life was made a source of oppression—no principle of justice was adhered to, and the blindest, most ignorant, and savage rapacity was cloaked under an hypocrisy that the devil himself could not easily surpass. What a fearful catalogue of laws have we here! The reverend compiler tells us that they were collected “as a method of replying to the accusation of persecution brought against Catholics.” It will, we think, answer a far better purpose, if, in reminding us of the sufferings of our forefathers, it teach us to feel thankful for our “earthlier happy” lot, and in our thankfulness to correspond as freely with the exigencies of our times, as they did with those that fell upon them; or, if we may not yet lay aside the memory of strife, let us turn it to profit, by recollecting that there are even now many things in the laws of our country which are disadvantageous and unjust to the Catholic body; let these be examined, collected, and made known, and in the end they must be amended.

The Young Communicants, written for the use of the Poor School Bermondsey; by the author of Geraldine. Dolman, 1840.

In this beautiful little book we recognise the talent of the gifted author; the style is simple indeed, and the subject limited, compared

with what she has hitherto undertaken; but this lady has the art of throwing her whole soul into whatever she writes, and the grace and polish of her style are not to be mistaken even in her slightest compositions.

During her pious labours in the schools, she has penetrated deeply into the minds of the children by whom she is surrounded, and this insight has enabled her to bring down her explanations to the level of their capacities, while she has thrown into them, and into the touching little story by which they are introduced, a sweetness and fervour, that must awaken their best feelings. We should be very glad to have more books of this description for the use of Catholic children.

Stories about Alfred the Great, for the amusement and instruction of children; by A.M.S. Dolman.

These little fragments of history are simply and pleasingly given; they are likely to interest children without misleading them; as the stories are taken from the best authorities, and are written in a Catholic spirit.

The Truths of the Catholic Religion, proved from Scripture alone; by Thomas Butler, D. D., second edition. Dolman, 1841.

A second edition of the Rev. Dr. Butler's lectures will be welcome to all Catholics, bearing, as they do, the stamp of his diligence, his charity, and his experience. How beautiful is the diversity of gifts amongst the defenders and ministers of our holy religion! The laborious parish priest has not scrupled, as he tells us, to avail himself of the learning of Dr. Wiseman, and other of his gifted contemporaries, who have had greater leisure for study; but he has given a peculiar character to the arrangement of the fruits of their research and his own, in a practical, plain, and full form of explanation, which must render them accessible to all minds. There is also a great anxiety manifested to meet every objection that can be brought against his doctrine, separate chapters being generally allotted for that purpose. This does not improve the logical character of the work; for generally speaking, the mere setting forth and establishing a truth, overthrows all that can reasonably be brought against it; and when a Catholic descends to answer other objections separately, he does so on untenable ground—it being a well known fact “that a fool may ask questions which a wise man cannot answer.” But Dr. Butler has had great experience of the obliquity and inconsistency of the human mind, and has prepared himself to grapple with it: his work will be an invaluable assistance to those who are thrown into promiscuous Protestant society. Dr. Butler evidently agrees with Dr. Wiseman in thinking that the mystery of the Eucharist (considered under both heads, as a sacrament and a sacrifice) should be the FIRST doctrine presented to, and most strongly enforced upon the minds of our dissenting brethren, as involving that charity which is the bond of peace

and union, and accordingly Dr. Butler has devoted to a defence of it the chief part of his first volume. We do not quite understand the arrangement of the remainder, the rule of faith, upon which all minor differences are generally admitted to depend, being reserved for the concluding chapter. But this is of small consequence ;—this all-important subject has been treated with admirable ability.

The New Month of Mary, or reflections for each day of the month, on the different titles applied to the Holy Mother of God in the Litany of Loretto: principally designed for the month of May, by the very Rev. P. R. Kenrick. Dolman, 1841.

The title of this work which we have given at length, will be its best recommendation. In addition to the reflection mentioned (and which is prefaced by one of the invocations of our blessed Lady, and the text upon which the title is based), a short example is given of the saints who have had recourse to her, and of the efficacy of her intercession. This is followed by a few prayers, varied according to the invocation, and the whole forms a beautiful devotion suited for each day in the month, and not too long to be practised by families, to whom we are sure it will be highly acceptable.

A Journey from La Trappe to Rome; by the Reverend Father Baron Geramb. Dolman, 1841.

Reminiscences of Rome; or a religious, moral, and literary view of the Eternal City, by a member of the Arcadian Academy. Jones, 1840.

There is something piquant and entertaining in the writings of Father Geramb, which will generally ensure a welcome to any publication of his; it would scarcely be decorous to call them ‘amusing,’ fraught as they are with high-toned enthusiastic piety; yet it cannot be denied that one is tempted to smile at the *naïveté* with which we are permitted to trace the *ci-devant* courtier, the gay, gallant, somewhat bombastic Frenchman, under the garb of the Trappist monk; with the utmost simplicity we are admitted to view the little struggles that arise in his mind, when he strives to reconcile the two characters. It is impossible not to sympathise with the good man when he sits down in despair before his six trunks, wondering what he ought to do next, and whether the confusion lying around him will ever get reduced into them; wondering next what business a Trappist monk has to have six trunks at all, to which he reconciles himself by the consideration that they were all nearly filled with packages entrusted to him; regretting a little his formerly numerous attendants, and winding up with the pious self-accusation, that he had not used them well, and consequently deserved to wait upon himself; whereupon he crams in his packages. The same simplicity of character runs through the graver parts of his work, and, joined to an

ardent and observing turn of mind, prevents any thing he writes from being dull or trivial, and those who have delighted in his pilgrimage to the Holy Land will be glad to follow the good father to Rome, although there is little in his account of it, which will not be familiar to most of his readers. The second publication is one which we think no traveller to Rome should be without ; it is fraught with extensive and various information upon the government and institutions, the public buildings, charities, libraries, and museums, in Rome; nor is this information of that hackneyed kind, which forms a common stock for travellers in general. Fragments of history, and curious anecdotes connected with the old buildings, treasures of antiquity, unnoted amongst the incalculable wealth of the Roman museums, and above all those churches, unnoticed in and around Rome, which would be so wonderful any where else ; all these the author has seen leisurely, with the feelings of a Christian and of a man of learning and refinement, and while doing so he has noted down many things in the manners of the people, their pious observances, and the customs pursued in the public places, and many pieces of learned and literary gossip which are well worth preserving. There is not in this work the slightest trace of what is called book-making ; the type is small, the appearance of the work unpretending ; but there is far more in it than in many of those dashing three volumed descriptions, in which modern travellers so kindly patronise the eternal city. This author has evidently *lived* in Rome : although well able to throw light upon its heathen antiquities, he has delighted chiefly in tracing the influence of Christianity upon this capital of Christendom ; many instances are adduced (and some we think new ones) of the care with which her various treasures have been preserved by the Papal court—a government which, whatever be its merits, would seem to have that of entering into, and corresponding more completely with the feelings of its people than perhaps any other.

Corporal and Spiritual Works of Mercy, by Miss Agnew. Dolman, 1840.

This beautiful work is completed ; which we are inclined to regret, as we would willingly see a greater number of these admirable illustrations of *Mercy* in all its functions.

We have to acknowledge the receipt of numerous works, which we propose to notice in our next number ; and for which we regret to have no sufficient space at present.

END OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

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